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#### EX-SENATOR GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, AUTHOR OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAW

During the past month no magazine article has attracted more attention than the Hon. George F. Edmunds' contribution to the *North American Review* on the subject of "The Interstate Trust and Commerce Act of 1890" (see page 110). The reason for this widespread interest is to be found in the fact that the venerable former Senator from Vermont (now in his eighty-fourth year) was the real author of the Anti-Trust law, although Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, originated the plan of such an enactment, or at least first proposed it in the Senate. It fell to Mr. Edmunds, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to frame the vital provisions of a measure that has given rise to more controversy than any other single act of Congress since the Civil War, with the possible exception of the Interstate Commerce law. For a quarter of a century (1866-91) George F. Edmunds was one of the leading members of the Senate. He was the author of the Utah Anti-Polygamy law of 1882 and had a part in shaping much other important legislation. He served as a member of the Electoral Commission of 1877. In 1880 and again in 1884 he received votes in the National Republican conventions for the Presidential nomination. After his resignation from the Senate, in 1891, Mr. Edmunds engaged in the practice of law in Philadelphia.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*A Civilized World and Its Struggles*

Civilization is a tendency rather than a fixed fact or a set of established rules. There is such a thing as human progress under accepted restraints; and almost the entire mass of people now living in the world are definitely acting and enduring, in recognition of this principle. Most social struggles are meant to better the rules, not to abolish them. Some civilizations,—that is to say, the general rules and customs accepted in certain parts of the world,—are better than others. But all civilizations have a good deal in common in that they recognize the need of the principle of "live and let live," and the need of maintaining a certain continuity of social and political institutions. The newspapers,—aided by the world-wide extension of telegraph lines, cheap international postal services, and other modern facilities,—are bringing to us all from the ends of the earth a swift succession of reports about happenings of a startling sort. We might well be puzzled and shocked if we had no sense of historical perspective, and no principles or general ideas furnishing us the means by which to classify and to interpret the current news events.

*The Factors of Disturbance*

We read of a war in Tripoli, with all sorts of diplomatic complications associated with its outbreak, and scandalous and dreadful details of slaughter and devastation connected with its actual prosecution. We read of troubles in Persia and of a titanic revolutionary struggle in China. We are startled with disclosures of violence and crime in the name of associated wage-earners, and with legal allegations of offense against the public on the part of great combinations of industrial capital. We appear to be living in a world that is full of agitation, turmoil, and strife. The nations are building up increasing armaments, and they seem at

moments to be on the point of throwing aside all restraint and devastating every land with their deadly war struggles. In other great countries, besides China, there come crises when civil strife might overthrow very much that has been built up through ages of order and restraint; and in the economic world there are moments when fanaticism and prejudice seem to be gaining ground as against patience and moderation. All these things make men long for millennial days of reason, justice, and universal good will.

*The Mission of the Peacemakers*

It is no wonder that the so-called "peace movement" gains ground, with its insistence upon methods of righteous submission to just judgment as a better way to settle differences than mere self-assertion and the test of brute power in clash of arms. And it is not strange that there should be efforts in all lands to replace the old-time "tyranny tempered by assassination" with liberty tempered by patient submission to just laws. Nor is it to be wondered at that everywhere men are seeking to bring the great productive forces of capital and labor near together, in order that they may substitute useful compromises for dangerous deadlocks and unrestrained antagonism. Civilization is the antithesis of anarchy and extreme socialism. Anarchy means the unlimited assertion of each individual's will. Civilization means the submission of one's personal will to general rules made for the common welfare.

*Revising the General Rules*

In a progressive civilization, one finds a constant revision of general rules to meet improving ideals and standards. England, for example, is a country in which general rules have been revised from time to time because of new conceptions. In this new year 1912, it is ex-





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#### SOME OF THE AMERICANS WHO ARE TRYING TO IMPROVE THE MEANS BY WHICH TO PROTECT CIVILIZATION AGAINST WAR

(Speakers at the Carnegie Hall mass meeting of December 12, to advocate the pending arbitration treaties. Those seated are, from left to right: Joseph H. Choate, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Watterson, and Frederic R. Coudert. Standing, from left to right, are: Nicholas Murray Butler, William H. Bliss, Elmer E. Brown, Isaac R. Seligman, Francis B. Loomis, and Henry Clews)

pected that England will adopt full manhood suffrage and abolish the plural voting that has given property-holders the right to cast as many ballots as their holdings of certain kinds of property in different places. It must not be thought that the English system hitherto has been seriously unjust or shockingly uncivilized. It has been the English way to reform such things steadily but by degrees and by progressive steps. The past year has witnessed in England a curtailment of the undue authority vested in the House of Lords. This reform has come about in the fullness of time and in a way that shows that the modern democratic trend has no need to resort to turbulence or revolution. Steady discussion and the belief that convictions are worth having and worth expressing are certain in England to accomplish one reform after another. There is much that is of priceless value in the traditions of a noble and ancient country like England; and it would seem better to graft new things carefully upon what is valuable in old things, rather than to seek final and logical solutions for everything all in a moment. Thus, viewed with a little calmness and some sense of perspective, the seemingly turbulent domestic politics of England in the present period may be regarded as nothing else but the establishment

of certain new and better rules for the safeguarding of a more perfect civilization.

#### Our Own Domestic Problems

In our own country we are entering upon a new year that must inevitably bring with it much political excitement and intense discussion and feeling as respects many subjects of profound interest. It will be well for us to believe that these excitements and discussions can be made to promote more perfect rules and customs for the guidance of our national life. If the plain, average citizen can hold this view he will find politics more interesting and he will have a principle of his own by which to test and measure public discussions of all sorts. Take, for example, the tariff question. Can we, upon the whole, deal with that question in a

broader and better way in the future than in the past? We cannot hope to provide ourselves by one sudden effort with an ideal kind of system for obtaining the necessary amount of public revenue. We can-



MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, CHANCELLOR OF THE BRITISH EXCHEQUER

(Who is leading all along the line in the attempt to improve the standards of social welfare in Great Britain)

not expect, on short notice, after more than half a century of high protective tariffs, to abandon wholly the protective principle. But we can at least decide to abandon the log-rolling method of making tariffs. We can adopt the principle of careful and gradual revision, one schedule at a time, giving due notice to all interests that are affected and always allowing a reasonable interval of time if tariff changes would otherwise harm any particular industry. This principle seems to have been fully recognized by the present Democratic House of Representatives, and by the best sentiment of the country, Republican as well as Democratic. Furthermore, when the Democrats shall have scaled down the excessive duties of the Payne-Aldrich tariff the country will insist upon treating the subject in the years to come from the scientific business standpoint rather than from that of political parties.

*Harmonizing  
Laws and  
Business*

In the great problem of bringing business enterprise into harmony with wise and just laws, there is opportunity for earnest and nation-wide discussion. In Canada, in France, in Germany, in England, the great bankers, industrial capitalists, and railroad magnates, seem to be respected and leaned upon as props of the Government and of the economic life of the people. In this country all such men seem to be in dread of indictment as criminals. So far as we have been able to observe, the business men of America who head large corporations are of the same moral fiber as those whose enterprises are on a smaller scale. Furthermore, we are not ready to believe that American business men are, upon the whole, less desirable citizens than the leading business men of other countries. Mr. Taft and this administration have been constantly demanding that business men make their conduct square with the law. We cannot find fault with such admonition. But if men live under laws which they do not understand,—and if men of good intentions are in danger of being prosecuted for law violations when they have earnestly sought to obey the law and have begged the officials who are enforcing the law to assist them in obeying it,—we have a situation in which it would seem that there is more need of reforming the laws than there is of reforming the conduct of the business community.

*Some  
Actual  
Progress*

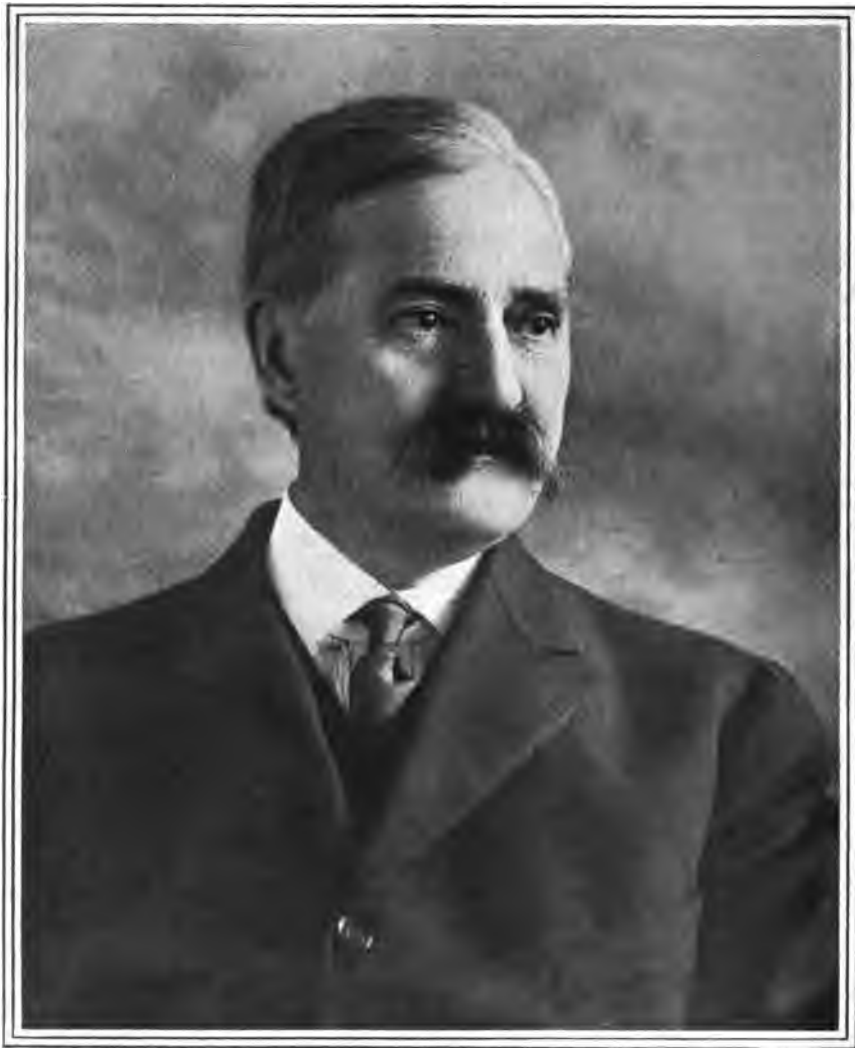
Whatever may have been true in times past and gone, we have no great corporations remaining in this country that feel themselves superior



MR. GEORGE W. PERKINS

(Who is one of the most active leaders in the movement to bring corporations under federal license and regulation, and who has lately testified before the Senate committee and made addresses in different parts of the country)

to just laws, or that desire to live henceforth as laws unto themselves. They would like to see sound and sensible laws enacted, and would like to conform their practices to just rules that would recognize the nature of modern business methods and undertakings. It will probably be seen that the one important and permanent gain as a result of the prosecution of the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts has been the full acceptance, without mental reservation, by every business man, of the principle that government is not merely a coördinate affair when it touches business institutions, but that government is of necessity superior to those business corporations which it creates and protects. Thus the victory of the Government in its prosecutions is of deeper moment than the solutions worked out as a consequence.



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HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IOWA

(Senator Cummins, as chairman of the sub-committee, has organized and is conducting the Senate's remarkable inquiry into the working of the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the best methods for regulating large corporations that are carrying on interstate business. Many witnesses have already appeared before the committee, including heads of corporations, lawyers and economists)

*New Remedies Needed* Under the present law, it seems to have been settled that if your corporation grows very large you may be dragged into court and compelled to break the business up into fractions, under circumstances that may help rather than hurt the insiders and large stockholders, while seriously hurting the great majority of small and scattered stockholders. What business men are now demanding is a system under which a business may indeed grow to be very large, even to the extent of being monopolistic in its tendencies,—like the telegraph, or the telephone, or the railroad business,—provided its methods are fair and just, and its treatment of competitors and of the general public can be promptly reached with legal remedies if it is in any manner unjust. Our business standards in this country are not growing worse, but they can and must grow better. The time has come for the full national assumption of responsibility over the sphere of commerce. Bogus concerns, incorporated under the careless laws of one State or another, have been swindling small investors throughout the entire country. The

time has come for the sort of national law that would check business of this kind in its very inception. There are some things that can be done at once, and others that can be worked out gradually.

*The Senate  
Committee's  
Work*

A service of vast importance is being rendered to the country at the present time by the Senate Committee on Commerce, in its hearings upon the whole subject of the regulation and control of large business enterprises. Senator Cummins of Iowa is chairman of the subcommittee that is conducting these hearings. Senator Clapp of Minnesota is chairman of the full committee. The Sherman Anti-Trust law, as it now stands and as it is interpreted by the courts, is protective neither of big business nor of little business. It has smashed the Tobacco Trust, but it has afforded no satisfaction nor relief to the smaller competitors of that trust who were instrumental in having the suit brought. No one need fear that the small business man, or the plain citizen, would suffer anything even from the absolute repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It will not, of course, be repealed in any case without the substitution for it of something that would afford a vastly better protection to every citizen and to every kind of legitimate business enterprise. But even if it were repealed with no federal law to take its place, there is some reason for the view that every one needing protection or remedy would find himself as safe under the common law as he is at present under the so-called Sherman statute. It would be absurd to think for a moment that we have not enough sense in the United States to reform our corporation laws, differing as they do in half a hundred States. The time has come when no corporation, great or small, should be allowed to do any interstate business whatsoever until it has complied with rules and regulations setting a national standard at least as high as the corporation laws of England or of the State of Massachusetts. A step of this kind would remedy a great part of our existing business troubles.

*Labor  
and Its  
Position*

From these discussions of the relationship between government and business, we shall undoubtedly work out better arrangements than those heretofore existing. In like manner, the efforts to adjust relationships between capital and labor will not fail to lift us at least a little toward the realizing of better ideals of social welfare. The labor move-

ment cannot be rightly understood unless one goes with some patience into a study of its history. It is quite possible that trade unionism, in some of its forms and manifestations, may be outliving its usefulness. But surely all careful authorities on the subject agree that it has done a great deal, in modern industrial countries, to improve the conditions of labor and to humanize the worker, so as to fit him for citizenship. While it may not as yet be safe, from the labor standpoint, to give up the strike as a potential weapon, it has become evident that strikes are deplorable evils and that conciliation and compromise are best for all factors in the sphere of economic production. Combined capital and unionized labor are making advances in their methods of arriving at agreements, and are living on fairly good terms.

*Strikes  
Less Frequent*

In certain great domains of industry, strikes and conditions of open discord are far less frequent now than in former periods. It is true that in England and on the Continent we have recently witnessed some colossal strikes in the field of railroads and transportation; but in this country railroad labor, as a rule, negotiates successfully with the railroad managers. There are some callings in which turbulence and discord are more likely to be witnessed than in others. Years ago our worst strikes and labor troubles were found in the coal-mining fields, both bituminous and anthracite. But the organization of the miners and the working out of periodic trade agreements, first in the Western bituminous coal fields and later in the mining districts of the East, have brought comparative peace and order everywhere and reflect great credit upon the good sense of employers on the one side and the leaders of organized labor on the other side.

*Turbulence  
in the  
Building Trades*

The building trades have been exceptionally turbulent, and in many cases the action of their unions has seemed to the public to be vexatious and without good excuse. This has been largely due to local conditions, and the lack of an effective central control. Some particular unions in the building trades have been less wise and restrained than others. Thus there is a union known as the International Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' Association. Its members are found in all parts of the country putting up the frames of great steel buildings. As a rule, they are men of unusual physical strength and of fine cour-



GEN. HARRISON GRAY OTIS, THE PROPRIETOR OF  
THE LOS ANGELES "TIMES"

age. Rightly estimated, they form a body of our fellow-citizens who are rendering us a fine and necessary service, and whose best welfare ought to have our sincere concern. Those who stop a little to think will not for a moment believe that this body of men, doing difficult work under conditions that call for great strength and hardihood, is made up of criminals and social enemies who would countenance murder and arson and the use of destructive explosives for the purpose of terrorizing contractors and capitalists into granting the demands of the structural ironworkers' union.

*Dynamite  
and the  
Structural Men*

Yet it is true that within a few years there have been, in different parts of the country, at least a hundred disasters attributed to the explosion of dynamite, most of them causing more or less serious damage to property and nearly all of them apparently bearing some relation

to troubles between the National Erectors' Association (an organization of employers) and the structural ironworkers. The employers engaged in this line of business are, in the aggregate, a body possessing vast wealth and power. They have had unlimited means with which to ferret out the criminals. They have employed as many detectives as they needed, and are said to have made a practice of keeping their own spies and informers inside the ranks of the structural ironworkers. It would seem fair to say, in view of the unlimited means and unstinted effort bestowed upon the detection of crime in the ranks of the structural ironworkers, that not very many of these workingmen could have had guilty complicity. Yet the crimes themselves, as committed seemingly in the name of the structural ironworkers' union, were heinous and revolting; and it was of the highest importance that their perpetrators should be brought to justice. Systematic terrorism had been established and was evidently being supported and carried on by men closely connected with the structural ironworkers' union. It was involving the fair name of labor in a policy of infamy.

*The Trouble  
in  
Los Angeles*

The most shocking of all these crimes was the destruction of the building of a famous newspaper, the Los Angeles Times, on October 1, 1910. The press has lately republished the details, which we may merely recall to memory. At least twenty men were killed as a result of this terrible explosion. An attempt was made to blow up the beautiful home of the proprietor of the Times, Gen. Harrison Gray Otis. The newspapers of the past few weeks have been full of the subsequent disclosures. A famous detective, William J. Burns, had found indications which enabled him to trace the dynamite to the place where it was manufactured and sold, and one clue after another led him finally to the full knowledge that the dynamite outrages had been carried on as a regular business from the central offices of the Structural Ironworkers' Association, at Indianapolis, and that the secretary of this great international union, John J. McNamara, a man of influence and standing among the labor leaders of the country, was the chief organizer and director of these crimes. One of his principal assistants was his brother, James B. McNamara. The completion of the case against these men, as Burns brought it to its final stages, was assisted by the confession of another accomplice and assistant, named Ortie McManigal.

*The  
McNamara  
Case*

John J. McNamara was arrested in Indianapolis on April 22, 1911, and taken to Los Angeles for trial. He had been a prominent figure in the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and his sensational arrest aroused intense excitement throughout the ranks of organized labor. It was claimed that he had been virtually kidnapped, and that his rights in Indiana had been disregarded by those who seized him and took him to California. Whatever might have been the precise truth on that score, it was undoubtedly believed among the members of trade unions that the arrest was made in a high-handed way, and that a citizen of Indiana was being taken to Los Angeles to be tried for his life in an atmosphere of excitement and hostility. It is reasonable to say that these facts might serve to explain the determination of trade unions in general to see that the McNamara brothers had able lawyers to defend them and money enough to procure for them every proper legal advantage. It has been said that organized labor ought to have found means whereby to ferret out these dynamite crimes, in order that it might purge itself from all suspicion. But it must be remembered that the Government, with unlimited resources, is engaged in the detection and punishment of crime, and that, in this particular affair, certain powerful organizations of capital were using every possible effort. That organized labor in general had ever condoned these dynamite crimes, or in any manner apologized for them, cannot for a moment be alleged.

*The  
Confession  
and Sentence*

The situation in Los Angeles was such that it seemed almost impossible to agree upon a jury. After weeks and months of difficulty and delay, the case was suddenly ended by the confession of the McNamaras. They entered the formal plea of guilty on the advice of their chief counsel, Mr. Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago. James B. McNamara had blown up the *Times* building, and the charge against him was murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. His confession had cleared up a situation of great difficulty. John J. McNamara confessed guilty complicity in the blowing up of the Llewellyn Iron Works, and was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. After months of effort, Mr. Darrow had become convinced that it was better for his clients to confess than to stand trial. He not only knew that they were guilty, but he also knew that Detective



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**WILLIAM J. BURNS**

(The famous detective who gathered conclusive evidence against the McNamaras, which precipitated their confessions. Mr. Burns' clues were clock mechanisms which had failed to work, and their accompanying explosives. After much difficulty and many setbacks, he traced these materials to their manufacturers, found out who had purchased them, and obtained a confession from the bomb-placer himself)



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JUDGE WALTER BORDWELL, WHO PRONOUNCED SENTENCE UPON THE McNAMARAS



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DISTRICT-ATTORNEY JOHN D. FREDERICKS  
(Who ably prepared the people's case)

the defense. Yet organized labor throughout the country had so convinced itself of the innocence of these men that, if they had been convicted while still protesting that they were guiltless, and if James B. McNamara had thus gone to the gallows, millions of men would have believed him a martyr in the cause of labor. Moreover, this feeling among the workingmen that the McNamaras were innocent must not be treated with any contempt. During the period of strain in Los Angeles an unusually keen and experienced group of newspaper correspondents were in attendance from all parts of the country to report the proceedings. It is said that these newspaper men, with few if any exceptions, were inclined to think the McNamaras innocent up to the very approach of the confession that ended the case.

*As to "Men  
Higher Up"*

After the collapse of the McNamara defense Mr. Burns, the detective, declared that there was ample evidence to convict various other labor leaders of guilty knowledge and complicity in dynamite crimes. The name of Mr. Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, was constantly printed in many newspapers in such a way as to give the public an impression that there was reason to think Mr. Gompers practically as guilty as John J. McNamara. If anybody had the slightest reason to think that Mr. Gompers knew of the guilt of the McNamaras, or that he was in some manner implicated in the dynamite

Burns and District-Attorney Fredericks had a case so complete and conclusive that it could not be broken down. Furthermore, attempts to bribe jurors had further injured



outrages, nothing of value as evidence was brought forward that could lead any fair-minded man to doubt the sincerity of Mr. Gompers' emphatic denials. The chief officers of the American Federation of Labor have no more to do with the details of the internal management of the scores of international trade unions that are rather loosely combined in the Federation than the national administration at Washington has to do with the running of the sheriff's office in a Texas county.

*Gompers and the Civic Federation* Mr. Gompers could seemingly have had no possible motive for condoning crimes of violence perpetrated in the name of labor. His public record has been against such things. He is the vice-president of the National Civic Federation, of which the Hon. Seth Low of New York is president. We have in this country no citizen of purer motives, calmer judgment, or more disinterested patriotism than Seth



Photograph from Collier's Weekly

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS

(President of the American Federation of Labor)

Low. The National Civic Federation is controlled by representatives of the employing class, representatives of organized labor, and well-known men standing as representatives of the general public. One of the chief objects of the Civic Federation has been to improve the relations between capital and labor and to promote peaceful methods of adjusting all disputes. Mr. Low himself has repeatedly acted as arbitrator in difficulties of this kind, and knows his ground. The Civic Federation has regarded Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Morrison, and the other labor leaders who are connected with it as sincerely and loyally devoted to their own cause, while also working with every appearance of good faith to prevent strife and discord and to find peaceable remedies for labor disputes. In the recent annual meeting of the American Federation, held in Atlanta in November, the more extreme and rabid elements in the labor movement did everything in their power to break Mr. Gompers down because of his membership in the Civic Federation and his association with men like Seth Low.

*Some Obvious Truths*

We have in this country certain organizations of employers who are as bitter in their hostility to all forms of labor organization as the most violent of the laborites are fanatical against their supposed enemies. If the men who have uttered charges against Mr. Gompers and other labor leaders have any ground to stand upon, they should lose no time in making their accusations in the courts of justice, where the accused can have an opportunity



MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW  
(Chief counsel for the McNamara case)



to defend themselves. Every good citizen desires to have the dynamite outrages fully investigated, and to have every guilty person brought to book, and is glad to know that the whole truth is likely to be discovered. Differences between employers and workmen must be kept strictly subject to the laws of the land. If workmen see fit to go out on strike, they must use no violence or intimidation against others who may take their places, and least of all must they resort to secret crime. Happily, there is not a large amount of crime connected with labor troubles,—when one considers how intensely these disputes stir up men's emotions. The employer's business is vital to his prosperity and welfare, on the one hand; and the workman's job, on the other hand, means shelter, food, and clothing for his wife and children. Protracted strikes and deadlocks are calamities of a frightful sort. It is a wonderful tribute therefore, to our civilization that there is so little of open violence, and also so little of revengeful secret assault upon life and property, of the kind against which General Otis in Los Angeles has been contending. Most of our citizens, employers and employees alike, have accepted the general rules of civilization. They wish to assert what they believe to be their rights, but they do not wish to become criminals or to go beyond the metes and bounds of the law. Since this is true, we have every reason for the encouraging belief that labor and capital may constantly find larger areas of common interest and better methods for composing all their differences. There must be an end of the war spirit in such relationships. There should be mutual respect and a full understanding that each needs the other. Friendly diplomacy and just arbitration ought to settle every labor dispute, precisely as friendly diplomacy and just arbitration ought to settle every difference arising between nations.

*The Enemy  
of  
Society*

The dynamiter is a social enemy. He is a far more dangerous person than the ordinary criminal, who offends in the domain of private well-being. The less of a common criminal, the worse he is. When in the name of "labor" the Los Angeles *Times* building was destroyed, the attack was against the very foundations of civilized society. If a private enemy, having a personal grudge, had attempted to take the life of General Otis, it would have been a serious crime. But an attempt to take his life for the reason that he edited his newspaper in a certain way, and carried on his business in

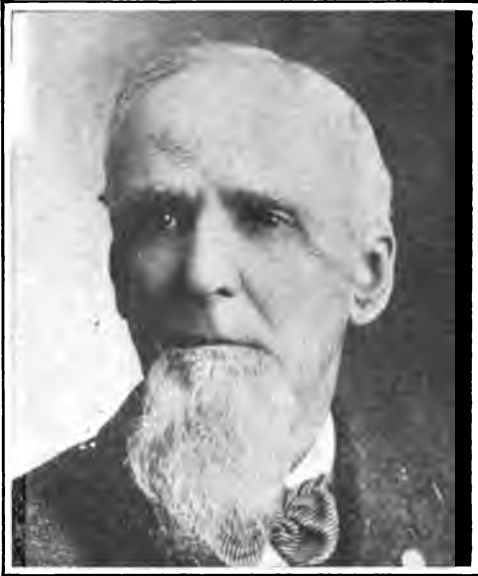
a certain way, was an infinitely more serious matter. The freedom of the press must be preserved in this country at all hazards. It must not be thought that a newspaper building can be wrecked with dynamite because some movement or organization dislikes the politics or the economic views of the editor. Nor must it be thought that an employer's factory may be destroyed because he refuses to employ union labor, or will not permit a walking delegate to dictate to him about his affairs. It is a serious question whether capital punishment in the case of an ordinary private murder is in any way desirable. But society must defend itself against enemies who would destroy civilization as such. The anarchist who throws a bomb because he would destroy government is entitled to no mercy, whether his bomb kills anybody or not. If any man deserves to be hung, it is the assassin who strikes at the representative of public authority, or the dynamiter who attacks the fundamental conditions of economic society. For this reason, the detective, William J. Burns, has rendered our country a public service of inestimable value. Every possible effort should be continued to discover and punish everybody who may have been connected with these crimes, perpetrated in the name of a movement. The more it can be shown that the dynamiter is a fanatic, and not a crook or a criminal in the ordinary sense of the word, the more dangerous he is, and, therefore, the more necessary it is to treat him as if guilty of treason in the extreme sense of the word and to punish him accordingly.

*Los Angeles  
and  
Socialism* The Los Angeles municipal campaign, about which something was said in these pages last month, culminated, on December 5, in the reelection of Mayor Alexander at the head



THE SNAKE IN THE GRASS  
From the *Star* (Montreal)

of the Good Government ticket and the decisive defeat of the Socialist candidate, Mr. Job Harriman. In newspaper explanations of the election much was made of the fact that the confessions of the McNamara brothers had been made public only a few days before, and it was very generally assumed that the candidacy of Mr. Harriman, who was of counsel for the condemned men, suffered seriously as a result. It seems probable, however, that the Socialist ticket would have been defeated if the confessions had never been made. The Good Government party in Los Angeles offered the voters practically all that the Socialists have promised in Schenectady, Milwaukee, and other cities where they have been successful. Indeed the municipal ownership program of Mayor Alexander, who is himself a man of the highest character and of proved efficiency in office, is more inclusive than any Socialist program that has yet been carried into effect in this country. In Schenectady, last November, many voters supported the Socialist ticket because Dr. Lunn and his followers promised good government. If those same voters had been citizens of Los Angeles, last month, thousands of them would have supported Mayor Alexander for precisely the same reason. There was no compelling reason why Los Angeles should swing over to Socialism just at a time when the prospects for progressive government under other auspices were especially bright. An ordinance providing for the establishment of a municipal newspaper,—the first of its kind,—was submitted to popular vote and adopted by a large majority. A prohibition ordinance, on the other hand, was overwhelmingly defeated. The victorious party favors a municipal telephone system, and even city-owned bakeries and laundries have been advocated.



MAYOR ALEXANDER OF LOS ANGELES  
(Reelected last month at the head of a "Good Government" movement which defeated the Socialists)

*How the  
Women Voted*

It is believed that 90 per cent. of the women of Los Angeles who were registered as voters actually exercised the suffrage. This active participation of the woman voters in the first important election to be held in California since the adoption of the suffrage amendment has been used as an argument by both friends and opponents of woman suffrage. The suffragists point to it as evidence of the real eagerness of the women to avail themselves of the franchise. It seems a good answer to the man who is always saying: "Let her have it if she wants it." The anti-suffragists, on the other hand, maintain that the women in Los Angeles who did not believe in woman suffrage felt compelled to come out and vote in order to make the defeat of the Socialists certain. They regard the suffrage as a burden that should not be imposed upon them by the men. Do the women of other cities, they ask, wish to be placed under similar compulsion to vote when the same result would be attained by leaving the duty to the men? Third-party Prohibitionists have always held to equal suffrage as one of the mainstays of their faith; yet it seems certain that if all the women voters of Los Angeles had voted for prohibition the city would to-day be as dry as the Desert of Sahara. Just how big a part the women had in defeating socialism and prohibition in Los Angeles can never be known. It seems not unreasonable to infer



"THE FEMALE OF THE SPECIES IS MORE DEADLY THAN THE MALE"

From the *Journal* (Detroit)



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HON. MARCUS SMITH

(To be United States Senator from Arizona)

that even without their votes Alexander would have been elected and prohibition defeated; but however that may have been the women of the city, both the opponents and the advocates of equal suffrage, are deserving of praise for the manner in which they met the issue that was presented. Their conduct has gone far to confirm the confidence of those who have steadily maintained that the American woman is equal to the fullest responsibilities of American citizenship.

Forty-Eight  
States  
in 1912

The new commonwealth of Arizona, with a population approaching a quarter of a million and an area of 113,000 square miles (including 40,000,000 acres of vacant public lands), begins the year 1912 with a full-fledged State government. Even leaving the public lands out of account, Arizona has more land over which to distribute her people than New York State has, with thirty-five times as great a population. Whatever may be said of those vast stretches of sage-brush and cactus,—and it is not all a desert waste by any means,—the fact remains that Arizona and New Mexico, now organized as States of the Union, complete the articulated political system which originated with the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic seaboard and gradually extended itself across the continent. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, the United States is now a homogeneous nation, made up of forty-eight self-governing bodies politic, each one of which

has complete home rule, so far as its own local affairs are concerned. No part of the territory lying within our national boundaries,—save the District of Columbia itself,—is any longer governed from Washington. Alaska and our insular possessions alone remain "Territories" in the accustomed sense of the word. There was a time when the West was cut off from the rest of the country by barriers political as well as geographical. That time has passed forever; the frontier of yesterday has been wiped off the map. The Rocky Mountains could not bar the steady advance of those political ideals and methods that we think of as distinctively American, any more than they could stop the onrush of settlement. In the fullness of time the privileges and duties of what we call Statehood had to come to California and Colorado, just as earlier they had come to Ohio and Illinois.

Arizona's  
First State  
Election

For better, for worse, those privileges and duties now devolve on the voters of Arizona, who on December 12 elected State officers and a legislature and by advisory vote chose two United States Senators whom the members to the Legislature are pledged to elect at the coming session. The popular choice fell on two Democrats, who are classed as progressives,—the Hon. Marcus Smith, who had served the Territory of Arizona during eight terms as Delegate in Congress, and the Hon. Henry Ashurst. In sending these men to the Senate, Arizona seems disposed to emulate the good example of Oklahoma, whose representation in the upper house has been distinctly creditable from the first. Mr. Smith, from his sixteen years' service in the House, is already well known, but Mr. Ashurst will enter the Senate as a new man in Washington public life. Exceptionally shrewd observers have been greatly impressed by Mr. Ashurst's platform appearances during the recent campaign. It is said that he acquitted himself with marked ability as a political speaker. Carl Hayden, who was elected as Representative in Congress, is also a progressive Democrat. The Democrats were further successful in electing their entire State ticket, headed by the Hon. George W. P. Hunt for Governor, and a majority of the Legislature. Congress having imposed as a condition of the State's admission the rescinding of the judicial recall in the constitution, the popular vote to that effect was virtually unanimous; but it is said that most of the members-elect of the Legisla-

ture had already been pledged to resubmit the judicial recall to the people at the first opportunity. There will be nothing to prevent their voting it back if they so desire. It will be remembered that New Mexico held her first election in November.

*The  
Business  
Outlook*

The new year opens with a better promise of business confidence. Such a pessimistic view as that given in *The Outlook* last month by President Vanderlip of the National City Bank of New York is the exception rather than the rule. Mr. Vanderlip is quoted as saying that "every line of business having to do with capital expenditure—with anything, in fact, other than supplying the day-to-day consumptive needs of the country—is prostrated"; and that business has ahead of it one of the most serious situations of the generation. Commenting on this view in the *Wall Street Journal*, bankers, presidents of boards of trade and business men representing the sentiment of sixteen States were unanimous in the opinion that Mr. Vanderlip had exaggerated the seriousness of whatever business ills there might be. For example, a typical Western opinion was that fundamental conditions were sound, although not so prosperous as they have been many times in the past. A Northwestern banker declared that business in that section was practically normal,—that there was nothing in sight to cause any serious apprehension. And from a Southern bank president came the cheering assertion that "we are not so badly hurt as we thought we were."

*Optimism  
as Regards  
Sherman Law*

The suggestion is made that in interpreting the wide range of information at his disposal, Mr. Vanderlip failed to take into account the fact that much of the anxiety over the Government's attitude toward the "trusts" had been dispelled by recent events. The final working out of the Supreme Court's decisions in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco trust cases, for instance, is believed, by many careful students, to have been accomplished in such a way as to justify the conclusion that any further adjustments of "big business" to conform to the Sherman law can be effected with a minimum of friction and without vital injury to investors or serious disturbance of business interests at large. This diminished fear that innocent investors and established industry might suffer disaster from the Sherman law is entirely consistent with the view that the effectiveness of the law

itself should be carefully considered both from the standpoint of the corporation and the standpoint of the citizen who may feel himself injured by an offending corporation. Many honest and clear-headed men believe that it is highly difficult for some business organizations to know,—even with the aid of the best legal advice, and the recent court decisions—whether they are doing business lawfully or not. On the other side, it is true that in the present form of the Sherman law and the manner of its application there is no simple formula by which a citizen or business, injured by an offending combination, can obtain relief.

*Foreign  
Trade in  
1911*

One authority who does not consider that business is in a state of "prostration" points out that there is an irreducible minimum of business made necessary by our great population which provides "substantial employment for a large percentage of all our energies in manufacture, commerce, transportation, and finance." Nor does it appear that in 1911 the volume of business had declined to anywhere near that minimum. The home markets undoubtedly were less active than in former periods of prosperity, but abroad the country's goods were in greater demand than ever before. Exports during the year were in excess of \$2,000,000,000, this being \$100,000,000 above the record mark. And it is true that imports again reached an enormous total (less, however, than in 1910), the balance with which to pay our debts to foreigners being far from disappointing. It is significant that on the export side, manufactures contributed largely to the increase. For example, during October, the latest month for which statistics are available, they had risen to an average of \$3,000,000 for every business day of the month. The total of exports of manufactures ready for consumption was \$52,800,000 during that period, and of manufactures ready for further use, \$26,700,000. These are the largest totals exported in any October in the history of our trade. Indeed they were exceeded but once before in any month. Another encouraging feature of the year's foreign commerce is that the gain on the export side was widely distributed, indicating the successful development of new markets by our merchants and manufacturers. Along with this encouraging news of increasing foreign trade there came in November a decided improvement in the metal markets, including a better price for copper than had been known for many months.



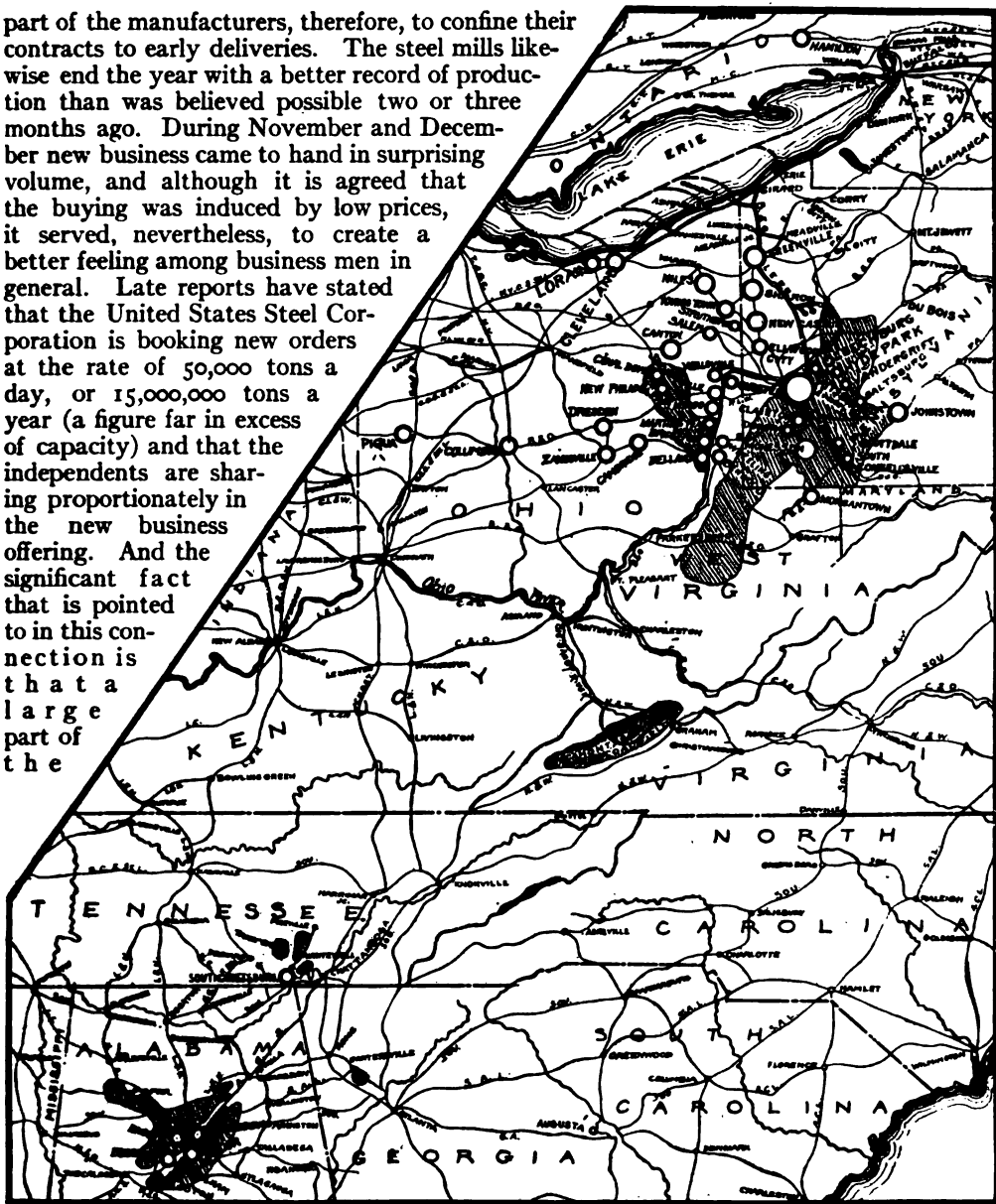
MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF THE STEEL CORPORATION'S IRON ORE PROPERTIES, ITS PRINCIPAL RAILROADS (INDICATED BY SOLID, HEAVY LINES), AND STEAMSHIP ROUTES

(The "Great Northern Ore Lands" are in the Mesaba Range of Minnesota)

*A Revival  
in the  
Steel Industry*

Iron is most conspicuous among the industries that closed the year with records considerably in excess of earlier expectations. In estimating the 1911 output of that product at close to 24,000,000 tons, or but 6 per cent. below the record year 1910, the *Iron Age* says that the performance is one "far beyond what the trade had been willing to believe, as the various disappointments of the year have in turn disclosed themselves." In this there is less encouragement, of course, than there would be if the level of prices had been higher. But there is no proof that the margin of profit has at any time approached the danger mark. Moreover, the trade authorities have lately been reporting a tendency toward higher prices, and a disposition on the

part of the manufacturers, therefore, to confine their contracts to early deliveries. The steel mills likewise end the year with a better record of production than was believed possible two or three months ago. During November and December new business came to hand in surprising volume, and although it is agreed that the buying was induced by low prices, it served, nevertheless, to create a better feeling among business men in general. Late reports have stated that the United States Steel Corporation is booking new orders at the rate of 50,000 tons a day, or 15,000,000 tons a year (a figure far in excess of capacity) and that the independents are sharing proportionately in the new business offering. And the significant fact that is pointed to in this connection is that a large part of the



THE STEEL CORPORATION'S PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURING PLANTS (INDICATED BY THE CIRCLES), SHOWING THEIR PROXIMITY TO THE VAST HOLDINGS OF COAL IN PENNSYLVANIA, OHIO, AND WEST VIRGINIA

(The properties in and around Birmingham, Alabama, are those of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, acquired by the Steel Corporation during the 1909 panic)

steel companies' new business has come from the railroads. Large orders for new equipment—more cars and locomotives—were "released" during the last two months of the year. This is interpreted to mean that the transportation lines of the country are making ready to handle larger traffic.

The Report of the Hadley Commission  
President Hadley of Yale and Messrs. Judson, Straus, Fisher and Meyer, composing the commission appointed to inquire into government regulation of the issue of railroad securities, made their report to President Taft and Congress last month. They are unani-

mous in their conclusion that it would be unwise, if indeed not impossible, at this time, to place the issuance of railroad stocks and bonds under federal control. In their recommendations, in fact, they do not go farther than to say that complete publicity is the only requirement that Congress ought to seek to enforce. And by that they do not mean publicity "before the fact," or specific authorization in advance of some administrative body (presumably the Interstate Commerce Commission). That would tend to create an impression in the minds of investors of a governmental guaranty or recognition of value which could not safely be given. On the contrary, the Commission believes that publicity would prove a sufficient safeguard against financial abuses. With that in view, it recommends that a law be passed requiring every railroad doing interstate business, which issues stocks and bonds, to furnish to the Interstate Commerce Commission, at the time of the issue, a full statement of the details of the issue, the amount of the proceeds, and the purposes for which the proceeds are to be used, followed in due time by a full accounting for such proceeds; and to compile for the information of its shareholders all the essential facts of every financial transaction.

*Regulation  
Left to the  
States*

The Securities Commission recommends also that the Interstate Commerce Commission be given certain additional and important powers, among which are the power to investigate all of the financial transactions reported by the railroads for the purpose of determining their good faith, and the power to inquire into the actual cost, as well as the value, of property acquired by or services rendered for the proceeds of stock and bond issues. It would permit the companies to deal with their credit as best they may—that is, it would place no restriction on the price at which securities may be sold. It favors, however, the suggestion that capital stock be issued without par value. Other phases of regulation the Commission would leave to the States, under whose charters the railroads operate and to whose laws they are subject. It would urge strongly upon the States, however, the desirability of a concerted effort to harmonize existing requirements. The Commission believes that it is possible to "standardize" railroad securities by Federal law to no greater extent than the pure food law standardizes food. "The Government," it says, "cannot protect investors against the consequences of their un wisdom in buying unprofitable bonds

any more than the food law can protect consumers against the consequences of their un wisdom in eating indigestible food."

*Chicago  
Packers Must  
Stand Trial*

On December 5 the Supreme Court of the United States denied the motion made by counsel for the Chicago beef-packers for a stay of their trial on the indictments against them charging a conspiracy in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman law. On the day following, the trial was begun in the United States District Court at Chicago. It will be recalled that the basis of the motion for a stay of proceedings was the contention that the constitutionality of the Sherman law, as a criminal statute, has been attacked in several cases now before the courts and that the highest court has never passed on the question. On the same grounds, the packers applied during November to a lower court for a writ of habeas corpus, and being denied, also took appeal from that judgment to the Supreme Court, where it is still pending. The packers' attorneys began by putting a good many obstacles in the way of the speedy selection of a jury, and by making it evident in other ways that the cases will be more bitterly fought than any similar ones yet brought to trial.

*Politics at  
the National  
Capital*

It was not to be expected that the first regular session of the Sixty-second Congress, which began on December 4, would have accomplished much work of importance before adjournment for the Christmas holidays. The atmosphere of the capital city during December was intensely political. The National Republican Committee, which in propriety should have met at Chicago or St. Louis to perform its routine work in preparation for next June's convention, went to Washington, where it involved itself busily in the personal intrigues of those supporting particular candidates. It is not the function of the National Republican Committee to make nominations in advance, or to select a committee of arrangements in the interest of any particular candidate. Its obvious duty is to serve the Republican party as a whole and not to make itself subservient to any individual's ambition. In one way or in another the Republican voters, in their respective States, will find opportunity to express their preferences. If they find that they are not represented in the sending of delegates to the national convention that will meet at Chicago on June 18, they will express themselves without restraint



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 12,  
MR. HILL, OF MAINE, PRESIDING

in the voting booths on November 5. At Washington the National Committee elected ex-Governor Hill of Maine as temporary chairman, in place of Postmaster-General Hitchcock, and it made Mr. New of Indiana chairman of the committee on arrangements for the Chicago convention. As was expected, the National Committee's proceedings were all conducted with deference to the wishes of President Taft, and upon the supposition that political arrangements already perfected throughout the country have made his renomination certain.

*Republican  
Sentiment  
Up to Date*

Unfortunately, as it would seem, there has been a vast deal of misdirected energy devoted to the safeguarding of a given result, long in advance. Whatever may have been the bargains with the State machines, the Republican voters will not feel themselves under any bonds or obligations. Even the Republicans of Ohio have made it entirely clear that they feel at liberty to seek a candidate, and to resist having a candidate imposed upon them. The same thing is obviously true of the Republicans of the State of New York. The Republicans of Indiana are in such marked disagreement that the only way to ascertain their views will be through some form of Presiden-

tial primary. Everywhere there is a growing demand for unpledged delegations to an old-fashioned Republican convention, that will find a candidate who will best please the party and the country. Mr. Taft's strength will be



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

MR. BROOKER OF CONNECTICUT, COLONEL NEW OF INDIANA, AND EX-GOVERNOR MURPHY OF NEW JERSEY

(Who are members of the National Republican Committee. Colonel New is chairman of the committee on arrangements for the next Republican national convention)





Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

EX-GOVERNOR HILL, OF MAINE, THE NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND MR. HAYWARD, OF NEBRASKA, THE COMMITTEE'S SECRETARY

very great in the convention, but it is apparently a strength that relies upon the efforts of federal office-holders or local political machines. Mr. La Follette's strength is based upon a very considerable personal following of people who believe in their candidate's courage, ability, and radical program. It would be unfair to Mr. La Follette to regard him as a self-seeking candidate. He was put in the field by the leaders of the progressive movement within the Republican party, who believed that their movement would better gain ground if it had a Presidential candidate of its own. It is well understood that Mr. La Follette himself strongly urged Senator Cummins, of Iowa, to allow himself to be placed at the head of this movement. Taft and La Follette are the only Republican candidates in the field. It is indeed very possible that particular States may bring forward "favorite sons." Thus the stir-up in Indiana may well lead the voters of that State to decide whether or not they

would like to have the name of Beveridge or that of Fairbanks presented to the convention. Rather than support either Taft or La Follette, Iowa Republicans might prefer to present the name of Cummins.

*Roosevelt  
and the  
Nomination*

Behind the scenes, two names are constantly heard where Republicans of experience are in private conference. One is Roosevelt, and the other is Hughes. The Roosevelt movement seems to be gathering force all over the country. While a Hughes movement under the circumstances is not to be expected, there is talk everywhere of Justice Hughes as a highly available "dark horse." There has been a great deal of talk in the newspapers about the "intentions" of Mr. Roosevelt, and whether he is going to "declare himself" or not. Most of this talk has been instigated for the purpose of confusing the ordinary reader. Mr. Roosevelt is a well-known citizen now in private life, enjoying perfect health and the full vigor of a man in his prime. There is no possible reason why he should not accept the Republican nomination, if the party desires to confer it upon him. He has no machine behind him, whether local or national. He is not holding out his hat asking for anything; and if he were seeking the nomination his very solicitude for it would be a good reason for refusing to let him have it. The Presidency is too responsible an affair to be sought by any man. But there is at this moment no prominent man in either party who is called upon to announce that he would not take a nomination from his own party if given to him.

*Not a  
Self-Seeker*

It is presumable that neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Justice Hughes desires to be nominated. But either man is strong enough to take the responsibility if conferred. Men who are eagerly pushing their own claims for the Presidency show bad taste and doubtful fitness. Mr. Roosevelt never pushed himself for any high office. He was made Police Commissioner by Mayor Strong when he was doing thankless work as head of the Civil Service Board in Washington. He was nominated for Governor of New York after the Spanish war by a party organization that needed him and wanted him. He was made Vice-President against his personal wishes, when he preferred to take another term as Governor. He obeyed the will of the party, in the year 1900, at what seemed to be his own personal disadvantage. The nomination came to him in

1904 as the overwhelming, unquestioned demand of the rank and file of the party. The nomination would have come to him again in 1908 if he had not resisted it in every possible way. If it should come to him in 1912 it will not be through any intriguing on his part, or through anything else except a yielding to the will of the Republican party. There can be no reason whatever for consulting Colonel Roosevelt as to his wishes or intentions. He is in every sense available for the nomination if the Republican party wants him. No statement of any kind is due from Colonel Roosevelt, nor from any other available Republican.

*Other Names  
in  
Evidence*

Certainly none is due from Justice Hughes. If the Republican convention should unanimously nominate Charles E. Hughes, and then adjourn, it would be proper to allow him some days in which to make up his mind and give his answer to a notification committee. There would be no reason or propriety in bothering him in advance. In the Democratic field, there is no indication of a decided preference for one candidate over another. Governor Harmon, Governor Wilson, and Speaker Clark are the foremost candidates; while Mr. Underwood, Mr. Folk of Missouri, Mr. Marshall of Indiana, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst, as well as Governor Dix and Mayor Gaynor, are among those whose names one constantly hears. The difficulty in a Republican national convention is the control of a great block of Southern delegates through the use of federal patronage. The trouble in a



SECRETARY STIMSON AND MAJOR-GENERAL WOOD,  
FROM A RECENT SNAPSHOT

Democratic convention is the traditional rule that the successful candidate must have a two-thirds support rather than a simple majority.

*Legislation  
and  
Politics*

It is impossible to persuade the country that the political motive does not enter into the actions of Congress in the months preceding a general election. Even the most sincere advocates of decisive action against the Russian treaty on account of the passport question would admit that the stirring action of the House in passing the Sulzer bill with only one opposing vote had its political aspects. The same thing would apply to the passing of the Sherwood Pension bill through the House, although that subject is one which ought never to be dismissed without very careful analysis of all the leading facts and details. There will be ample time for the country to go into this question carefully before the Senate has finished the debate that will not begin for several weeks. The tariff question is already in the very storm center of politics; but the precise way in which it will emerge for campaign discussion has yet to be decided. The report of the Tariff Board on the wool schedule was not ready for transmission to Congress in time to be used or considered before the holiday recess. The Democratic House fully expects to revise several leading schedules on the same general plan as adopted in the Underwood bills last spring.



TEACHER TAFT: "NOW, BOYS, WORK HARD AND  
KEEP YOUR EYES OFF THE CLOCK"

(The boys at the front are La Follette, Cummins, Champ  
Clark, Bourne, and Underwood)  
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)

"Scientific  
Management"  
at Washington

The demand for greater industrial efficiency that has made itself heard of late in our workshops, in our engineering schools, and even in our colleges and universities, is echoed in more than



Photographs Copyrighted by Harris & Ewing, Washington  
 Captain J. P. Ellison      Mr. S. A. Thompson  
 RETIRING SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND  
 HARBORS CONGRESS, AND HIS SUCCESSOR IN OFFICE

one of the annual departmental reports to Congress. The big government departments have evidently set on foot some very searching inquiries during the year just closed, with the result that a good many ways have been found by which Uncle Sam's business can be conducted far more economically than in the past, without in the slightest degree impairing the value of the service rendered. The assertion, however, that reforms of this nature have converted a Post Office deficit into a surplus is an unwarranted reflection upon previous Postmasters-General. The natural increase in the country's business fully accounts for this change. In the War and Navy Departments, where the principles of business management have a less obvious application, there is notably much more attention given than formerly to the requirements of sound and economical administrative policy. Secretary Stimson's first annual report as head of the War Department deplores the costly and utterly ineffective distribution of the army into nine-company garrisons scattered over the country without reference to the exigencies of warfare, and recommends concentration and a logical disposition of the bodies of troops that make up our effective military force. As to the Navy Department, Secretary Meyer makes a strong case for the abolition of certain navy yards that have long been maintained at excessive expense and at slight benefit to the Government. The chief opposition to these reforms will come, of course, from the localities that have profited from the misplaced army posts and the useless navy yards.

*Rivers and Harbors* The National Rivers and Harbors Congress, which held its annual session in Washington early last month, presented resolutions to the President

and to Congress, urging the adoption by the Government of a broad, comprehensive, systematic, and continuous policy of waterway improvement and the continuance of annual Congressional appropriations for rivers and harbors. It was further recommended that the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission be enlarged to the end that there may be more effectual regulation of competing land and water carriers, as well as provision for the interchange of traffic. The importance of starting the work of providing adequate and properly equipped terminal facilities was recognized by the convention, and towns and cities situated on navigable water courses were urged to undertake this work at once. Representative Sparkman, chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House of Representatives, predicted that within the next fifteen years the national Congress, by a legislative plan, will have provided for the development of every available river and harbor in the United States.

*Progress  
 in Wireless  
 Telegraphy*

Marconi rejoiced when, in 1897, he succeeded in sending a wireless message a distance of three miles. By 1907 he had established regular wireless communication across the Atlantic. Since then vessels have been "picked up" at sea from shore stations at distances of from 2000 to 4000 miles. In November last Marconi sent a message from the Coltano Station, in Italy, to the Glace Bay Station in Nova Scotia, 4000 miles. The San Francisco operator, a month earlier, conversed for a period of fifteen minutes with the Japanese station on the Island of Hokushu, a distance of 6000 miles. Wireless communication, it is expected, will be opened up between Italy and Argentina with the completion of the new station at Buenos Ayres. The air line distance between these stations will be 7000 miles. The installation of wireless apparatus on ships is being gradually extended. Until recently few vessels outside of warships and steamers of the liner class have been so equipped. Now various countries are by legislation compelling many smaller passenger-carrying craft to install such apparatus. Great Britain is reported to be planning the establishment of a chain of wireless stations to encircle the globe. This is to be a subsidized system under the control of the Post Office Department. Such a chain of stations would give England wireless connection with her colonial possessions in various parts of the world, making her independent of cables, which are liable to be cut in time of war.

*American  
Passports  
in Russia*

For many years the State Department has been endeavoring to come to an agreement with Russia over the vexed question of passports. The Russian Government claims the right to exercise a closer supervision of the movements of its population than does any of the other great powers. Russia has always denied the right of her subjects to emigrate, or to change their allegiance without express permission—which she seldom gives. She has, moreover, always frankly discriminated against certain classes of her own population, and denied them rights and privileges accorded to others within her borders. The rest of the world has never hesitated to condemn these autocratic claims and reactionary discriminations as opposed to progress and as unethical. The Russian people themselves have been waging an age-long battle against the oppressive policies of their government, and, despite temporary setbacks, are certain to win in the end. Occasionally one of Russia's antiquated and unjust customs or prejudices runs counter to the opinions of the rest of the world in a way that occasions and justifies vigorous protest. The rights of foreigners traveling in Russia have been the subject of one of the most troublesome of these points of difference. The entire world, it may be said, has a grievance against Russia over the passport question.

*The  
Treaty  
of 1832*

According to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded between the American and the Russian Governments in 1832, the inhabitants of both the countries shall "mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places, and rivers of the territory of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted."

They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs; and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside, on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.

Provided, further, that the wording of the treaty "shall not derogate in any manner from the force of the laws already published, or which may hereafter be published, by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to prevent the emigration of his subjects." According to the terms of the instrument it cannot be abrogated until a year from the first of January after it has been denounced by one of the two parties.

*Discrimination  
Against  
Hebrews*

An agitation has been going on for many years to secure for every American citizen, whatever his race or faith, equal treatment in the land of the Czar. There has been a great deal of proper and growing weariness at the long delay in securing dignified and proper treatment of the American citizens of Jewish birth traveling in Russia. Jewish editors and prominent Hebrews in all walks of life had been demanding the abrogation of the treaty as the only way to bring Russia to terms. The question became a subject of national discussion early last month, when President Taft referred to it in his message to Congress on foreign affairs, when the cabinet discussed it, when the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives held a hearing with regard to alleged violations of the treaty, and when, on December 13, Representative Sulzer's resolution denouncing the compact was adopted by the House. Meanwhile the United States Government had taken up the matter with the Russian Government through our Ambassador, Mr. Curtis Guild, at St. Petersburg. The Russian Foreign Office then issued a statement in the semi-official journal, the *Rossia*, setting forth its case. It admits its willingness to admit American Jews to Russia, were it not for the fact that Russia cannot give Jews of other countries rights and privileges which she denies to Jews of her own country. The traveler with an American passport, once past the frontier, should, of course, be at liberty to visit any part of the empire; but the Russian Jews cannot do this, therefore, says the Russian organ, we cannot discriminate in favor of the foreigner against our own people. Moreover, in support of its contention that the matter has been greatly exaggerated, the *Rossia* claims that the American passports of only three Hebrews were refused last year. It should not be forgotten, however, that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Hebrews have been deterred from traveling in Russia by the fear that their American credentials would not be honored.

*Abrogating  
the  
Treaty*

The day after this statement appeared in the *Rossia*, the new passport bill was laid before the Duma. This measure, however, contained nothing which bore on the agitation for passport rights in Russia for American Jews. Heretofore Russian foreign ministers have declined to discuss the subject. Now we learn that Ambassador Guild has actually begun a series of negotiations with Foreign



EMINENT AMERICAN HEBREWS WHO PROTESTED TO CONGRESS AND IN THE PUBLIC PRINTS AGAINST RUSSIA'S REFUSAL TO HONOR AMERICAN PASSPORTS WHEN PRESENTED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR RACE AND DEMANDED THE ABROGATION OF THE TREATY

(From left to right, first row: Mr. Louis Marshall, New York; Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia; ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor and ex-Ambassador Oscar S. Straus, New York; Congressman Henry M. Goldfogle. Second row: Dr. Herbert Freidenwald, Baltimore; Colonel Henry C. Cutler, Providence; Judge Leon Sanders, New York; Samuel Dorf)

Minister Sazonoff. The new Russian Ambassador Bakmetieff, who recently arrived in Washington, is reported to be invested with authority to negotiate a revision of the treaty of 1832. Upon the passage of the Sulzer resolution, the Ambassador intimated to the State Department that the wording of that document was offensive to Russia. It had been expected that the Senate would at once adopt the Sulzer resolution (presented in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Upper House by Senator Culberson) and thus, by the joint action of Congress, the treaty would be denounced before the Christmas holidays. In view, however, of the resentment of the Russian Government at the form in which the resolution was passed by the House, and also because it was realized by the Cabinet and the Senate that weighty foreign matters should be handled as diplomatically as possible, President Taft, on December 18, after a Cabinet meeting, sent a special message on the subject to the Senate notifying that body that, owing to Russia's construction of the treaty, that instrument is regarded by this Government as without effect. Thus, by

executive action, the treaty would be abrogated. It was expected that the Senate would ratify this action of the Executive at once without the offensive phraseology of the Sulzer resolution ever coming to the official knowledge of Russia. Denunciation of a treaty by the President and the Senate together would be a logical method, based on the way in which the treaties are concluded by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. After all, it is not a question of whether or not Russia has actually violated the treaty. The American people have come to regard that compact as antiquated since it apparently permits of the treatment of a certain class of American citizens in a manner not comfortable with their rights, or with the enlightened practice of modern civilized nations.

*Probable  
Effect of  
Abrogation*

It has been assumed that the termination of the treaty of 1832 would be followed by strained relations between the two countries, and perhaps by commercial war. This is an unwarrantable assumption. The commercial

relations between the United States and Russia, so far as actual interchange of goods is concerned, are based not on the provisions of this treaty, but on the President's proclamation regarding the maximum and minimum provisions of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. Should Russia discriminate against American goods or exports to America,—which seems unlikely,—the minimum rates now levied upon Russian goods would be withdrawn and the maximum rates enforced. Unless Russia, therefore, should herself retaliate, or the United States Congress subsequently change the tariff rates as affecting Russia, the commerce of the two countries will go on as it has before. Furthermore, the treaty of 1832 does not cover the entire field of relations between the two nations. There are many other treaties in force between the two countries, covering all sorts of subjects, from navigation and fishing to extradition, the rights of corporations and the protection of trade marks; from the protection of fur seals and patents to the common adherence to a number of joint international agreements, such as the Algeiras and Hague conventions.

*Only Fair  
Play Asked*

It is true that the termination of the treaty will give both countries the legal opportunity to act in an unfriendly manner one to the other, but such action is quite improbable. American friendship is valuable to Russia. Because it has seen fit to denounce the treaty, the United States for its part has no desire to harass the Czar's empire. Russia has grave internal problems of her own to settle. Her Government regards the admission of Hebrews to Russia as a peril to her institutions. The Russian people believe that the Jewish question is a domestic peril so grave that even the important question of Russo-American relations takes a second place. Americans have no desire to aggravate the gravity of the problems that the Russian people are facing. But they find it difficult to understand the workings of Russia's foreign policy in more than one respect. It is unfortunate that this passport question should have been brought to a final issue just when Russia was demanding the removal from office of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General of Persia. This course has served to confirm the belief already held by a great many Americans that Russia is opposed to the principle of fair play which the people of the United States always want to see prevail when a people like the Persians are struggling to regenerate themselves.



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HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE BAKMETIEFF, THE NEW  
RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR

(He is faced with the most serious problem that has come before a Russian Ambassador in this country for years, that of passports)

*Borden,  
Laurier, and  
the Tariff*

The biggest tariff fight in the history of Canada is expected when the Dominion Parliament reassembles on the tenth day of the present month. Early in the session Premier Borden will introduce a Government resolution for the creation of a permanent tariff commission. Mr. Borden wishes to get the tariff question out of politics. In his friendly address at the dinner of the Canadian Society, held in New York, on December 8, the Canadian Premier, after expressing his conviction that trade between the two countries was bound to increase, that social and sentimental relations, as well as commercial ones, had not been marred by the rejection of reciprocity last September, asserted that, in his opinion, the reciprocity idea was dead beyond resuscitation. This statement has been resented by the Liberals and ex-Premier Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who is stoutly leading the opposition in Parliament. The defeat of reciprocity, Sir Wilfrid has publicly maintained, was not due to a discussion of the question on its merits, but rather to appeals to anti-American prejudice, and to Imperialistic and pro-British sentiment. Therefore, Sir Wilfrid intends to make the introduction of the Premier's tariff commission resolution the occasion for opening the entire tariff question. In this way he

hopes to keep the reciprocity sentiment active in the West. The strength behind the new Government was shown in Parliament, on November 29, when the first vote on party lines was taken. An amendment to a speech made from the throne, offered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was defeated by a majority of 44.

*Anti-Trust and  
Immigration  
Laws*

Early in the session, also, it is expected that the Government will introduce its anti-trust law. Representative Bennett, of Calgary (an Alberta district) and one of the best-known corporation lawyers of the Dominion, is authority for the statement, on behalf of the Government, that the new law will not be "a punitive measure like your [the American] Sherman law. It will create a national commission whose decisions with regard to the issue of securities by corporations, and all relations between corporations and the public, will be final." The Borden Government, furthermore, has decided to reorganize Canada's emigration policy by closing up its agencies in the United States and abandoning its advertising campaign in this country. The Minister of the Interior at Ottawa is reported as saying that this does not mean that Canada does not want American settlers, but that the Government will hereafter concentrate its attention on immigration from Great Britain. It is a rather significant fact that the figures of the emigration of American farmers to the Canadian West during the past three years is more than offset by the immigration of French Canadians to our New England States. A pertinent question arises, Is the exchange a good one for the United States?

*Mexican  
Affairs*

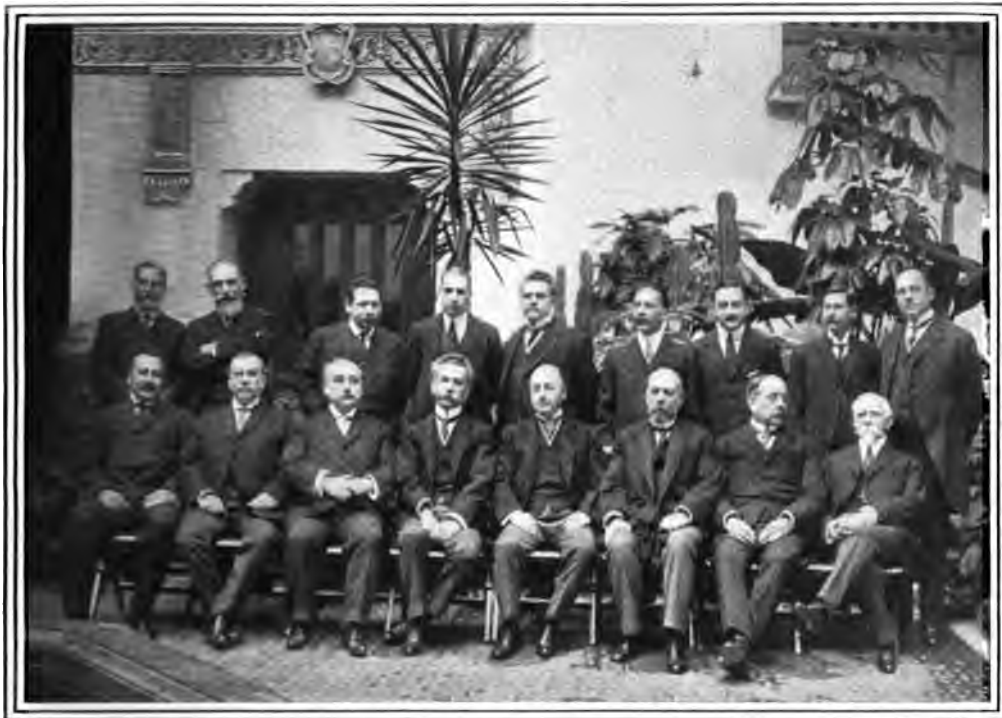
Constant reports are circulated in this country of seditious movements against the Madero administration in Mexico. All the partisans of the old régime, whose opposition to reforms is undying, have apparently combined to discredit the new President. Their number, moreover, has been augmented by many of the lower class illiterates who are losing faith in Madero because, as yet, they have not realized their expectations that the lands of the rich would be distributed among them, and that wages would be largely increased. Of course, Madero never promised these things, but they have been expected by the mass of the peons. The most serious opposition has gathered around General Bernardo Reyes, one of the strong Mexican leaders, several times mentioned as a presidential possibility. On November 18 Gen-

eral Reyes was arrested at San Antonio, Texas, and placed under indictment by the United States Grand Jury on the charge of organizing, on American territory, a military expedition against Mexico. Reyes and his friends have indignantly denied the truth of such charges, but it does not seem likely that the Federal authorities would proceed against so important a personage without having sufficient evidence. In his special message on foreign affairs, sent to Congress on December 7, President Taft summarized our relations with Mexico during the revolution which has placed Señor Madero in the presidential chair. From the facts and documents therein set forth, it would seem that while American rights were properly protected, no undue interference was exercised, or even contemplated, with Mexico's internal affairs. The record of this Government in respect to the recognition of all properly constituted authority in Mexico, says President Taft, is clear of any blot.

*Caribbean  
Politics*

From the Caribbean nations and peoples, with the exception of Santo Domingo, come reports of quiet, orderly progress. In our own island of Porto Rico, Governor George R. Colton tells us, in his report submitted to Congress on November 14, progress in politics and trade has been little short of phenomenal. Venezuela, we learn, is prosperous. Her generals, moreover, have recently defeated ex-President Castro in his attempt to enter the country again and make further trouble. Panama is on the eve of a presidential election. Some of the Panamans have expressed the fear that the United States contemplates interference in favor of one of the candidates. President Taft, however, in his message already quoted, has declared that our obvious concern is in the maintenance of public peace and constitutional order there, "without the manifestation of any preference for the success of either of the political parties." President Ramon Cáceres, of Santo Domingo, was assassinated late in November. Señor Cáceres had been President since 1906, and had made a fairly efficient executive, as Dominican presidents go. On December 9 Eladio Victoria was chosen provisional President by the National Congress, and a new cabinet installed. During the year just closed, the Pan-American Union, formerly known as the Bureau of American Republics, greatly enlarged its practical work as a national organization. The new board of directors includes some of the most eminent names in all Latin America.





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## THE NEW GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION

(From left to right, standing: Francisco Yanes, Assistant Director; Eduardo Suarez Mujica, Chile; Dr. Salvador Castrillo, Nicaragua; Romulo S. Naon, Argentina; Dr. C. M. Pena, Uruguay; Antonio M. Rivero, Cuba; Manuel De Freyre y Santander, Peru; Juan Brin, Panama, and John Barrett, Director. From left to right sitting: Emilio C. Joubert, Santo Domingo; Federico Mejia, Salvador; Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, Costa Rica; Domicio Da Gama, Brazil; Secretary Knox; Gilberto Crespo, Mexico; Ignacio Calderon, Bolivia; P. Ezequiel Rojas, Venezuela)

**The Averted Anglo-German War**

As soon as the French and German governments had come to a complete and definite understanding regarding the Moroccan question and Germany's "compensations" in the Congo, the veil was lifted from the discussion which had been going on for months between Britain and Germany. This interchange is now seen to have been of much graver import to the peace of the world than the "conversations" between Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter and Ambassador Cambon. Two public addresses for which the entire civilized world was almost apprehensively waiting were made by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, and Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Imperial Chancellor. While these two accounts give somewhat opposing impressions of what took place, in London and Berlin, between July 1 and November 1, they are not altogether irreconcilable as to facts. In the House of Commons, on November 27, Sir Edward Grey made an elaborate explanation of the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Germany during these

preceding four months. It is evident that several times between July 1 and September 1 Great Britain and Germany were very near to war. Sir Edward's speech in the Commons, stripped of its minor details, made it plain that, between the arrival of the German vessel, the *Panther*, at Agadir, and the German official explanation that followed the now famous Lloyd-George speech of July 21, the British Foreign Office believed it had the best possible reasons for assuming it to be the deliberate purpose of the German Government, not only to reopen the entire Moroccan question, but to secure for Germany, if not actual territory, at least what is euphemistically called a sphere of interest in the Moorish Empire.

**Sir Edward Grey's Speech**

Primarily, the situation precipitated by the action of Germany in sending a warship to the Moroccan port concerned France and Germany only. The British Government, however, Sir Edward Grey told the Commons, was closely watching the progress of negotiations,





SIR EDWARD GREY, BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS: A NEW PORTRAIT

both as a friend and ally of France and as a world power. From what Sir Edward Grey said and other official information now available, there can be no doubt that the result of the bargaining over Morocco was influenced, if not dominated, by the firm stand taken by Great Britain. It was even stated in a speech in the Commons by Captain Walter Faber, M.P., that the British War Office had planned to send 150,000 troops to help France in case of necessity. Sir Edward Grey stated explicitly and firmly, though in a conciliatory tone, that Germany had not shown clearly that her purpose in sending a warship to Agadir was not to secure territory or concessions in Morocco, or to secure a naval base, "without the participation of Great Britain in the negotiations." The activity of Great Britain, said Sir Edward further, had not been aggressive or antagonistic to Germany, but only "consistently firm" in upholding the right of Great Britain to be consulted, and "courteously explicit in letting the German

Government know that Britain was not willing to see her ally, France, forced to make humiliating concessions." Sir Edward disclaimed any intention to interfere in the affairs of other nations, and professed the highest respect and friendliness for Germany. However, he said: "Let us make all the new friendships we can, by all means, but not at the expense of those we have."

*The  
German  
Reply*

Sir Edward's speech was received with general approval in the Commons. Mr. A. Bonar Law, the new leader of the opposition, strongly supported the Foreign Secretary. The comments of the German and French journals also generally commended the frankness, firmness, and courtesy of Sir Edward's explanations. In substance, the speech was an official confirmation of the fact that, in July last, Great Britain openly assumed the right to veto German expansion in North Africa. This, of course, is the sore point with the Germans, and it formed the keynote to the



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York  
THE GERMAN FOREIGN SECRETARY, HERR VON  
KIDERLEN-WÄCHTER, WHO DID NOT LET  
LOOSE THE DOGS OF WAR

addresses made to the budget committee of the Reichstag on November 17, by Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter, and before the open Parliament, by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, on December 5. The German Foreign Secretary frankly intimated that the British Government had gone beyond its proper sphere in the matter. The authorities at London, said Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter, were kept informed of Germany's intentions through the German Ambassador, Count Wolff-Metternich. The Foreign Secretary had instructed the Ambassador to set forth the German view that a French North African empire, extending from the Tripoli frontier to Senegambia, was of immense concern to all Europe. Great Britain had already been compensated in Egypt, but Germany had received no compensation anywhere. "If France wishes Germany, like England, to take a back seat in Morocco, and keep only her commercial interests, she, France, must give Germany an equivalent." The Chancellor joined with Sir Edward Grey in the wish that better relations might exist between the two peoples, and declared his willingness at all times to avoid any utterances that might cause irritation. "But Germany cannot permit herself to be pushed aside or pressed down by England."

**British Enmity  
Against  
Germany**

While the British press generally commends the action of the Foreign Office in this Moroccan matter, an increasing number of Englishmen are venturing to express disapproval of the time-honored British claim of the right to predominate in international councils, and to point out the danger and folly of the antagonism to Germany which has come to be the mainspring of British foreign politics, Mr. Stead, in his *English Review of Reviews*, openly charges Sir Edward Grey with being obsessed with the belief that Germany is Britain's inveterate enemy, that war with Germany in the near future is inevitable, and that, therefore, all other considerations must be subordinated to the "one supreme duty of thwarting Germany at every turn, even if in so doing British interests, treaty faith, and the peace of the world are trampled under foot." Mr. Stead believes that the net result of the diplomacy of the past few months has been to intensify the "natural and abiding enmity" of the German people. "We [Great Britain] were nearly involved in the stupendous catastrophe of a gigantic war with the greatest of all the world powers in order to enable France to tear up the Treaty

of Algeciras by taking possession of the empire of Morocco, whose independence and integrity we were pledged to defend."

**George,  
Emperor of  
India**

The world's great spectacular event of the season, the crowning of King George as Emperor of India, took place on the twelfth of last month at the Durbar at Delhi. For the first time since the days of Richard Cœur de Lion, a British monarch has left Europe. For the first time in its history, British India has seen its ruler in person. The ceremony in the ancient capital of the Moguls was invested with a magnificence of pageantry perhaps unsurpassed in the modern world. A great canvas city, with all the modern comforts and equipment, covering more than twenty-five square miles, had been constructed at Delhi for the reception of the royal party. More than 150 Indian potentates of various ranks, in all their splendor, attended and proclaimed their allegiance to the British crown. It is estimated that 200,000 spectators were present at the functions. After the crowning of the Emperor and Empress, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, announced that, in addition to the princely gifts of money for popular education in the dependency and other "boons," which



THE RIVAL PEACEMAKERS

GERMANY TO ENGLAND: "Do you clean your slate at me, Sir?"

ENGLAND: "No, Sir, but I clean my slate."

From *Punch* (London)



THE KING'S HOSTS AT THE DURBAR—LORD HARDINGE,  
THE VICEROY, AND LADY HARDINGE

were to signalize the generosity of the Emperor-King upon the occasion of his coronation, it had been decided to make two impor-

tant administrative changes. One was the virtual consolidation of Bengal under one governor, and the other a transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. For both geographical and political reasons these changes are significant. It was the division of the old province of Bengal into the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, six years ago, during Lord Curzon's administration, that was the immediate cause of the resentment and riotous demonstrations that have troubled India ever since. Regarding Bengal as their peculiar fatherland, the Hindus were exasperated by the partition. It is now proposed to reunite the two provinces under one governor. This will conciliate the Hindu sentiment.

The removal of the seat of civil government from Calcutta to Delhi, the ancient capital, has much to commend itself. Delhi is nearer the geographical center of the peninsula, it is a healthier city than Calcutta, and it is the focus of Mohammedan influence, the chief non-Hindu element of the population of British India. At the height of its prosperity under the great Moguls, Delhi had a population of 2,000,000. To-day it has one-fifth that number. It has always been loyal, while Calcutta



THE CANVAS CITY THAT WAS MADE AT DELHI FOR THE CROWNING OF THE EMPEROR-KING

has been the hotbed of sedition during recent years. Other administrative changes and reforms are expected as a result of King George's visit to his Indian dependency. The whole Durbar is expected to be a demonstration of the wisdom and value of British rule. On another page this month, we present an article by a trained Hindu journalist, showing what Britain has done for the intellectual, social, moral, religious, political, and industrial welfare of the great Asiatic realm she rules; how, despite temporary failures, she has established peace, made roads and railroads, established irrigation systems, introduced posts, telephones and telegraphs, codified laws, instituted a settled policy of land revenue, and organized a police and military system to preserve tranquillity, while, at the same time, giving a comparatively free hand to the rulers of the native states. While the might and splendor of British rule were being demonstrated at Delhi, the supremacy of England was being asserted over the lawless



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#### KING GEORGE AND THE KHEWIVE OF EGYPT

(From a photograph taken at Port Said. The British monarch was met at the eastern end of the Suez Canal by the eldest son of the Sultan of Turkey, representing the suzerain power over Egypt, and the Khedive. Abbas Hilmi is the *de jure* ruler of Egypt, nominally subject to the Turkish Sultan. King George is *de facto* ruler, and his power is represented by the British Consul General at Cairo, Lord Kitchener)

Abor tribes, who, for years, have made the great basin drained by the Bramaputra River a menace to peace and trade. The punitive expedition against these lawless mountaineers has been ascending this valley for some months. The bringing of the savage Abors within the circle of the British Indian administration will contribute immeasurably to the entrance of civilization and commerce to that vast, rich, tropical region between the Burmah border and the Ganges River.

#### Manhood Suffrage in Britain

The Liberal Government's manhood suffrage bill, which will be introduced early in the Parliamentary session beginning this month, means a good deal more than the granting of the right to vote to all male inhabitants of the United Kingdom who have attained the age of twenty-one years. The franchise in Great Britain is already very widely extended. The significant fact about the new measure is that



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QUEEN MARY ON THE DECK OF THE "MEDINA"  
EN ROUTE FOR INDIA



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York  
**MRS. PANKHURST SPEAKING IN WALL STREET**  
 (Last month Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the English suffragette leader, made a series of spirited addresses in the financial district of New York on the subject of votes for women)

it would deprive many thousands of the so-called upper classes of the right of plural voting. Property qualifications have always, heretofore, been the foundation of the English franchise right. A man may vote in as many different constituencies as he has different property holdings. Many wealthy men who own houses and landed property in different counties possess two, or three, or even more votes, the number of votes they may cast being limited only by their ability to be present at the polling place in each constituency on the appointed voting day. This system has conferred a greatly disproportionate power upon the wealthy landowning section of the community. These gentlemen are very largely in the Conservative-Unionist ranks. The Parliamentary representatives of the universities, which Mr. Asquith's bill also proposes to abolish, are largely Conservatives. On the other hand, most of the additional number of persons to be enfranchised by the adoption of the manhood principle are undoubtedly of the Liberal or Radical political persuasion. The Liberal

coalition, therefore, would gain many thousands of votes by the reform. This is one of the main reasons for the opposition of the Unionists, since even the old reactionary Tories concede that some reform in the franchise is needed. Redistribution of the constituencies will follow upon the passage of the new law, Mr. Asquith promises.

*No "Votes for Women" Yet* An exciting campaign has been conducted in favor of the inclusion of women in the Government's suffrage measure. The militant suffragettes have not been satisfied with Mr. Asquith's statement (which we noted last month) that the measure would be cast in such a form that the House of Commons might extend it to include women, if it so pleased. It is known that a number of the ministers—including Mr. Lloyd-George, notwithstanding the hostility the suffragettes have shown to him,—are in favor of the principle of votes for women. The Premier holds that it is a matter for the House itself to decide. Personally, Mr. Asquith believes in the extension of the vote to women under certain restrictions. But he does not believe, he says, that public opinion in England is ripe for a measure which would "by giving every woman a vote, make the majority of the electors women." Those advocates of the extension of the voting right to women have continued their militant tactics in London, during recent weeks, and have frequently come into conflict with the police authorities. Late in November, a number of these ladies were sentenced to imprisonment for "riotous demonstrations." Although the public attitude toward votes for women is radically different in the United States from the point of view held in England, a number of advocates of British militant methods have visited this country recently in the interest of woman suffrage, with resort to "violent methods if necessary." Last month Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, one of the best known of the English suffragette leaders, made some important speeches in New York and other cities. She was received, on the whole, with respect, and her able, forceful arguments were listened to with attention.

*Elections in Central Europe*

The German general elections of 1912, which will be held on the twelfth day of the present month, are expected to be of unusual importance in their effect upon Germany's attitude toward a number of grave domestic as well as foreign policies. The Reichstag, which was dissolved on the eighth of last month, was elected in

1907. It had run its constitutional course of five years, and dissolution was required by law. The results of the balloting are expected to throw some light on how the German people feel with regard to the Government's course in the negotiations with France and England over Morocco. Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg has become known as a conciliator and a compromiser, but his position is by no means an easy one, and a lively session is expected when the Reichstag re-assembles. Professor Jenks, who has recently returned from an extended tour through Germany, is well known as a student of political and economic questions. His article on another page this month will serve to make the reports of the German election results not only clear and intelligible, but interesting to American readers. Elections in other European countries during November and December generally resulted in Liberal or Radical gains. We have already noted the Liberal victories in the elections to the lower houses in Belgium and Sweden. On November 30, the balloting for members of the Upper Chamber in the Swedish Riksdag were held. In this branch also the Liberals have increased their strength. The elections held in Switzerland, during the last few days of November, show a large predominance of the Radical and Socialist elements in the republic. The Radical majority is now more than 150 votes.



THE GERMAN IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR, DR. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG  
(Who, this month, will go before the people asking an endorsement of his policies)



THE ENTRANCE AND THE EXIT

(This is the way the *Borssem-Janko*, the comic journal of Budapest, pictures the Italian entrance to Tripoli, and the attempt of the remnant of the Italian forces to leave—blocked by the British lion in Egypt)

On December 14, Louis Forrer, Vice-President of the Federal Council, was elected President of the Confederation.

#### Italy's War in Tripoli

The Italian campaign to make good the claim of King Victor Emmanuel's Government to having conquered Tripoli continues. News concerning the operations of General Caneva's army of occupation are very meager, the Italian censorship being very strictly exercised. A number of Turkish outposts, including several small towns, have been captured during recent weeks. One fight, on the oasis south of the city of Tripoli, was apparently very fierce, and the losses on both sides considerable. Meanwhile, the Italian Government is finding that its task is more difficult than it anticipated. Late in November, Parliament authorized the extraordinary expenditure of \$65,000,000 to cover the cost of the campaign, naval and military, up to December 1. There have been reports of Italy's intention to carry the war into Europe and blockade the Dardanelles. The foreign office at Rome notified the ambassadors of

the foreign governments at Constantinople last month that Italy intended to maintain such a blockade. There has not, however, been any reliable news as to the carrying out of this intention. Following upon the Italian notification, it is reported that the Russian Government requested the Porte to permit the Dardanelles to be opened to the ships of the great powers. But Turkey refused. There have been reports also of the expulsion of Italians from many Turkish cities, and rumors of growing opposition to the war in both the Italian and Turkish Parliaments, which may force a conclusion of peace at an early date. The Italians are evidently becoming more and more sensitive to the charges made against them of cruelty and of unjustifiable attacks upon non-combatants. A defense of their position, by a patriotic Italian, is printed on another page this month.

Britain,  
Russia, and  
Shuster

There are signs of growing opposition in England to the policy of the Government in secretly supporting, or, at least, in not openly opposing, Russia's aggressions upon Persia. Lord Curzon, former Viceroy of India, made two speeches in the House of Lords last month against the Persian policy of the Government. He openly questioned the right or advisability of Britain's agreeing to armed occupation of Persian territory on the part of Russia, on the slender excuse that the American Treasurer-General, W. Morgan Shuster, had not conformed to some of the Muscovite diplomatic



THE YANKEE AND THE BEAR

("They say he is short on tact, but he certainly is no quitter, is W. Morgan Shuster")  
From the *Herald* (Montreal)

usages. Despite the repeated Russian demands for the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, it seemed, last month, that the Persian Parliament would maintain its courageous attitude and refuse to dispense with his services. Elsewhere (on page 49) in this issue, we devote more space to the Persian situation and the relations of Mr. Shuster thereto. The Majlis,—the Persian Parliament,—has appealed to Congress for its support in maintaining popular government in the land of the Shah. There is, of course, no legitimate grounds for our intervention on behalf of Persia, and it is not likely that Congress will take up the matter further than to demand protection for Mr. Shuster.

Monarchy  
vs.  
Republic  
in China

The Chinese situation is gradually adjusting itself to the lines of a contest between those who advocate the retention of the monarchy under a modernized constitution and those who favor the establishment of a republic. It may be said that the south generally is in favor of a republic, and the north more inclined to retain the old form. There seems to be a general disposition to get rid of the



Photograph by Pictorial News

ITALIAN SOLDIERS ELATED AT THE CAPTURE OF A TURKISH GUN IN TRIPOLI



Manchus root and branch. One side aims to substitute a new Emperor of pure Chinese descent for the little Pu Yi, and the other to organize a real Chinese republic under the presidency of Yuan Shih-kai or Sun Yat Sen. We have already, in these pages, had something to say of the career and achievements of the latter. For years he has filled the important post of western agent for the revolutionists. He has raised much money for them, and has contributed a great deal toward making the aspirations and aims of Young China known to the rest of the world. His movements have always been secret, but rumor has it that he is expected in China some time during the present month, and that he will soon thereafter take an active part in the progress of events. That the Manchus themselves are convinced their supremacy is ended is evident from the resignation, last month, of the Regent, Prince Chun, father of the Emperor. A Manchu and a Chinese have been appointed guardians of the child sovereign, the former, however, a progressive and in sympathy with the new movement. From an authoritative source in Tokyo, we learn that the governments of Japan, Russia and Great



GEN. LI YUAN HENG  
(Leader of the Chinese revolutionary forces)

Britain have already made a formal, though secret, agreement to uphold the empire, permitting the formation and a federation of states on the German model. On the other hand, says this source of information, the French and American governments have unofficially indicated their preference for a republic on the American model. It is rumored in London and Tokyo that some time this month Britain and Japan will offer to mediate between the Peking Government and the revolutionists.



CAN IT BE THAT THE STATUE OF LIBERTY HAS BECOME THE CHINAMAN'S NEW JOSS!  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)

Yuan Shih-kai, now both Prime Minister and supreme leader of the Imperial army, early last month arranged an armistice with General Li Yuan Heng, Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces. Apparently these two men, Yuan Shih-kai and Li Yuan Heng, have the immediate future of China in their hands. Yuan is, by nature and experience, a political and military leader; Li is purely a military man. The latter has been educated in Japan by the Government of China, and is thoroughly saturated with the modern spirit. At a conference to have been held at Shanghai early in the present month, it was planned to talk of peace and decide upon the future form of government. Meanwhile Dr. Wu Ting Fang, who is Minister of Foreign Affairs in the revolutionary organization, has been busy communicating with the financial leaders and groups all over the world, openly requesting them not to make any loans to the





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CARDINAL FARLEY, CARDINAL FALCONIO, AND CARDINAL O'CONNELL

(From a photograph taken at the American College in Rome after the red hat had been conferred upon them)

Imperialists. The Manchus could, of course, not be expected to refrain from using such funds for the prosecution of the war against the revolutionists, and Dr. Wu warns the rest of the world that in case of a revolutionary success, such debts would be repudiated. Early last month the reform leaders in fourteen provinces informally conferred, and it is reported that their differences were reconciled. At that time a republican constitution, apparently based upon the organic law of the United States, was drawn up. According to its terms a provisional president is to be elected by a two-thirds majority, each province having one vote. He is to ratify measures passed by the National Assembly, to be Commander-in-Chief of the army, with power to make war or treaties upon the concurrence of the Assembly, to appoint Ministers, and to establish a system of courts of justice for the entire empire.

*The New  
Cardinals at  
Rome*

It is said that after the secret consistory, on November 27, at Rome, during which the honor of the red hat was conferred upon the three American prelates, and the names of Cardinal Falconio, Cardinal Farley, and Cardinal O'Connell had been added to the roster of the Sacred College, His Holiness the Pope remarked: "One of the greatest desires of my life has been fulfilled, that of receiving a cardinal from the great American metropolis." He added that no one living was better fitted than Cardinal Farley to fill the position of a fatherly shepherd of so heterogeneous a flock as makes up the diocese of New York. The final ceremonies in the creation of the sixteen new cardinals, including the three Americans, took place on the last day of November. Protestants, as well as Catholics, will wish long life and successful labors to these statesmen of the church.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 18 to December 15, 1911)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 4.—Both branches of the Sixty-second Congress meet in the first regular session. . . . In the House, Mr. Littleton (Dem., N. Y.) contends that since the Government has begun prosecution of the Steel Corporation the special committee of the House should cease its investigation.

December 5.—The first installment of President Taft's annual message, dealing with the trust question, is received and read in both branches.

December 7.—President Taft's message treating of the foreign relations of the United States is read in both branches. . . . The House discusses the Sherwood "dollar-a-day" Pension bill.

December 9.—In the House, Mr. Dies (Dem., Tex.) attacks the Pension bill, declaring it to be a bid for votes.

December 12.—The House passes the Sherwood Service Pension bill by vote of 229 to 92.

December 13.—The House, by vote of 300 to 1, adopts the resolution of Mr. Sulzer (Dem., N. Y.), calling for the abrogation of the commercial treaty of 1832 with Russia on account of discrimination against Jewish citizens of the United States.

December 14.—The Senate discusses the treaty of 1832 with Russia. . . . The House passes a bill requiring an eight-hour day for all contract labor of the kind done by the Government itself.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

November 30.—The Standard Oil Trust passes out of existence by Supreme Court decree, each subsidiary company assuming control of its own affairs.

December 3.—Mayor-elect Blankenburg of Philadelphia announces the appointment of four young men, students of economic problems, as his department heads.

December 5.—George Alexander, the "Good Government" candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, is reelected by a majority of 36,000, defeating Job Harriman, Socialist; it is estimated that 70,000 women availed themselves of their recently acquired suffrage right.

December 7.—Joseph M. Brown is the successful candidate for Governor in the Georgia Democratic primary.

December 10.—The annual report of the Secretary of War recommends the abandonment of many posts. . . . The Postmaster-General, in his report, urges the adoption of a 1-cent letter postage and the establishment of a parcels post. . . . Mayor Blankenburg and his reform cabinet enforce a "dry" Sunday in Philadelphia.

December 11.—The Railroad Securities Commission, appointed by President Taft last year, reports that it would be practically impossible at this time to place issues of railroad securities under federal control. . . . The Supreme Court refuses to review the decree of the Circuit Court approving the reorganization plan of the Tobacco Trust.

December 12.—The Republican National Committee meets at Washington and decides to hold the national convention at Chicago, on June 18.



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JOHN D. ARCHBOLD

(New head of the Standard Oil Company)

December 13.—It becomes known that President Taft, shortly after his recent visit to Los Angeles, initiated the Government's investigation there and at Indianapolis into the dynamiting outrages.

December 14.—The federal grand jury at Indianapolis begins an investigation into the alleged nation-wide dynamiting conspiracy.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

November 19.—Ramon Cáceres, President of the republic of Santo Domingo, is assassinated.

November 22.—The Unionist party in Great Britain, carrying the South Somerset election, gains its second seat since Mr. Law was chosen leader.

November 23.—José Pinto Suarez is inaugurated Vice-President of Mexico.

November 24.—A force of 800 Mexican insurgents under General Zapata is defeated by a smaller force of Government troops, near Santa Anna.

November 25.—The State of Oaxaca, Mexico, formally announces that it does not recognize the federal government.

November 27.—Earl Grey, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, explains to the House of Commons the part played by Great Britain in the negotiations over Morocco.

November 29.—The first vote in the new Canadian Parliament discloses a majority of 44 for Premier Borden.

November 30.—The entire opposition in the British House of Commons withdraws from the

session following a dispute, and 470 amendments to the Government's Insurance bill are rejected. . . . The elections to the Swedish upper chamber result in a decreased Conservative majority.

December 2.—Senator Eladio Victoria is elected by the Dominican Congress as provisional President to succeed the late Ramon Cáceres.

December 5.—"Che" Gomez and eight of his men, held responsible for the anti-governmental outbreak in Oaxaca, are lynched by a mob while on their way to Mexico City. . . . The German Imperial Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, explains to the Reichstag the German standpoint in the Moroccan question.

December 6.—Chancellor Lloyd-George's Insurance bill, providing assistance to sick and unemployed, passes its third and last reading in the British House of Commons and its first reading in the House of Lords.

December 7.—Mr. Law, leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, announces that the Unionists will fight the proposal to grant home rule to Ireland; the Naval Prize bill passes its third reading in the lower House.

December 8.—The German Reichstag is dissolved by imperial decree and elections are set for January 12. . . . The Cuban Senate passes the House bill suspending civil-service rules for six months, to permit the removal from office of persons hostile to the administration.

December 11.—Chancellor Lloyd-George's Insurance bill passes its second reading in the House of Lords. . . . A proposal to adopt a general prohibition law is rejected by the voters of New Zealand.

December 12.—King George and Queen Mary are crowned as Emperor and Empress of India at the Durbar at Delhi; it is estimated that more than 100,000 persons witness the ceremonies. . . . It is announced that Delhi will hereafter be the capital of India, instead of Calcutta. . . . The British House of Lords rejects the Naval Prize bill by a vote of 145 to 53, virtually repudiating the Declaration of London, the international agreement respecting prizes in international war.

December 14.—Sir Edward Grey states in the House of Commons that the Anglo-Russian agreement over Persia did not guarantee the independence of that country, and he agrees with the Russian contention that Mr. Shuster should be replaced by some one acceptable to Russia and England. . . . M. de Selves, French Foreign Minister, outlines to the Chamber of Deputies the Moroccan negotiations as they particularly concerned France. . . . King George, Emperor of India, reviews 50,000 British and native troops at Delhi.

December 15.—The Insurance bill passes its third reading in the British House of Lords, and will become a law.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 18.—General Bernardo Reyes is arrested at San Antonio, charged with attempting to organize within the United States a military expedition against Mexico.

November 19.—Diplomatic relations are severed between Russia and Persia.

November 20.—A regiment of Russian soldiers leaves Baku for Persia; Persia appeals to the powers to investigate the affair with Russia and offers to submit the matter to The Hague.

November 24.—The Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs apologizes to the Russian minister at Teheran, in the name of his Government, for the recent alleged insult to Russia.

November 29.—A second Russian ultimatum to Persia demands the immediate dismissal of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General, and insists that in future no appointment of a foreigner shall be made without the consent of Russia and Great Britain.

November 30.—Sir Edward Grey, in the British House of Commons, intimates that there has been no understanding between Russia and England concerning the recent ultimatum.

December 1.—The Persian Parliament decides to reject Russia's demands; the Russian troops at Resht, Persia, are ordered to advance into the interior. . . . The International Opium Congress is opened at The Hague.

December 3.—An appeal for support is made to the American minister at Teheran by 10,000 Persians.

December 4.—The National Council of Persia telegraphs an appeal to the American Congress, and other parliaments of the world, for aid in the controversy with Russia.

December 7.—Russia is informed that it would be impossible for Great Britain to recognize ex-Shah Mohammed Ali Mirza, should he be placed on the throne by Russia. . . . It is announced at Constantinople that Turkey has refused Russia's request to open the Dardanelles, which would afford Russian warships an outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

December 12.—It is semi-officially reported at St. Petersburg that Russia and Great Britain have agreed not to restore the ex-Shah Mohammed Ali Mirza to the Persian throne. . . . Ratifications are exchanged at Washington by Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and the United States of the treaty for the protection of seals in the North Pacific and Bering Sea. . . . Russia abandons her claim to introduce a twelve-mile limit in the White Sea, owing to protests made by the powers.

December 14.—The International Opium Congress, at The Hague, adopts resolutions urging the governments to restrict the use of morphine and like substances to medical and other legitimate purposes.

#### WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND TURKEY

November 20.—The Italian troops bombard the fortified village of Akabah, Arabia.

November 21.—The Italian Government authorizes an expenditure of \$65,000,000 to cover the cost of the war.

December 1.—The British Government cancels the commission of Lieutenant Montagu, one of those who charged the Italian troops with barbarous conduct, his action in joining the Turkish forces being construed as a breach of neutrality.

December 5.—A force of 20,000 Italians captures the Turkish military camp at the oasis of Ain-Zara, near the town of Tripoli.

December 9.—Turkey orders the expulsion of Italians from Smyrna and from the Gallipoli peninsula, which forms the European coast of the Dardanelles.

December 15.—The Turkish War Office complains that the Italians are using soft-nosed bullets.

## THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

November 18.—General Chang and the imperial army arrive at Nanking.

November 22.—The Government orders that all receipts from maritime customs shall be used for the payment of foreign debts, including the Boxer indemnities.

November 24.—Yuan Shih-kai informs the legations at Peking of a plan to end the revolution without further fighting.

November 25.—The Government announces that the province of Shan-Tung has renounced its recently declared independence.

November 26.—The Regent swears allegiance to the nineteen constitutional articles and promises to organize a parliament without Manchu nobles. . . . The long-expected attack by the revolutionists upon the city of Nanking is begun; fifteen warships under Admiral Sah join the revolutionists and assist in the attack.

November 27.—The imperial troops decisively defeat the revolutionists at Hankow and Hanyang and recapture Wu-chang.

December 1.—The revolutionists capture all the forts surrounding the walled city of Nanking.

December 3.—Urga, the capital of Mongolia, declares its independence and expels the Chinese officials.

December 5.—A more or less effective armistice has been declared pending the meeting of delegates representing the Premier and the revolutionary leaders, in a peace conference at Shanghai on December 18.

December 6.—Prince Chun, regent and father of the infant Emperor, abdicates; Hsu Shih Chang and Shih Hsu, formerly Grand Councilors, are appointed guardians of the Emperor. . . . The leaders of the republican movement decide to float a domestic loan of ten million taels.

December 8.—It becomes known that the old Chinese calendar has been dropped and the modern Roman one substituted.

## OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 18.—Severe storms inundate the town of Tripoli and the surrounding country.

November 19.—A message is received at Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, by wireless from Coltano, Italy, a distance of 4000 miles.

November 20.—Earth shocks are reported from Martinique and other West Indian Islands.

November 24.—The American Bankers' Association, in session at New Orleans, indorses the Aldrich plan for monetary reform.

November 27.—The College of Cardinals, at a secret consistory, ratifies the recent appointments made by the Pope. . . . A special train, carrying eight governors of Western States and exhibits of that section's resources, leaves St. Paul for a three-weeks' tour through the East and Middle West. . . . A presentation of "The Playboy of the Western World," at a New York theater, by the Irish Players from Dublin, is marked by riotous scenes.

November 28.—An investigator employed by the McNamara defense in the trial at Los Angeles is arrested, charged with attempting to bribe a prospective jurymen.

November 29.—The eighteen new cardinals receive the red biretta from the Pope.

November 30.—Pope Pius X, at a public consistory at the Vatican, invests the new cardinals with the red hat, the insignia of their rank.

December 1.—James B. McNamara, on trial at Los Angeles, admits that he dynamited the Los Angeles *Times* building on October 1, 1910, causing the death of twenty-one persons; John J. McNamara, his brother, secretary and treasurer of the Structural Iron Workers' Association, pleads guilty to the charge of dynamiting the Llewellyn Iron Works.

December 2.—The Australian Antarctic expedition, under Dr. Maudslayi, sails from Hobart, Australia.

December 4.—John D. Rockefeller resigns the presidency of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, ending a service of forty-one years as head of that corporation; John D. Archbold is chosen to succeed Mr. Rockefeller.

December 5.—James B. McNamara is sentenced to life imprisonment and John J. McNamara to fifteen years' imprisonment in San Quentin Penitentiary for their confessed dynamiting.

December 6.—The eighth annual Rivers and Harbors Convention begins its sessions at Washington, D. C.

December 7.—The members of the committee of the American Federation of Labor which had charge of the defense of the McNamaras pass resolutions condemning them for their crimes.

December 8.—The naval experts who examined the wreck of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor report that an explosion external to the ship was the primary cause of its destruction. . . . Nearly 200 Russian workmen are drowned in the Volga by the collapse of a railroad bridge under construction.

December 10.—The King of Sweden distributes the Nobel Prizes to Mme. Curie (chemistry), Prof. Wilhelm Wien (physics), Prof. Allvar Gullstrand (medicine), and Maurice Maeterlinck (literature). . . . Eighty miners lose their lives at Briceville, Tenn., following an explosion in a shaft of the Knoxville Iron Company. . . . The party of eight Western governors arrives at New York and is welcomed by Governor Dix and Mayor Gaynor.

December 11.—The estimates of the Department of Agriculture indicate a record cotton crop of 14,885,000 bales. . . . A settlement is reached between the British railway companies and the labor unions, based on the recent report of the royal commission.

December 12.—Twenty-two suffragettes are sentenced to two months' imprisonment for smashing windows in London during the recent demonstration.

December 13.—King George's sister, the Princess Royal, Duchess of Fife, and her two daughters, are among the passengers on the steamer *Delhi*, stranded during a storm on the coast of Morocco, and later are thrown into the surf by the capsizing of a lifeboat.

December 14.—A suit is begun by the British Government, at London, to collect an inheritance tax of \$300,000 on the Yznaga legacy to the late Duchess of Manchester, although the property is still in the United States.

December 15.—The British Government decides that American meat packers under prosecution by the United States Government shall not be permitted to bid for meat contracts for the British army.



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THE LATE SURGEON-GENERAL WALTER WYMAN

## OBITUARY

November 18.—Charles B. Kountze, president of the Colorado National Bank, Denver, 67. . . . Dr. George W. Winterburn, of New York, a prominent physician and writer on medical subjects, 66.

November 19.—Ramon Cáceres, President of Santo Domingo, . . . Thomas Hall, a pioneer inventor in the typewriting field, 77.

November 20.—Col. Alfred B. Shepperson, of New York, a well-known cotton statistician, 74.

November 21.—Dr. Walter Wyman, Supervising Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, 63. . . . William Hepburn Russell, a prominent New York lawyer and Democratic politician, 54. . . . Dr. David R. Wallace, formerly president of the Texas Medical Association, 86.

November 24.—John F. Dryden, president of the Prudential Insurance Company and formerly United States Senator from New Jersey, 72. . . . Wilhelm Jensen, the noted German novelist, 70. . . . Prof. Hugo von Tschudi, director of the National Gallery of Bavaria (Munich), 60. . . . Marquis Jutaro Komura, formerly foreign minister of Japan, 56.

November 5.—Col. Frank Warren Hawthorne, editorial writer of the *New York Commercial*, 59. . . . William Montagu Hay, tenth Marquis of Tweeddale, 85.

November 26.—Thomas B. Davis, a prominent coal and railway operator of West Virginia and former member of Congress, 83.

November 27.—Irving B. Dudley, United States Ambassador to Brazil, 50. . . . Brig.-Gen. William H. Beck, U. S. A., retired, 69. . . . Rev. Benaiah Langley Whitman, D.D., of Seattle, a widely known Baptist minister, 49.

November 28.—Baron Gustav Rothschild, head of the French branch of the noted European family of bankers, 82. . . . Rev. Dr. Howard Osgood, formerly professor of Hebrew at the Rochester Theological Seminary, 80. . . . Alfred Holt, a prominent British ship-owner. . . . George Sanger, a veteran English showman, 84.

December 1.—Charles Spencer Francis, owner of the *Troy Times* and former Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, 58. . . . William Emerson Damon, a noted naturalist and authority on marine life, 73. . . . Thomas F. Gilroy, mayor of New York City during the Lexow investigation, 71.

December 2.—John Pierre Freeden, president of St. Louis University, 67.

December 3.—Rear-Adm. George Francis Faxon Wilde, U. S. N., retired, 67. . . . Col. Walter Simonds Franklin, prominent in Baltimore industrial and financial interests, 76.

December 5.—Leopold Seligman, a well-known banker of New York and London, 80. . . . Capt. John S. Watson, marine superintendent of the Cunard Line, 86.

December 6.—Pryce Lewis, who performed noteworthy service as a spy for the Northern army in the Civil War, 83.

December 7.—Ex-Congressman Henry C. Smith, of Michigan, 55. . . . Sir George Henry Lewis, an eminent English solicitor, 78. . . . Edouard Saglio, the French archeologist, 83. . . . Henry Snowden Ward, a well-known author and lecturer on English literature, 46. . . . Col. Ethan Allen, formerly a prominent New York lawyer and Republican politician, 79.

December 8.—Archibald Cary Smith, a well-known designer of yachts and steamships, 74. . . . Bartlett Tripp, formerly United States Minister to Austria, 69. . . . Tony Robert-Fleury, the French painter, 74. . . . Alphonse Legros, the English painter, sculptor, and etcher, 74.

December 11.—Thomas Ball, the noted American sculptor, 92. . . . Sir Joseph Hooker, the famous English botanist, 94.

December 12.—Edward Rawlings, president of the Guarantee Company of North America (Montreal), 73.

December 13.—Paul Vayson, a prominent French painter, 69. . . . Mgr. Ambrose Agius, Papal Delegate in the Philippines. . . . Mrs. Catherine Boott Wells (Kate Gannett Wells), authoress and member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 73. . . . Thomas Knorr, a prominent art collector of Munich.

December 14.—William Lawrence Merry, for many years United States minister to various Central American countries, 77. . . . Israel J. Merritt, the marine salvage expert, 82. . . . Mrs. Arthur Stannard ("John Strange Winter"), the well-known novelist, 55. . . . Thomas Leaming, a prominent corporation attorney of Philadelphia, 53.

December 15.—Dr. J. C. Egan, chief surgeon in charge of the Confederate military hospitals, 69. . . . Col. C. C. Demstoe, formerly postmaster of Cleveland, 70.

## CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



## OUT FOR CAMPAIGN HONEY

"How doth the little busy bee improve each shining hour?"

(Which, being interpreted, means that the legislators at Washington are eager to accumulate ammunition for the coming Presidential campaign.) From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

CONGRESS has again assembled to legislate for the national welfare. The above cartoon conveys the idea that this session, preceding as it does a national campaign,

will be largely utilized for the making of political capital. This would bring little joy to the heart of the business man, who has already had a surfeit of political agitation.



**SOMEBODY OUGHT TO TELL HIM (TAFT) THAT THE BAND  
OF PUBLIC OPINION IS TURNING THE CORNER**  
From the *News* (Chicago)



TOO MUCH POLITICS FOR MR. BUSINESS MAN  
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)



"THE ELEPHANT NOW GOES ROUND, THE BAND BEGINS TO PLAY!"

(The National Republican Committee, having met in Washington last month and selected the place and date for the Republican National Convention—Chicago, June 18,—the national campaign has now in a way officially begun)  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn).



MR. TAFT, TO DETECTIVE BURNS: "SAY, CAN YOU FIND MY LOST POPULARITY?"  
From the *Globe* (New York)



MAKING OUT THEIR DANCE PROGRAMS FOR 1912  
TAFT: "I wonder if they know I am here?"  
From the *Globe* (New York)





HELP!  
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)



LEAP YEAR—MISS "REPUBLICAN PARTY" KIDNAPPING  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT. From the *Globe* (New York)

The rise and decline—and sometimes the subsequent rise again—of the popularity of an individual statesman form an interesting study in the psychology of public sentiment. About a year ago, after the elections of 1910, Roosevelt, in the minds and wishes of some people, was politically dead. Now behold the sudden revival of Roosevelt popularity. An editorial utterance on the subject of the regulation of trusts—containing in reality little that is new of Roosevelt policy along this line—combined with general conditions existing in the political and business world—and, lo! the Colonel is again on the

front page. Gossip and speculation are rife as to the part he will play in the coming Presidential campaign. The cartoonists, deprived for a season of this inspiring personality as a subject for their art, have taken from their property shelves the familiar figure in khaki uniform, with the prominent teeth, eye-glasses, sombrero and saber, and are again producing a flood of Roosevelt cartoons. In these pictures "T. R." is connected with all imaginable phases of the ante-convention stage of the national campaign.



TRYING TO STIR UP SOMETHING  
From the *News-Tribune* (Detroit)



HAS HE "COME BACK"?  
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)





"CURFEW MUST NOT RING—JUST NOW!"  
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

This is essentially a political page, all the cartoons being devoted to party prospects and possible candidates. President Taft and Senator La Follette are seen clinging desperately to the clapper of the Roosevelt sentiment bell, to prevent its ringing the knell of their Presidential booms. Other cartoons refer to the number of Democratic "availables" and the question as to whom Wall Street will support, besides reflecting some views as to the effect of Mr. Taft's candidacy on the Republican party's chances, and the suggested nomination of Vice-President Sherman for Governor of New York.



"KNOT" IN IT!  
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



AN AWFUL LOAD FOR THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY,—WILSON, HEARST, BRYAN, AND HARMON, WITH UNDERWOOD HANGING ON THE TAIL.. From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



WANTED BY WALL STREET—A MAN!  
(The pictures on the wall are of Bryan, Roosevelt, Wilson, La Follette, Taft, and Harmon.) From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



CAN YOU BLAME HIM—THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY? From the *Globe* (New York)



**JADED JUSTICE STILL PURSUES!**

(The Government case against the Beef Trust, begun with an indictment almost ten years ago, has dragged through numerous dilatory processes, until finally ordered to trial by the United States Supreme Court last month)

From the *American* (New York)



**AGITATION IN THE POLITICAL PASTURE**

(The strength developed by the Socialist party recently—having gained many municipal elections in the last campaign—is being observed with some concern by the older political parties).

From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)



**THE ARMY OF INVASION**

(Appropos of Canadian annexation sentiments attributed to Hon. Champ Clark and Senator Stone)

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



**A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THE TRIUMPH OF MIND OVER MATTER**

(Mr. Edison is reported to be experimenting with the making of concrete furniture)

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



"SERMONS IN STONES"

JOHN BULL (to non-militant Suffragist): "I could listen more attentively, madam, to your pleas, were it not for these concrete arguments, which I find rather distracting." (Referring to recent suffragette riots.) (From *Punch*, London)



THE LITTLE EMPEROR'S BROKEN KINGDOM

THE CHINESE EMPEROR: "Oh, Yuan, my poor rocking-horse!"  
YUAN SHIH-KAI: "Let's see if we cannot mend it with this mixture of blood and diplomacy."  
(From *Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.)



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL TAKING TRIPOLI FROM ALI, THE TURK

VICTOR: "Give me that box."  
ALI: "I will not."

VICTOR: "So? Then I will take it."  
ALI: "You just try it."

"Oh!"  
From *Der Flok* (Vienna)



IN THE SAME BOAT

GERMANY (who has been left in the lurch by the Anglo-French understanding as to Morocco) to Turkey: "I can't help you any more. I must look out for myself."

From *Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)



"COME DOWN AND FIGHT"

(The Ottoman dogs, the Turk and the Arab, taunting Italy (*Wlochy*, in Polish) in the endeavor to get her to forego the protection of her navy and fight Turkey on land.)

From *Mucha* (Warsaw)



THE POWERS IN A PANIC—THE APPLE OF DISCORD IN DANGER

(Italy, as a result of her war with Turkey, may make possible the formation of a Balkan confederacy. Once united in this way, these states might not continue as a bone of contention for the European powers.) From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



## HIS FATHER'S SWORD

THE KAISER (to the Crown Prince): "Put down my sword; you've got them all looking at us." (Referring to the recent anti-English, jingoistic demonstration by the Crown Prince in the Reichstag). From *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



## WARLIKE PASSENGERS

Karl and Jaque (Germany and France) have long been up at each other with swords in hand, but they dare not draw for fear of an economic catastrophe more than anything else. The Italian and the Turk are, however, not so calculating, and have come to blows. But a train compartment, to which the world has been reduced nowadays in its life's journey, is not a fit place in which to play with fire and swords, and some will come forward to part them. (Original caption, in Tokyo *Puck's* English.)



## SPEAKING OF PEACE

JOHN BULL (to the Kaiser): "It scares me to think how near I was to giving you a licking the other day!"  
From the *Press* (New York)

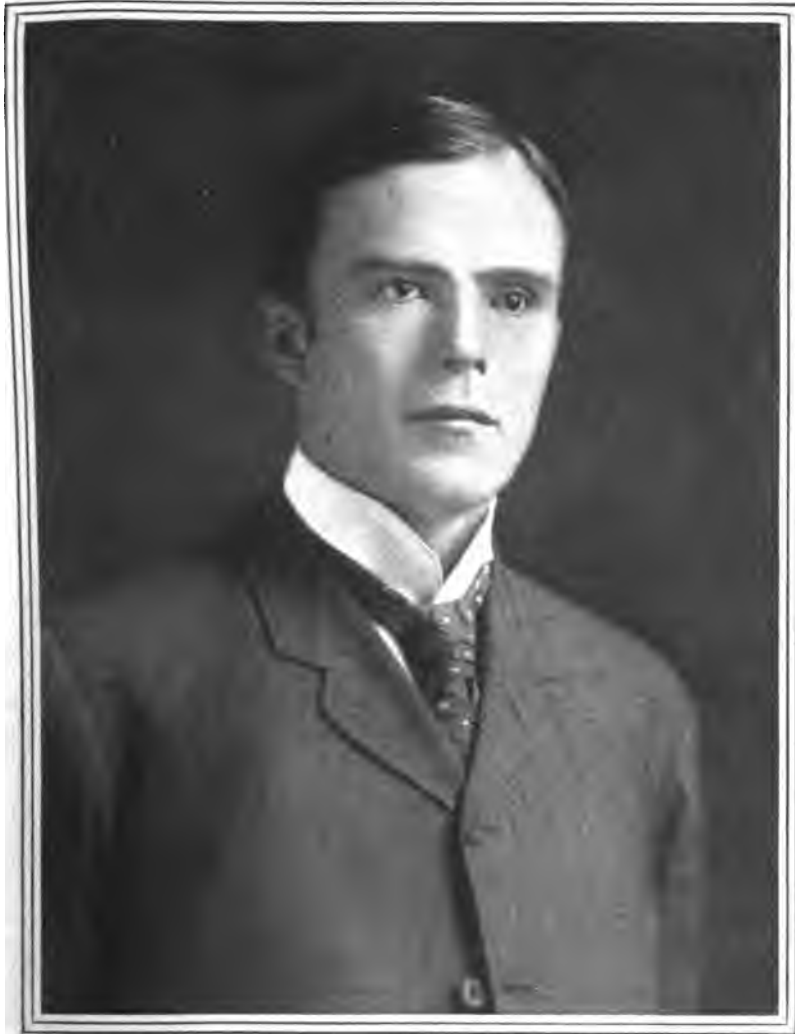


## THE PRECIPICE

THE MAN ABOVE (Cambon) to the man below (von Kiderlen-Wächter): "I enjoyed your visit exceedingly. Come again soon."

From *Ulk* (Berlin)

*Ulk* represents that section of the German press which believes that in accepting alleged compensations in the Congo, in return for her interests in Morocco, Germany has been fooled by France.



Photograph by G. G. Bain, New York

W. MORGAN SHUSTER, THE AMERICAN WHO REORGANIZED THE FINANCES  
OF PERSIA AND INCURRED THE ENMITY OF RUSSIA

## PERSIA, RUSSIA, AND SHUSTER

**F**IRST administrative, then political, and finally, geographical partition. This is the Russian program with regard to Persia, as cynically set forth by one of the jingo journals of St. Petersburg. The first stage of this program has already been carried out, Russia being the chief actor in the drama, with the British Government permitting, and, incidentally, taking its share of the spoil. The second stage is about to be entered. The third would follow easily and logically upon the consummation of the second. Officially, both governments have politely declared their intentions to "maintain the independence of Persia." This however is, of course, only a part of the old-world diplomatic game.

Since the agreement of 1907 between Russia and Britain, dividing Persia into spheres of influence, these two European nations have apparently worked in harmony in the direction of gradual absorption. Persia, the country of Cyrus, of Darius and of Ahasuerus, the ancient land of Iran, original home of the human race, but for centuries corrupt, degenerate, and weak, was apparently doomed to national extinction, until three years ago a dramatic series of events drew the world's attention to its capacity for self-regeneration.



## WHAT SORT OF A LAND IS PERSIA?

Only a small portion of the original empire that owed allegiance to Darius in antiquity, present-day Persia is a little smaller than France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary combined. A vast portion of its area is desert, but about one third, it is estimated, is susceptible of cultivation. The soil, moreover, is rich beyond calculation in minerals. Of its ten millions of inhabitants about a quarter of a million are Arabs, three quarters of a million Turks, more than one half a million Kurds, and the rest Persians proper, with an admixture of various Mongolian tribes. Ninety per cent. are Mohammedans of the Shiah sect, who form one of the two main divisions of the Mohammedan faith, differing in doctrine and historical traditions from the Sunni of the Turkish Empire. Persia is regarded as the brains of the Mohammedan faith. Its history and influence have always been looked up to with veneration by the more than three hundred million Mohammedans of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

## RECENT PERSIAN HISTORY

Up to five years ago the government of Persia was an absolute despotism, the Shah, or "King of Kings," being regarded by the people as the vicegerent of the Prophet. Late in the year 1905, a series of popular demonstrations, led by Persians who had been educated in the West, resulted in the establishment of a National Council known as the Majlis, composed of elected members. On December 30, 1906, the Shah, Muzaffar-ed-din, formally established and stated the powers and duties of this National Council. There was also to be a Senate. On January 8, 1907, Muzaffar-ed-din died, and his son, Mohammed Ali Mirza, became Shah. On October 8, 1907, Mohammed Ali signed the constitution, and, on November 12, the House took the prescribed oath.

Very soon, however, the new Shah began to show reactionary tendencies, and attempted to withdraw, piecemeal, the representative system of government. On June 23, 1908, the Parliament building at Teheran, the capital, was partly demolished and sacked by troops sent by the Shah, who issued a decree abolishing the National Council. Riot and rebellion at once broke out all over the country, lasting for a year. The so-called Nationalist forces marched upon Teheran in June, 1909, and forced the Shah to reconfirm the constitution of 1906. Upon the entrance of the Na-

tionalist forces into the capital, on July 19, the Shah fled to the Russian legation, and abdicated three days later. A provisional government was then formed to advise the Cabinet. Mohammed Ali Mirza's eldest son, Sultan Ahmed Shah, then eleven years of age, was enthroned under the regency of his uncle, Azud-el-Mulk. Real representative government was realized rapidly. The elections began in August, 1909. On November 15, the new Parliament was opened by the Shah. No Senate had as yet been elected, nor has the Cabinet been completed. On September 22, 1910, Azud-el-Mulk died, and the National Council elected Abu'l Kessin Kahn as regent in his place.

## REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

By the beginning of last year the Persian people seemed to have gradually worked out, after much trouble and with many flaws and weak points, a fairly effective system of representative government. Then the vital question of finance sharply pressed for settlement, and the Persian Government embarked upon a course which has precipitated the present crisis. The Parliament at Teheran requested the United States Government to suggest a financial adviser who could reorganize the entire financial system of the country. Here enters Shuster, the "insolent American adventurer in a pea-jacket and a paper collar," as the *Novoye Vremya*, the reactionary Russian journal of St. Petersburg, has wrathfully characterized him. Why this Russian perturbation?

## THE SECRET OF RUSSIA'S ENMITY

Persia has had the misfortune to lie across Russia's march to the southward, and of British expansion to the north. Having absorbed Turkestan and the other minor Khanates of Central Asia, and having established her influence securely at Herat, the capital of the Afghans, Russia finds nothing between her and the territories of British India except the ancient empire of Xerxes. India is one of the goals of Muscovite ambition. But there is another. European Russia meets Asia in the mountains of Transcaucasia, in wild country which forms natural defences, strengthened on the less rugged side by the splendid fortifications of the cunning and warlike Turk. With Constantinople as her ultimate goal always in view, the restless Russian power has long seen that the road of least resistance to the Turkish capital



PERSIA AND HER NEIGHBORS WITHIN AND WITHOUT HER BORDERS

was by swallowing and digesting Persia and advancing over the low desert plains into Turkey's Asiatic possessions. The Turks realize their danger, and have already greatly strengthened their defences on their Persian frontier. Repulsed in the Far East by Japan and checkmated in the Balkans by Germany and Austria, Russia has found, in Britain's desire to keep her hands free while German hostility is at white heat, the great chance for untrammelled action in Persia.

#### THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT OF 1907

Britain, through her Indian Government, has extended her influence over all the territory between the Persian boundary and India proper. Long ago she practically absorbed Baluchistan. The Muscovite, despite ententes and cordial understandings, is her hereditary enemy and she does not dare permit him to gain access to open water on the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean. She has felt it necessary, therefore, to assert her right to a sphere of influence in southeastern Persia. Pending the time when, in the cynically frank

phrase of the late Russian Premier, Stolypin, "the British and Russian frontiers in Central Asia shall be coterminous," the governments of London and St. Petersburg, five years ago, arrived at an agreement, according to which Persia is divided into three sections, a Russian sphere of influence, a neutral zone, and a British sphere. Our map shows the general division thus agreed upon.

The exact terms of this now famous agreement of August 31, 1907, between Britain and Russia, have never been made public. In substance, however, they amount to a promise to limit their "activities" to the sections indicated on the map. The object of the two powers, however, in making this agreement, has been publicly set forth as "not in any way to attack, but rather to assure forever the independence of Persia." The agreement, as publicly known, further says: "not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow each other to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests." The convention of 1907 was chiefly brought about by loans made



by Russia and Great Britain in 1900. It was primarily to secure payment for these loans, which aggregated something over \$12,000,000, that the agreement was made. Persia was not consulted in the matter. She never consented to let the two powers dictate to her, but in her weak and disorganized state, was compelled to admit her inability to prevent it.

#### REORGANIZING PERSIAN FINANCES

Realizing that, to reestablish her complete independence, she must pay off this debt to England and Russia, Persia, under her new government, determined to thoroughly reorganize her finances and realize on her revenues, which are considerable, but only a small proportion of which have heretofore ever gotten past the dishonest officials. In March last, the Majlis, or Parliament, disregarding the advice of Russia and Great Britain to select financial advisers from Switzerland, or some other small neutral state, voted to appeal to the United States, and ask the government at Washington to choose five American experts to undertake the entire reorganization of the financial system of the country. The Persian people had complete faith in the disinterestedness of the United States, and placed firm reliance on the executive ability of such advisers as the American Government might suggest. The Persian Minister at Washington, with the assistance of our State Department, finally selected Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, of Washington, to be Treasurer-General; Mr. Frank E. Cairns, of Vermont, to be Director of Taxation; Mr. C. L. McCaskey, of Washington, to be Inspector of Provincial Revenues; Mr. R. W. Hills, of Washington, to take charge of all auditing and accounting; and Mr. Bruce D. Dickey, of Minnesota, to be Inspector of Taxation. These were to act under the direction of the Persian Minister of Finance, and their contracts were to be for a minimum period of three years. Three other Americans went with Mr. Shuster to Persia to act as his private secretaries. There were also three accountants, making eleven Americans in all.

#### THE SORT OF MAN SHUSTER IS

Mr. Shuster's equipment, by natural aptitude and experience, for the important task of administering on modern lines the tangled finances of the Persian monarchy, was unusual. He is a comparatively young man, being now only in his thirty-fifth year. From the position of stenographer in the War Depart-

ment during the war with Spain, Mr. Shuster went to Cuba as one of the secretaries of the Peace Commission. When the Commission left he remained as Collector of Customs. He performed this task so well that, in 1901, he was appointed by President Roosevelt to be Collector of Customs for the Philippines, being stationed at Manila. In 1905, he was made a member of the Philippine Commission and Superintendent of Public Instruction. He returned to the United States three years ago. Last year he declined the position of chairman of the Commission that went to Liberia. He is a lawyer by profession.

When Mr. Shuster went to Persia he knew that he would meet with serious problems of an economic and financial character, but did not anticipate that political and diplomatic obstacles would be placed in the way of the accomplishment of his task. All the details of the Russian opposition to Mr. Shuster are not known. The main occasions for disliking him, however, have probably been twofold. One is his assumption that Persia is an independent nation, and that he is to proceed on that assumption in administering the finances, and the other, that, not being versed in the suavities and sinuosities of old-world diplomacy, he has frequently offended by his manner of blunt honesty. So long as it was believed that Mr. Shuster would consult Great Britain and Russia in administering Persian finances, there was no opposition to him. When, however, the Persian Parliament conferred upon him, as Treasurer-General, full and exclusive power, steady opposition began from both Russian and British representatives in Persia, and open hostility was evident from St. Petersburg.

#### THE RUSSIAN DEMAND FOR SHUSTER'S REMOVAL

The climax was reached when, several months ago, the ex-Shah, Mohammed Ali Mirza, who had been deposed, suddenly came back from Russia, to all appearances backed by that country. At the head of an armed force he marched toward the capital to regain his throne, but he was defeated, and again fled. One of his brothers had supported him in the campaign and in the fighting. At Mr. Shuster's suggestion, the Parliament at Teheran decided to confiscate that brother's property. This task was assigned to the Treasury gendarmes, whom Mr. Shuster had organized to collect arrears in taxation. Russian consular agents attempted to prevent the seizure of the property. A dispute ensued, the Russian Government supporting



THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT TEHERAN. THE POPULACE WAITING TO HEAR AN IMPORTANT DECISION BY THE LEGISLATORS

its agents. Russian Cossacks were landed at Enzeli, on the Caspian Sea, and the Government at St. Petersburg demanded "reparation" from Persia. The latter protested to the powers. Finding no support from the rest of the world, Persia decided to apologize to Russia. Despite this and the fact that both Russia and Great Britain continue to inform the world that they have no designs on Persia's independence and integrity, an army of 4000 Cossacks left Resht, early in December, and set out for Teheran, the capital, for the openly expressed object of forcibly expelling Mr. Shuster and his American assistants. At the same time it was reported that a number of British Indian regiments had entered the country by way of the Baluchistan frontier. On December 5 Russia demanded formally that Mr. Shuster and his associates be dismissed; that the Persian Government, in the future, submit for Russian approval the names of all foreigners employed

or to be employed; that Persia's future relations with Russia and Great Britain be regulated in conformity with the interest of those powers; and that Persia bear the expense of sending the Russian troops on this invading mission.

A long and heated session of the Persian Parliament by unanimous vote passed a resolution rejecting the Russian demand. It is impossible for Persia, the resolutions read, to sign away her own independence. "If Russia shall wrest it from her, it will be God's will." Parliament also passed resolutions of enthusiastic approval of Mr. Shuster and his work. It is an unusual tribute to the integrity and ability of this American that the national legislature of Persia should have given him a unanimous vote of public confidence, in the face of a foreign menace against the nation's sovereignty unless he were repudiated. Whether or not he remain at Teheran Shuster has made good.

# THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS

(Professor of Economics and Politics, Cornell University.)

THE quaint old saying, "There is a good deal of human nature in people," is nowhere more applicable than in the study of politics. In our own country we see the frailties and foibles of politicians and voters, but in the politics of foreign countries, where we are not so familiar with men and conditions, we carelessly rely much more upon the declarations of party platforms and creeds and think less of the selfish, personal, and party motives. If to-day in Germany we read the party platforms we are impressed, as at home, with the noble and patriotic motives that are supposed to influence the voters. We often find difficulty in distinguishing the views of the different parties, and we rarely see an attempt to secure mere partisan advantage. On the other hand, if we read or listen to some of the speeches in the German Parliament, the *Reichstag*, we see, as with ourselves, a direct attempt to catch votes; we hear his opponents charge a speaker with attempting to influence the voters instead of to convince his colleagues, and we note the same distinction between clearness of insight, fullness of information, ignorance and prejudice that we find among our speakers at home. If we talk with party managers or with citizens familiar with political methods, we find, even more than at home, the attempt to secure party advantage by combinations of different factions, trading of votes, and pre-election promises.

And yet there are many differences to be noted. Instead of our two—or shall we say three?—great parties in the United States, there are in Germany no fewer than seventeen recognized parties in the Reichstag, although they may be grouped into four great divisions.

Besides the regular elections at stated intervals—five years in Germany instead of two years, as with us—there may be also special elections. When the Emperor dissolves the Reichstag on the advice of the Imperial Chancellor and with the consent of the upper house, the *Bundesrath*, the issue of the election is of course clearly defined and is practically one single issue, that of the pending law which brought about the dissolution. Five times since the founding of the empire in 1871 the Reichstag has been thus dissolved. The approaching January election this year, however, is that following the expiration of the regular legislative period of five years, and, in consequence, the German politicians are seeking an issue now as eagerly as were the American politicians of both parties four years ago.



AUGUST BEBEL, LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS  
(A prolific writer on political and social questions who has served nearly five years in prison as a result of his bold attacks on the government)

## ELECTION METHODS AND CONDITIONS

But before speaking in detail of the parties and issues, we should touch briefly upon some election methods and conditions. For election to the Reichstag there is equal universal suffrage with secret ballot for all male



**DR. PETER SPAHN**  
(The leader who represented the Center in the great debate on the increased cost of living)

**DR. OTTO ARENDT**  
(Leader of the Free Conservatives [Reichspartei]. A scholar of world-wide reputation)

**ERNST VON HEYDEBRAND  
UND DER LASE**  
(Leader of the German Conservatives, soldier, jurist, statesman)

**HERMANN ROEREN**  
(A leader of the Center, a distinguished jurist who has advocated a strict church policy for his party)

#### FOUR GERMAN PARTY LEADERS OF TO-DAY

citizens twenty-five years of age, there being certain excluded classes,—criminals, paupers, etc.,—while persons in actual military service have their voting rights suspended.

Nominations are not made by regular conventions as with us. Any man may put his name before the people, but in practice, of course, committees in each election district make the nominations for the parties; and the methods of securing the nominations, by personal solicitation, by trades among the aspirants, by the influence of dominating personalities, are much the same as with us: for the Germans, too, have their "bosses," and they are even now using the English word to express the fact.

One hears little or nothing of bribery in German elections, but the influence of the government, amounting practically to coercion of officials and the direction of their political activity by their superiors, is generally recognized as going far beyond the "pernicious political activity" that has been so emphatically condemned and so nearly suppressed in the United States.

The new elections are to take place on January 12. About the middle of October the charge was made, and apparently with good reason, that the central government had issued instructions to the Prussian local officials to take an active part in the election. Members of all parties believed that these officials were to use their influence against opposition to the government and to pro-

mote its interests, going even so far as to use their official time in preparing and distributing literature, in replying to attacks upon the government, and in personal solicitation of votes. Such election tactics date from the days of Bismarck, and apparently are not generally seriously condemned. Intelligent and patriotic citizens express the opinion that it is natural and possibly proper that the officials should be expected to stand by the government. Some even go so far as to say that while an official might express an opinion or openly support members of several of the leading patriotic parties, no official, even though his position were that of school teacher or professor in a state university, could expect to retain his place if he openly advocated the election of a Social Democrat, it being felt that the Social Democrats are distinctly hostile to the government.

From the viewpoint of equality of voting strength in the districts there should clearly be a reapportionment, but the fear of the Social Democrats has prevented. In 1873 the country was districted on the basis of one representative to each 100,000 inhabitants. When after the days of the *Kulturkampf* social problems presented themselves, and when by his attempt to suppress Socialism Bismarck had roused the political hostility of many even who were not believers in Socialism, it became evident to all that a fair redistricting might well give to the Social Democrats the balance of power. So the old

districts remain, unjust as the division is to the cities: for example, Schaumburg-Lippe with 44,000 or Lauenburg with 50,000 inhabitants has the same representation as a district of Hamburg with about 500,000 or one of Berlin with some 700,000 inhabitants. The number of inhabitants has so increased that the quota per representative should be some 150,000 inhabitants instead of 100,000 as the law now stands. In Prussia, with the three-class system giving great advantage to property, the situation is still worse, about two-thirds of the representatives in the lower house of the Prussian legislature being chosen by 15 per cent. of the voters—the wealthy and well-to-do,—while the poor and wage-earning classes, numbering some 85 per cent. of the voters, elect only one-third of the number.

#### THE PARTIES

The numerous parties may, perhaps, be grouped conveniently into four:

(1) The Center—the largest party, with now 105 members out of a total membership of 397. This is the Roman Catholic party built up into its effective fighting form by the great political tactician Windthorst; and it stands primarily and consistently for the interests of the Roman Catholic church in a Protestant state. This is stated broadly in their platform as the upholding of "the constitutionally recognized independence and rights of the church." It stands for confessional schools, for the equality of recognized religions; but Bismarck dealt directly with the Pope, and archbishops and bishops still instruct their flocks regarding candidates and issues. Aside from this, however, the party—which contains a few members who are not Catholic—stands for the independent rights of the separate states, and of late years has often worked closely with the government and with the Conservative parties in defending a protective tariff, military measures, and labor legislation. At times, even, it seems ready to trade with the Social Democrats, but its spirit is usually aristocratic.

(2) The Conservatives are composed primarily of (a) The German Conservatives (58 members), largely the greater landowners and those sympathetic with the old aristocracy,—supporters, therefore, of the high tariff on grain, meat and other food products, and normally loyal to the ruling house and disposed to emphasize their loyalty; (b) The Free Conservatives, or Imperial party, *Reichspartei* (25 members), composed largely of the

wealthy business men and manufacturers, likewise supporters of a protective tariff, but of tariffs on industrial as well as food products. This group calls itself the old "Bismarck party" and claims to support in the main the policies of that great statesman.

With the Conservatives vote often the small anti-Semitic group (12 members), the so-called Christian Socialists, and on many questions some of the other smaller groups.

(3) The liberal parties (98 members in all), in four groups of varying shades of liberal doctrine, that often work together, but at times divide, with Basserman, Becker and Paasche as prominent leaders. The Liberals stand, as do the parties already named, for a strong central government of the empire, and the maintenance of an army and navy strong enough to defend its rights; but, on the other hand, the Liberals mostly believe in a lower tariff, in greater attention to the special interests of the middle and working classes, and in the administration of the government along the lines of a progressive, but not a radical policy.

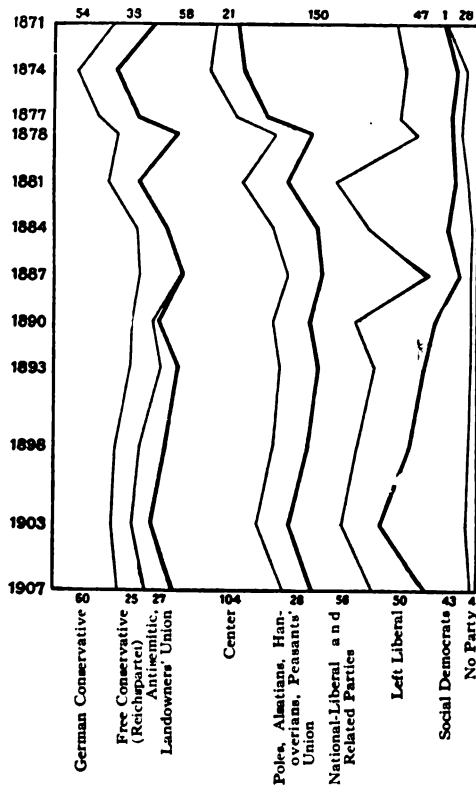
(4) The Social Democratic party (52 members) is the most active, the most skillfully organized, and the most feared by the government of all the parties. For years it has been most ably led by the courageous, self-sacrificing Bebel, who has not hesitated several times, almost five years in all, to serve in prison the penalty of his bold fight for his principles. The party embraces Socialists of different types. They speak for the poor man as against the rich, for an international union of working men, the maintenance of peace for the sake of the poor. Some of them wish if possible to overthrow the existing social order, even by force if necessary, in order to introduce the socialistic state; others favor the more temperate waiting policy of the Fabian socialists in England. Both wings of the party usually work together in the Reichstag.

(5) One should note that the various annexed territories of Germany,—Poland (20 members), Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Alsace-Lorraine (8 members), and some others,—have representatives that on special questions which touch their sections act as a unit, a fraction. On questions of general policy they divide according to individual or local views or interests. Apparently the Center on the whole gains rather more than the other large groups from the temporary accession of these small fractions.

The tables and charts show the changes in representation in the Reichstag and the voting strength of the parties in the Empire since 1871.

1871	54	38	—	58	21	150	47	1	28
1874	21	33	—	91	33	152	50	19	8
1877	40	38	—	93	28	127	48	12	11
1878	59	56	—	93	35	98	34	9	13
1881	50	28	—	98	43	45	114	12	7
1884	78	28	—	99	42	50	74	24	2
1887	80	41	1	98	32	99	32	11	3
1890	73	20	5	106	37	42	76	35	3
1893	72	28	16	96	37	53	48	44	3
1896	56	23	24	102	33	47	50	56	6
1903	52	20	18	100	31	50	36	81	9
1907	60	25	27	104	28	56	50	43	4

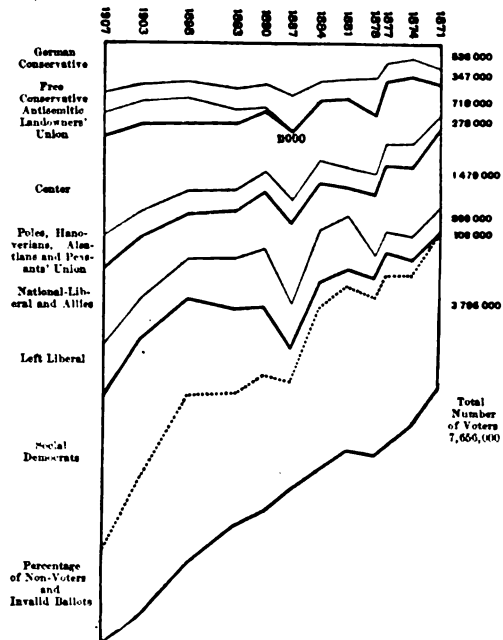
German Conservative  
 Free Conservative (Reichspartei)  
 Antisemitic, Landowners' Union  
 Center  
 Poles, Alsatians, Hanoverians, Peasants' Union  
 National-Liberal and Related Parties  
 Left Liberal  
 Social Democrats  
 No Party



THE PARTIES IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, 1871-1907

1871	536	347	—	718	278	1479	399	102	49
1874	353	391	—	1439	471	1492	497	352	38.7
1877	523	424	—	1344	451	1446	448	493	39.4
1878	742	790	—	1317	353	1296	457	424	36.6
1881	812	382	—	1477	434	614	1200	312	43.7
1884	861	388	—	1282	465	907	1112	550	39.4
1887	1147	736	12	1516	566	1678	1062	763	22.5
1890	895	482	48	1342	490	1178	1308	1427	28.4
1893	1038	438	335	1469	446	997	1092	1787	27.8
1896	859	344	535	1455	460	971	863	2107	31.9
1903	914	371	476	1876	541	1325	874	3011	23.9
1907	1099	481	500	2145	745	1716	1311	3259	15.3

German Conservative  
 Free Conservative (Reichspartei)  
 Antisemitic, Landowners' Union  
 Center  
 Poles, Hanoverians, Alsatians and Peasants' Union  
 National-Liberal and Allies  
 Left Liberal  
 Social Democrats  
 Percentage of Non-Voters and Invalid Ballots



STATISTICS OF THE REICHSTAG ELECTIONS, 1871-1907

Note.—The tables and charts are taken from Friedrich Naumann's "Die Politischen Parteien," Berlin, 1911.

## THE ISSUES: THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

We have heard much within the last two years of the high cost of living in the United States, and we have had city mayors buying potatoes and turkeys to distribute at cost to the citizens in order, as they say, to break the power of local combinations. At no time, however, has there been so much excitement here over the high cost of living as has prevailed in Germany for the last two or three months, and we have never had a more noteworthy debate on that subject than took place in the Reichstag in October.

In certain sections of Germany practically every city has voted money to set up food markets in order to furnish supplies at lower retail prices. City administrations have requested butchers to lower their prices on certain kinds of meat two or three cents a pound; and the butchers have heeded this request. In some cases private corporations, under the pressure of public opinion, have increased wages to meet the need; and, of course, the politicians have explained the reasons and proposed the remedies that they believe will tend to advance their cause.

## THE TARIFF

The Center, the National Liberals, and the Socialists questioned the Imperial Chancellor at the opening of the fall session of the Reichstag regarding the high cost of living and his proposed remedies for the evil. The Liberals and their friends demanded a lowering of the tariff on grains and meats, while the Conservatives favored a rigid maintenance of the protection of the country against the introduction of foreign meats, because of the foot-and-mouth disease which has been devastating the herds in Germany and which, they claim, is the cause of the high price of meats. In certain instances they have been willing to consider a temporary but not a permanent lowering of the tariff on certain grains and a change in the method of handling drawbacks on grains imported to be exported in other form, like flour or alcohol, the receipts for such import duties being transferable and having become speculative.

Throughout the entire discussion, in which the Imperial Chancellor took the leading part, upholding the protective tariff, the arguments were much the same as those with which we are so familiar in the United States, excepting that the main examples given were food products instead of manufactured articles, as with us.

The German elections, however, touch not merely German citizens, but in many cases touch foreign interests as well. Should the elections go strongly against the government and its high protective policy, we may perhaps see a modification of the tariff that would be decidedly beneficial to the United States and other countries exporting, especially, meats and grains.

## THE ANGLO-GERMAN PERIL

But the elections are also likely to be affected by international relations more thrilling in their nature than tariffs. No one can talk with either Germans or Englishmen to-day without recognizing the tension existing between the two countries,—a tension on both sides rather of fear than of hostility, but a nervous fear that is a menace to peace. The Englishman claims that Germany is eager to attack England; that she is increasing her fleet with that purpose in view; that she is continually demanding concessions from this and the other power in order to secure colonial possessions, and that her demands and her aggressions will, he fears, force a war upon England.

The German says that England is the mischief-maker in Europe; that she has in time past seized the best colonial possessions of the world; that she has often made war for business reasons; and that she is evidently preparing for war against Germany. "What have we," he asks, "to gain from a war against England? We could not expect to seize any of her colonies; we could not hope to invade England; we should simply add billions to our already heavy debt with little opportunity of securing advantage, while England, with her larger fleet, would sink our battleships, ruin our commerce and destroy for many years to come the effective competition that we have been making against her business men. We have been gaining England's trade with other nations, and England is clearly determined to stop this gain. That is why we, against our will, are forced to increase our fleet."

## THE MOROCCO INCIDENT

And the Morocco incident has intensified in many ways this feeling between the countries. Had England not stood with France in maintaining her policy in Morocco, Germany would probably have insisted much more strongly upon some kind of political right to advance her own interests in North-

ern Africa. With those two countries standing firm and clearly ready to fight should Germany insist, her more conservative leaders, including the Emperor, felt it wise to stand merely for business equality in Morocco and to gain whatever territory in Central Africa might be possible through a peaceable exchange with France. The more radically inclined young Germans of the aristocratic classes and the military men believed this policy wrong. "If war must come," they said, "it is better to fight France and England together than England alone, for then we could dictate terms in Paris and gain a large indemnity from France." They believe, too, that had their government stood firm, France would have yielded—a belief probably not well founded.

Of course the French and English do not share this view. Frenchmen and many well-informed Englishmen think the German army in the event of war would be blocked at the border, and that a Russian invasion on the East would promptly follow. They believe the French army of to-day, though not so large, a better equipped and better fighting force than the German army. But whatever the event might have proved with a different policy, the fact is that in the coming elections many of these military men and aristocrats will throw their influence against the government's policy, so far as that can be done without weakening their own interests. The Crown Prince, when he applauded the attacks in the Reichstag upon the policy of the Chancellor and the Emperor, was voicing the feelings of many thousands of influential men of the class with whom he mostly associates. However ill-judged from the viewpoint of the future Emperor his act may have been, there can be no question that he expressed the views of most of his friends. The Socialists stand for peace, but this does not mean, of course, that they and the government will work together. Their views are too radically different. Many well-informed people, however, expect the Socialists to gain largely from the situation.

#### THE ISOLATION OF GERMANY

Germany stands to-day almost alone in Europe. She is an ally of Italy. For twelve years the Emperor and his government have promised a helping hand to Turkey. And now the war in Tripoli has come under such conditions that she can help neither. Did England, as many think, for this purpose encourage Italy's attack?



ERNST BASSELMANN, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY

(An excellent example of the scholarly trained German official who, in addition to his military and administrative duties, has entered the field of active party politics)

Germany, like every great ambitious country, believes in expansion. But whichever way her eyes turn, she finds England, France, Russia on guard. Her experienced conservative leaders feel it is best to keep the peace, grow in wealth and help the common man. One lately said, too, of the Emperor, "He cares for his people; he wants their welfare. His grandfather and father had seen war, and they instilled into him a wholesome knowledge of the hell it is. And besides he is a real Christian. He will have no war unless his people and the honor of his country demand it." But the ambitious military men and the younger patriots with hot blood in their veins and with heads perhaps none too cool think him and his advisers weak and shortsighted. And these feelings, now intense, will count on January 12.

The elections, then, with the issue of the tariff emphasized by the high cost of living and the feelings of international isolation and jealousy, may well prove of significance far beyond the territory of Germany. They are well worth careful study.





RELIEF FROM A MEMORIAL TEMPLE OF RAMESES I AT ABYDOS (XIX DYNASTY)

(Rameses I and his son Seti I, making offerings to Osiris and Isis before the totem of Abydos, the box in which the heart of Osiris was kept mounted on an upright pole. It was about this period that Moses was brought up in Egypt (the son of Seti I was Rameses II, thought to be the Pharaoh of the Oppression), and thus Moses was surrounded with some of the most magnificently built and decorated palaces and temples the world has ever seen)

## EGYPT IN NEW YORK

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

**W**HEN the Metropolitan Museum opened ten new galleries this season, containing a collection of recently exhumed Egyptian antiques, the unanimous verdict was that New York had never before seen a more impressive installation of an exhibition! Here were pottery, mummies, scarabs, tombs, stelæ, statues, from prehistoric times, more

than six thousand years ago, up to the Arab conquest, 640 A. D., arranged in chronological sequence, so that the eye could read, at a glance, the glyptic story of the Mother of Civilization!

All spectators were confident that the management of the institution was in the hands of men who knew what the mission and function of a museum should be; they were confident that the trustees in selecting Dr. Robinson as Director had placed the right man in the right place, and that the Egyptian Department, under the guidance of Mr. Albert M. Lythgoe, and a staff of scholars,—Messrs. Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, and Miss Caroline L. Ransom—is destined to become a distinctive institution among American museums.

### PREHISTORIC PERIOD, BEFORE 3400 B. C.

It has been estimated that man has been on the earth some 200,000 years (A. E. P. Weigall says "600,000 or 800,000 years"). We do not know how much of this time he used flint implements to cut his food with, to point his arrows and spears, but we know he did not make much progress in civilization till the age of metal. The cases in the First Egyptian Room, which contain flint implements, also show copper implements that are



PRE-DYNASTIC VASE

(The emblem on the masthead and the representation of mountains below show symbols that were later used as hieroglyphics from which writing was developed)

of paramount interest, for Dr. G. Elliott Smith maintains that the Egyptians were the first people to introduce metal to Asia and Europe ("The Ancient Egypt and its Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe," Harpers, 1911). This may, or may not be true, but it is certain that Egypt made a tremendous leap in civilization at the very beginning of her dynastic career, on the accession of Menes as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, about 3400 B. C., which was doubtless due to her mastery in working with metal tools. This allowed her to mine immense stones, and finally to build the pyramids, in the time of Kufu (Cheops) during the Fourth Dynasty 2900-2750 B. C.,—perhaps the most marvelous stone work the world had ever seen.

But it is not only in the making of metal implements, and in her stone work, that Egypt conferred a favor on civilization; but in recording events, studying the philosophy of religion, and in cultivating literature, she was the mother of much of to-day's development.

At the time of the First Dynasty writing is already developed, and the inscriptions of the first few dynasties may be read to-day (thanks to the discovery of the Rosetta stone in 1799) almost as easily as we can read Anglo-Saxon.

On a number of vases in this room we find



PORTRAIT IN POSITION ON MUMMY FROM THE FAYUM, SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES, A.D.

(From the beginning to the end of their history, the Egyptians treated the bodies of their dead with respect, although mummifying was perhaps not introduced until the 5th or 6th Dynasty. The corpse was wrapped in various ways. Here the wrappings form a pattern—this, of course, is a late example)



QUARTZITE HEAD OF AKHENATEN  
(Head-dress restored, XVIII Dynasty, 1580-1315)

depicted boats with masts surmounted by crude-looking zigzags. These are of profound significance. They correspond to the naval flags of to-day. An Egyptian standing on the banks of the Nile could tell from what district a boat came by the emblem on its mast. This shows the early use of the pictograph, and is the beginning of hieroglyphic writing, where the pictograph or ideograph soon became a syllabic sign. So that when we leave the First Room and pass through the Second, and Third Rooms, we are not surprised to come face to face with long hieroglyphic inscriptions on tomb walls.

Here are also models of pyramids, mastabas (large tombs), coffins, mummies, and symbols, like the Ka (the uplifted hands), the symbol of man's "Double," or soul, and numerous effigies of Osiris, all of which tell the story that Egypt all through its history believed in the resurrection of the soul. And that much of its art and architecture has to do with the building of tombs and the preserving of mummies, and the inscribing of rituals to the God of the dead.

The other exhibition rooms show us, besides religious ikons, a number of portrait monuments.

One of the most interesting of these portrait monuments is the small head of Akhenaten. The face is the original quartzite, the crown a restoration. There are gaps where the eyes and eyebrows should be, and we are told they were inlaid with colored stone or enamel, which is interesting information, correlated with the statement of Professor Sayce, that Akhenaten's palace, at Tel el-Amarna, (then Akhet-Aton c. 1360

B. C.) was one of the most gorgeous edifices ever erected by man. The walls and columns were inlaid with bronze and stone in various colors, and adorned with statuary and paintings. Even the floors were frescoed. Professor Breasted says: "Ikhnaton is the greatest and most individual personality in the early Oriental world. He had caught the earliest conception of universal power and dominion, and thus gradually gained the idea of a world-god, being the first man in history to attain this monotheistic conception, some eight centuries before it was reached by the Hebrews. He deified the fructifying heat of the sun and called his new divinity 'Aton.'"

Akhenaten means "the spirit of Aton," or the Sun-disk. A hymn written to the Sun in

his reign is as beautiful as the hymns to Jehovah in the Hebrew Bible. The pure monotheistic religion did not suit the priests of Amon (the old sun god) at Thebes, however, so Akhenaten moved his court to Tel el-Amarna.

And thus the kaleidoscope picture of Egyptian civilization, through to Coptic times, forms, and shifts, and reforms, in a hundred historic combinations! The whole made up of the discarded "remains" of "the past," picked up and set together by the patient workers of the Museum Expedition force, that have been excavating so diligently for the past six years in the fields of Lisht, and in the Oasis of Kharga. And the result is captivantly scientific.

## A LOUVRE OF EASTERN ART

BY FREDERICK W. COBURN

**P**ERPETUAL possession of the most remarkable collection of Japanese and Chinese art yet brought together under a single roof has been assured to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts by three events of 1911. In March important treasures acquired for the museum in the Orient, by Curator Okakura Kakuzo and by Dr. Denman W. Ross, were first publicly shown. In July the will of the late Dr. Charles G. Weld was probated; it bequeathed to the museum the Weld and Weld-Fenollosa collections, which had been lent to the institution indefinitely for some years past. In September the gift was announced of the vast collection formed by Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow.

These acquisitions, together with others of recent date, make Boston indisputably the best city in the world in which to study the arts of the far East. The Japanese collection at the Museum of Fine Arts is exceeded in extent and quality only by the collections of the Imperial museums which are scattered in several cities. In the field of Tokugawa painting it is unexcelled anywhere. The Chinese exhibits, except in the department of porcelains, are already remarkably strong and complete, and are in process of rapid enlargement. The Oriental wing, therefore, of the new building of the museum on Huntington Avenue has become a veritable Louvre of far Eastern art.

The inventory figures are impressive. Dr. Bigelow's gift contains more than 26,000

separate works of art. The Weld bequests are inferior only in quantity and of practically equal artistic consequence. The museum to-day possesses more than 5000 Jap-



ONE OF MORE THAN SIXTY THOUSAND JAPANESE PRINTS AT THE BOSTON MUSEUM



## BUDDHIST DIVINITIES

(In gallery of Japanese Court, Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

anese paintings of every known school and manner; more than 60,000 prints; upwards of 200 large sculptures; 5000 or more potteries in an exhibit so complete that anything newly acquired proves usually to be a duplicate; extensive exhibits of ramma and other wood carvings, of swords, sword-guards, and other metalwork, of lacquers, carved ivories, textiles, and various objects of virtuosity. The Chinese collections include a very large group of early potteries, lent by Frank Gair Macomber, and the most important collection outside of China of Chinese stone sculptures, representing an art which up to a decade ago was hardly known to have existed.

So general to-day, except in the most Philistine circles, is the recognition of the superiority in all artistic attributes of a screen painting of Korin or Motonobu to, say, the canvases of the nineteenth-century German and English schools, which linger in many museums and private collections; so prevalent the impression among enthusiasts that posterity will rank the greatest Japanese masters as co-equals of those of the Renaissance; so sure, in brief, is the intelligent public of the right of the Japanese to be regarded as a wonderfully artistic people that it provokes amusement to note evidence of the Oriental collections' having come in, as it were, by the museum's back door. Twenty years ago

there were very scholarly folk in Boston and Cambridge who regarded the Oriental things as interlopers, and even now one sometimes hears criticism of the policy of acquiring so much "Japanese junk." Greek sculptures, prints, and paintings for many years had the right of way in the trustees' annual accounting of their stewardship. Not until 1897 did the annual report contain a special contribution from the Japanese curator. Only since 1904 has the museum spent any of its own funds for Japanese and Chinese objects.

The interest, however, of a few devoted benefactors has never waned. Dr. Bigelow's generosity dates back to 1880, when he first lent a group of lacquers and other objects. A little later Dr. Weld began to contribute. In 1891 Frederick L. Ames first offered munificent contributions. The year following there was acquired the splendid Morse collection of Japanese pottery, of 4831 specimens, gathered by Professor Edward S. Morse of Salem, sometime occupant of the chair of zoölogy at the Imperial University, Tokyo. These potteries constitute a unique record of the fictile arts of Japan, one comparable only to certain collections of European ceramics in British and continental museums. In the late nineties, Dr. Denman W. Ross, who has since become a foremost contributor, gave ten paintings from a celebrated set of 500 of the doings of "Rakan," formerly in



KWANNON, GODDESS OF MERCY  
(Japanese bronze statuette, Nara period, ninth century)

the temple of Daitokugi. Since then Mrs. W. Scott Fitz and others have made it possible for the museum to purchase valuable Oriental works. Mr. Okakura's advent in 1905 dispelled any lingering disposition to apologize for the Japanese genius.

Commensurately with its now conceded importance, the far Eastern department has been placed in the southerly of the two projecting pavilions of the new museum building on Huntington Avenue, to which the collections were moved in 1909. Without straining for picturesque effect the architect has created in the galleries a suggestive sem-

blance of the national architectural background of wood, plaster, and rice paper. The covered court in the center of the pavilion, extending to the roof, is devoted on the ground floor to a Japanese garden, with gold-fish ponds, stone lanterns, wood carvings and, at the further end, several sculptured divinities complacently surveying the enclosure. Around the courtyard on the level of the second or main floor of the museum runs a Japanese gallery, with ancient wood carvings set into the balustrade, some of the finest kakemono in the wall spaces between columniations and with seven great carved deities on the side opposite the staircase, which in its turn is adorned with statuary and ramma from temples and palaces. Around the upper and lower divisions of the courtyard extend in connected series the various exhibition and study rooms of the department. Of these the most impressive is a dim Buddha room, creepy with the vital presence of a score or more of large wooden statues, many of them of the Heian period, the golden age of Japanese sculpture.

The approach of most visitors to the department is on the main floor through a corridor known as the Chinese gallery and containing Mr. Macomber's rich collection of Chinese potteries of the Han and subsequent dynasties. In the first gallery are recently exhumed stone sculptures from central China, some of these so delicately beautiful as to recall Hellenistic Greek workmanship: thence each room has its appropriate exhibits, always with avoidance of that overcrowding which the older artists of Japan and the modern museologists unite in regarding as an artistic high crime. Comparatively few things are exhibited at a time; the remainder are reserved in "study rooms."

That Japanese sculpture is still so unfamiliar as to look queer to most Occidentals detracts, of course, in no wise from the value of the statuary at Boston. The sense of oddity wears off presently. The race that produced the exquisite Kano paintings was not inept in the use of the mallet and chisel. The development of a highly expressive sculptural art from the conventionalized manner introduced by Korean craftsmen in the sixth century, through the graceful, delicate workmanship of the Nara period, and on to the florid, over-ornate, and ultra-sensational temple statuary of the late Tokugawa era, is henceforth revealed to those Americans who have not been fortunate enough to see such works in the temples for which they were intended.



THE MAGNIFICENT COLLEGE THE BRITISH HAVE BUILT AT DACCA

(Dacca was the Mohammedan capital of Bengal, and now is the headquarters of the English Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam)

# WHAT THE BRITISH HAVE DONE FOR INDIA

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH

(Author of "Glimpses of the Orient To-day," "Essays on India," "Messages of Uplift for India")

**A** PART from the Oriental magnificence which, at the extravagant expenditure of over \$10,000,000 by the British-Indian Government and the Maharajas, gave hitherto unexcelled resplendency to the pageant held at Delhi—Hindustan's old capital—on December 12, to hear his Majesty George V, King of England, proclaimed Emperor of the Indian Empire, there is a significance attached to the assemblage which is bound to appeal even to those who hate barbaric pomp and splendor, but are interested in taking stock of the good the peninsula has derived, directly and indirectly, from its connection with Great Britain.

## THE FIRST EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE

In order to make such a survey, it is essential, for evident reasons, to form a clear concept of the chaotic condition of the country when the British took hold of it, and of the forces that had brought this about. After the death of Aurangzeb, it will be remem-

bered, various Moslem viceroys established themselves as rulers, the Sikhs arose in the northwest and the Marathas in the south, and plucked many gorgeous plumes from the Mogul peacock, while the Portuguese, French and English each strove to secure, and succeeded in gaining, sovereignty over restricted areas. Rivalries in the camps of the foreigners, aided and abetted by native kings, led to bloody conflicts extending over decades, which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, ended in Great Britain being recognized as suzerain over the whole peninsula. But in 1857, when, at the close of the sanguinary Sepoy Mutiny, the British Crown took over the government of India from the "East-India Company," the country, as the result of this struggle for supremacy, was rent by anarchy which jeopardized life and property, disintegrated industries, impeded trade and commerce, suspended social amenities and interfered with religious observances. It is from this morass that Great Britain has sought to rescue Hindustan.

The first effort of the British Government of India was to drain the marsh of civil war, and it has succeeded wonderfully well in carrying through this undertaking. Peace, no greater than which any country possesses, to-day reigns supreme over Hindustan, and has prevailed for more than a half-century. Of late years, even local disturbances—most of them of a religious character, due to the antipathy existing between the Hindus and Mohammedans, and fought over such an inoffensive beast as the cow, which the former regard as sacred, and the latter as a cheap and palatable article of diet—are becoming less frequent and acrimonious. To guarantee the continuance of this tranquillity, a strong and efficient army and police system have been established; the country has been cut up into administrative divisions under a central government; demarcations have been made between the civil and military departments; the levying and collection of taxes have been systematized; the laws of the land have been codified and a judiciary established to administer them; and all parts of the country have been linked up with good roads, railways, post, telegraph, and telephone.

A settled state of affairs being the seed of progress, the industrial, intellectual, social,

moral, religious, and political reconstruction of India has been growing apace for over fifty years—and the people have made noteworthy advancement in every department of life. To take up each aspect separately and seriatim:

The first effect of the establishment of *Pax Britannica* in India was to deal a staggering blow to the industrial system, already weak beyond measure as the result of the anarchy of centuries. The establishment of British rule pulled down the subtle walls that always had protected the native craftsmen from foreign attack; and, wedded as they were to their hand looms and handicrafts, working not for the love of money, but for the sake of artistic production, caring everything for the world to come, and nothing for here and now, cherishing their tools, that had known no improvement for ages, too much to discard them for efficient implements, they were forced to compete with England which, at that time, led the world in producing manufactures by steam-driven machinery. The result of it all was that trades and industries languished, the soil became overburdened with labor, and farms shrank in size in inverse ratio as the pressure of population increased on them. The backwardness of the agriculturist, his



SPINNING COTTON BY THE ANTIQUATED METHODS

(Compare this with the interior of a modern mill shown on the opposite page)



clumsy implements, and his antiquated methods, further aggravated the situation. In addition, for the first time in its history, Hindustan began to see its money drained to a foreign country, for the pay of Englishmen who never had been outside of London, for the pensions of retired Britishers who had worked in the peninsula, for the stores the British-Indian Government brought from "home," and on account of the trade balance in favor of Great Britain, due to its ability to make and unmake Indian tariffs, to exploit motive power, and to its altogether superior commercial acumen.

Thus all factors combined to reduce the economic stability of the land of Ind to its lowest ebb.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

However, during the last four or five decades, India has been gathering together its industrial forces to fight foreign competition. The Government has established a few technical institutions, and sent native students to Europe and America to learn applied

chemistry, obtain a theoretical and practical knowledge of the various trades carried on under modern conditions, with steam and electricity, and learn how commerce is conducted by the most advanced nations. Indian philanthropists and industrialists themselves have started technological schools, and sent promising young men to Japan, the United States, and Europe, for training. Hoardings have been dug out of the earth where they had been buried for safety, and invested in joint stock companies, which are



THE INTERIOR OF A MODERN SPINNING AND WEAVING MILL,  
LOCATED AT BROACH, IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, INDIA



GIRLS MAKING LACE AT KUSHPUR, A TOWN POPULATED BY NATIVE CHRISTIANS

(Under the direction of one of the Catholic sisters)





NORTHWESTERN INDIA AS IT WAS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

(There were 2,000,000 acres that looked like this, before the British brought water by means of irrigation canals to make it fertile. It had a few scattered patches of bushes, and could ill support a few Janglis—barbarians—who lived by cattle breeding and stealing. The men seen in the photograph are some of these primitive people who are fast becoming civilized)

setting up modern factories, organized on the Western plan, fitted with up-to-date machinery. Hundreds of such enterprises have already been established in all parts of the country, and are producing cotton, silk, and wool cloth, pencils, porcelain, pottery, glass, leather goods, matches, cigars, cigarettes, pens, buttons, umbrellas, celluloid and celluloid articles, felt hats, pharmaceutical products, camphor, printing inks, soaps, candles, and essential oils: scores of others are now in course of construction, one of the most notable being the Tata Iron Foundry, which will be as large as any in the United States. Most of these ventures are financed, supervised, managed, and manned by Indians. Some natives, by distinguishing themselves through their mechanical inventions, scientific research, and the commercial exploitation of chemical secrets, are adding to their own and their people's prosperity.

#### REVIVAL OF NATIVE CRAFTS

Simultaneously, enterprising Hindus and Mohammedans are making an effort to give an impetus to the hand industries by replacing cumbersome tools with improved hand looms and other hand machinery. The revival of the cult of handicrafts in the Occident is having a reflex action in India and is resurrecting the old traditions of the indigenous arts and crafts. The new patriotic spirit, which is coming to be the most distinguishing note of new Hindustan, is tending in the

same direction, creating a sentiment that is erecting an invisible tariff wall.

#### NEW FARMING METHODS

Agriculture also is benefiting from this general stimulus. Young men have entered schools established by the Government for the purpose of imparting instruction in scientific agronomy, or have gone abroad at the expense of the administration or private philanthropists, or on their own responsibility, to study twentieth century farming and farm industries. The British-Indian Government and Native States alike maintain experimental farms, which demonstrate scientific methods and issue literature to induce the simple farmer-folk to give up the ancient, and adopt better ways of doing their work. The revival of the old and the introduction of new industries, by reducing the undue pressure on the soil, and, in some cases, occasioning shortage of agricultural labor, have added to the tendency to employ chilled steel plows, modern rollers and harrows, reapers, winnowers, steam threshers, fodder cutters, and other tools such as are used by American farmers.

The British have shown great enterprise in building irrigation systems in Hindustan to insure that the land already under cultivation shall receive sufficient water when the fickle monsoon is stingy in sending down showers, and to make the desert fertile, so that population may be more evenly distrib-



A MODERN REAPER AT WORK ON A FARM IN LYALLPUR

(This portion of the Punjab Canal Colonies twenty-five years ago was a desert, but to-day has become a world granary. Compare this with the desert photograph on the opposite page to grasp the contrast)

uted throughout the country. More than 25,000,000 acres, including 6,000,000 acres of waste land in northwestern India which, during the last twenty years, have been converted into a world granary, are protected by canals—to be sure, not enough for a country of over 1,000,000 square miles, but a good record for less than sixty years' work.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Great Britain's accomplishment in stimulating the Indian intellect is equally noteworthy. The Hindus possess a philosophical mind. In the old days, when Europe was peopled with savages, they had famous universities at Benares, Bijaynagar, and Nadea, where religion, grammar, logic, and moral philosophy were taught. The Mohammedans likewise prized learning, and many of the Mogul Emperors prided themselves as much upon their skill at versification, *bon mol*, and argument, as upon their vast empire. However, at the time when the Moslems yielded their throne to the English, no systematic teaching was being done in any part of India. Brahmans belonging to the Hindu temples and the Moulvis of the Mohammedan mosques, to be sure, made some attempt at imparting knowledge, but they were feeble, fitful, and elementary in the extreme. The British Government of India has established universities at Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, and Madras, and is planning to found one at Rangoon. The Hindus and Mohammedans themselves are raising funds with the intention of asking King George, during his

stay in India, to lay foundation stones for a Hindu university at Benares, and a Mohammedan university at Aligarh. Government colleges and high schools abound everywhere in Hindustan, and already there is a grammar school in one village out of every five.

The people themselves have started and are maintaining hundreds of primary schools and a score or more of academies, some of which receive subsidies from the administration, while others are absolutely independent of grants-in-aid. Both the rulers of the land and private individuals conduct a large number of schools and colleges exclusively for girls, which serve a useful end by bringing the light of emancipation to thousands of native women, who, in their turn, are carrying it on to their less fortunate sisters. Of course, as yet only a small minority of Indians have become literate, and to-day the larger percentage of boys and girls of school-going age are not attending institutions of learning; but none the less a great impetus has been given to the campaign to rid Hindustan of its ignorance and consequent superstition. The British so far have not seen their way clear to make elementary education free or compulsory, though just now a bill has been introduced and is being pushed by the Indian members of India's parliament—the Supreme Legislative Council—to introduce these features in the educational system. One of the Maharajas, Sayaji Rao III, has carried out this reform in his State of Baroda, while the rulers of Travancore, Mysore, Patiala, and a few other native States, have made public instruction in the lower grades free.



GIRLS AND WIDOWS WHO ARE RECEIVING A MODERN EDUCATION AT THE "VANITA VISHRAM."  
 (This institution was started in Surat by two Hindu widows who sold all their ornaments and contributed all they possessed to the fund. These women are seated on chairs in the center)



ONE OF THE MOST ENLIGHTENED INDIAN PRINCES, THE THAKORE SAHIB OF GONDAL

DOING AWAY WITH VICIOUS  
CUSTOMS

The British, being foreigners, and only a drop in the bucket when compared with the Indian population—there are less than 300,000 European men, women, and children, all told, among 300,000,000 natives—for patent reasons have not dared to do much to interfere directly with the social, moral, and religious canons of the people. Yet with the coöperation of progressive Indians they have passed laws to abolish *sati*—the immolation of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, a cruel custom, especially in view of the fact that oftentimes relatives, considering it cheaper to persuade or force the hapless women thus to kill themselves than to support them for a long term of years, egged them on to commit suicide in this orthodox manner; legalized widow remarriage, thus dealing an insidious but tremendously effective blow to the Hindu practice of enforcing widowhood; made matrimony between men and women professing different religions possible; and fixed the age of consent.

Indirectly, the English have inspired the natives to set about reorganizing their social, moral, and religious systems. Indians educated in the modern schools and colleges find it impossible to live up to such requirements of caste as the practice of looking upon more than 60,000,000 of their confrères as "untouchable," and treating them worse than dogs; refusing to break bread with people of other clans and creeds than their own; refraining from going abroad for material betterment or pleasure; abstaining from marrying outside the extremely restricted area prescribed for them; or compelling widows to remain single without insisting upon compulsory "widowerhood." Their education makes them recognize the banefulness of extremely early wedlock and its consequent evil, immature motherhood. They therefore, singly and collectively, during the last fifty



SARALA DEVI CHAUDHRANI, B.A., A GIRL GRADUATE OF THE  
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

(Late principal of the Maharani's College for Women at Mysore; she edits a magazine for the benefit of women)

years, have increasingly urged the reconstruction of society along saner, more modern, and civilized lines. Organizations have been established in all parts of the country to effect these reforms, and the propaganda is yearly enlisting the enthusiasm of a constantly growing number of men and women. In more than one metropolis to-day institutions are to be found where members of the fair sex, many of them widows, are being trained to be sisters of mercy, to aid and instruct the poor and neglected.

The most remarkable result of Western education has been the revitalizing of Hinduism and Islam. Dissenting faiths, such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and Theosophy have sprung up, Sikhism has been revived, and Mohammedanism inspired to purge itself of many hindering accretions. These religious bodies are exerting their whole

influence to divert the people from the mere mumbling of meaningless prayers, to endeavoring to build up a good moral character. Monogamy is making a great headway among both Hindus and Moslems, and they are trying to give a more equitable status to their women.

#### POLITICAL IDEALS

It is only natural that modern education should develop political aspirations in the Indians. They desire to see their country governed by native agency on the same principles as those in vogue in Occidental lands. However, the bulk of them realize that, at the present stage of India's evolution, a popular administration is not possible, and they therefore do not press England to immediately leave its Oriental dependency to its fate, but agitate for the granting of self government to the people as literacy advances among them. There is a small majority, to be sure, which is eager to see Hindustan absolutely and at once freed from British leading-strings, and the extremists among them even go to the length of occasionally throwing bombs and firing revolvers at officials, and advocating a complete boycott of English men and goods. But the number of impatient idealists and anarchists is small compared with the great moderate majority. In acknowledgment of the demands of Young India, and in recognition of the fact that the people have progressed materially and intellectually during the last half-century, Great Britain has conceded to the natives a limited voice in the administration of their own country; and every year sees more of the important governmental posts being given to them.

Similar improvement is going on in the native States, which must be distinguished from British India, being ruled by Indian princes who, though subject to the supervision and advice of the paramount power in carrying on their government, yet are practically the masters of all they survey. Many of the Maharajas, as has been observed, have shown great enthusiasm in affording excellent educational facilities for their subjects, and the enlightened rulers of Mysore and Travancore have conceded important legislative rights to their people. Whereas in the old days, the princes used to vie with one another in being the most extravagant in jewels, and dress, and capricious pleasure, now the more

progressive among them are running a race to provide stable administrations. Without undue pressure from the outside, here and there these potentates are bringing to an end the policy of their forefathers, who looked upon all state revenue as belonging to their privy purse, and are voluntarily limiting their expenditures. The native rulers attempt to emulate the example of British India, while the alien administrators try to outstrip the Maharajas in introducing advanced measures. A healthy rivalry thus exists between the two, and steadily is increasing as time rolls on, portending the present and future well-being of the whole of the land.

The British do not take the stand that they have perfected the government of India to a point where it cannot be improved—the educated Indians would not permit them to harbor such a thought for a moment, even if they were inclined to do so. A public platform and press have gradually been established which, in conjunction with the Indian members of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, keep the officials strung up to the highest pitch of efficiency and watchfulness. Journalistic and oratorical gad-flies keep stinging the natives, also, to do all they can to hurry along the intellectual, social, moral, and spiritual evolution of the country.

Consequently India in 1911 is not only in every respect incomparably better than it was when the British entered it as traders, or when their sovereign took hold of the reins of its government, but it actually is on the high road of progress, and is making giant strides, despite the fact that the inertia of centuries and the wrangling of warring races and creeds flag its energies. Important as it is that the English have established peace, built schools, provided transportation and communication facilities, modernized old irrigation canals and constructed new ones, codified, revised, and improved the laws of the land, and introduced other features of a humane government, they have done even greater good in kicking the natives out of their lethargy of ages, and inspiring the different sections of the people to settle their quarrels of the past, bury the hatchet, and turn their attention to self-improvement. In the long run, self-help is the best aid, and the British, having been the means of stimulating the Indians with the desire to work out their own salvation, have performed the most invaluable service for Hindustan.



A MOUNTAIN OF POTASH ROCK—STONE MOUNTAIN, GEORGIA

(This granite dome is calculated by Mr. Phalen of the United States Geological Survey to contain 32,000,000 tons of potash. There are thousands of such mountains, but the potash, at the present stage of scientific investigation, is unavailable)

## THE POTASH SEARCH IN AMERICA

BY GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL

(United States Geological Survey)

**L**AST year American farmers bought from Germany about \$15,000,000 worth of potash salts. In 1910 we bought \$12,000,000 worth; in 1900, about \$4,000,000 worth. During these twelve years we spent for potash \$75,000,000, and during the coming twelve years, at the present rate of increase in consumption, we shall spend \$425,000,000 more. While this possible increased demand for potash is enormous it is by no means improbable. We are really just beginning to recognize widely the great value of potash as a fertilizer and its capacity for doubling the agricultural yield of many broad areas. The possibilities of its use in the United States are almost limitless. Nor would such an increase be phenomenal in the history of our mineral development. Our consumption of some other minerals has increased in an even more spectacular manner—coal, for instance. The difference is that we are importing all this potash, and it goes against the American grain to send abroad our good money for a raw material, especially a mineral. For we pride ourselves on being by far the greatest mineral producers of the world.

It is well worth while, therefore, to find an American supply of potash. As a matter of

fact we must either purchase potash or produce it, since potash is an absolutely essential constituent of any complete fertilizer. The period of virgin soil requiring no fertilizer, and of a wood-ashes' supply, has gone by in the United States and it is becoming more and more generally necessary to apply potash salts in common agricultural practice. Without potash in the soil *no plant can grow*, much less thrive and reproduce itself.

The German potash controversy of last year called attention to our dependence upon Germany's world supply of potash salts, and vigorous measures were at once instituted to find an American supply. In the international dispute German diplomacy, or rather arrogance, beat us hands down. The Germans dictated their terms and we accepted them, perforce, because they held trump cards—namely, a real world's monopoly of supply; yet, after all, was the German course really a diplomatic one? German authorities are beginning to question it, and to note with concern the activity and determination to find potash in America, success in which will of course cut off an opulent market for the German product. Americans are recognized as always loath to pass under the yoke,

and the potash policy of the German Government is now being freely criticized even in the German press itself.

The fact of the matter is that the great Prussian potash salt deposits are about as nearly inexhaustible as it is possible to consider a mineral resource; American farmers were complacently sending their millions abroad each year for these salts, and if the country had not been stirred from shore to shore by the particularly odious exactions of the foreign potash syndicate the United States would doubtless have gone on indefinitely pouring its gold into Germany in exchange for potash. But a sleeping giant has been aroused, and it is not too much to say that Old World diplomacy, so called, has to all intents and purposes killed the goose that laid the golden egg. The search for American potash is in progress in every direction, and no golden Eldorado ever held out better prospects for success. Moreover, when the find is made it will be a bigger discovery and of more economic importance to the nation than the greatest gold camp in the history of treasure hunting.

#### AMERICA HAS A GREAT POTENTIAL POTASH SUPPLY

A most singular fact it is that with potash one of the commonest of minerals there should be only one commercial source—namely, the Stassfurt deposits of Germany. The United States, the richest mineral belt in the world, has, however, no lack of potash. She has countless millions of tons of it—entire mountain ranges of potash-bearing rock, well distributed over the United States; but seemingly as a test of man's ingenuity, Nature has tightly locked it up against human use. Even as the ship-wrecked mariner exclaims, "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink!" so the American farmer, surrounded on every side by ridges and cliffs of potash rock, may echo, "Potash, potash everywhere, but not a pound to use!" In short, the enormous quantities of potash contained in the granites and feldspars are insoluble and unavailable as a plant food, and no cheap process of extraction has yet been devised.

#### SEARCH FOR THE POTASH SALTS

Rocks, then, are one source of potash: another and very likely one is deposits of soluble salts in the arid West, similar to those of Germany. A year ago Congress appropriated \$20,000, which became available on July 1, to enable the United States Geologi-

cal Survey to search for such potash deposits, and work is being pushed along this line, deep-drilling operations now being under way in the desert regions of Nevada. The source of all potash salt deposits is ocean water and leachings from rocks, and since the West was in an early geologic age covered by the primal ocean, and it is known that in the succeeding upheavals of the continent many vast inland seas were formed which later dried up, it is deduced that there were left enormous deposits of salt and potash.

Study of the Great Basin desert region by Geologist H. S. Gale revealed this as the most promising area for the first drilling operations. This conclusion was based largely on the early geologic work of G. K. Gilbert and I. C. Russell, who, in Geological Survey Monographs I and XI, describe in scientific detail the origin and structure of the prehistoric Lakes Bonneville and Lahontan. These ancient lakes were, in a former geologic age, enormous bodies of water, many times the area of Lake Superior, and Mr. Gale states that no more convincing reason can be advanced for the belief that immense quantities of saline material must be included in the strata underlying the desert sinks of the Great Basin than that set forth in the philosophic writings of these eminent geologists, representing field investigations in the early eighties. From the study of these reports with their excellent geologic maps, coupled with field examinations by Mr. Gale, it was concluded that the most promising test of the hypothesis of possible buried salines in concentrated form would be somewhere in the low portions of either the Lahontan or the Bonneville basin.

#### DEEP DRILLING IN THE "GREAT BASIN"

The Lahontan basin was chosen because that lake is known to have never overflowed, and a site was selected near Fallon, Nevada. A drilling outfit was therefore shipped from Pittsburgh, operations were begun on October 1 with a twelve-inch drill hole, and on December 1 a depth of 380 feet had been reached. The discovery of such saline deposits, though its likelihood is supported by the best geologic information of to-day, Mr. Gale states conservatively, should perhaps be regarded as a possibility rather than a probability.

The value of this possibility has of course been carefully considered and it is believed that as a public enterprise, at least, a reasonable test is not only justified but highly desirable. In a word, it is the hope of the





A WALL OF THE LEUCITE, POTASH-RICH ROCK OF WYOMING

(The Leucite Hills include some ten square miles of visible volcanic capping, analyzing from 8 to 11 per cent. potash. The rock "in sight" is estimated by geologists of the United States Geological Survey to contain nearly a quarter of a billion tons of potash)

Geological Survey to locate one or more potash beds, for the conditions are believed to be distinctly favorable. It may be remarked in this connection that the German Government spent five years in sinking the shaft near Stassfurt which resulted in a discovery the value of whose ultimate product can be estimated only in billions of dollars. It is somewhat to be regretted, however, that for an object of such undoubted and urgent importance Congress did not at once appropriate enough money to provide for a dozen drilling parties throughout the West instead of for one.

#### CHEMISTRY MAY SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Another appropriation of \$12,500 was made by Congress to the Department of Agriculture, and investigations of a chemical nature have been carried on by that department in the hope of developing some practical process for extracting potash from the feldspars and other rocks as above noted. Much of the common granite, for instance, contains 4 or 5 per cent. of potash, and many of the feldspars contain as high as 8, 10, or 12 per cent. of potash ( $K_2O$ ). The feldspars, it may be mentioned, constitute over 50 per cent. of all rocks. These would make a satisfactory high-grade potash fertilizer for all practical purposes, with an exhaustless supply, except that as stated the potash content of rocks is not readily soluble, and there is no known cheap method of extracting it. Other rocks

with high potash content, which may be more readily reduced than the feldspars, are being investigated. Among those mentioned by the Geological Survey are the alunites and the rhyolites and especially the leucite rocks of Wyoming, which contain as much potash as the German kainite salt which is imported in large quantities. These leucite deposits have been described by the Survey geologist as a volcanic capping, covering an area of about ten square miles to a depth of from fifty to one hundred feet. Analyses of this rock show it to contain from 9 to 12 per cent. of potash, so that with a cheap method of extraction this single small area should yield hundreds of millions of tons of pure potash salts. Upon this problem of the extraction of potash from rocks the Department of Agriculture, as well as many private investigators, have been hard at work. Several scores of processes have already been patented, most of which are plainly impossible, but some may prove out to be commercially feasible, while at least two are believed to be all but assured successes.

#### SCHEMES TO FLEECE THE PUBLIC

With the general interest aroused over the possibilities of new discoveries there has come the usual number of schemes to fleece the public. Thus a syndicate was recently heralded in an Eastern State as having acquired a large area of land containing immense deposits of "potash ore" running 24



per cent. pure potash. It was stated that a \$10,000,000 corporation had been formed to supply the nation with potash, and that it might be possible for the public to secure a limited amount of the stock. Most fortunately for the public the Geological Survey had examined the area in question several years ago and had published a report on it. The Director of the Survey immediately issued a statement to the effect that while the deposits of rock in question contained a fair percentage of potash—8 or 10 per cent.—it was of an insoluble nature, and therefore the so-called "ore," as a source of potash under any present known commercial process of extraction, was worthless. The Survey report describing this deposit also described about seventy-five other similar deposits.

Another line of investigation of a potash supply and one which holds out much promise of success is in the use of the ocean flora, the seaweeds as they are called, although should seaweeds provide a plentiful source of potash the term would quickly become, if indeed it is not already, a misnomer, since an accepted definition of a weed is a plant whose virtues yet remain undiscovered.

#### SEAWEED A RICH SOURCE of POTASH

In a bulletin on potash by W. C. Phalen, issued by the United States Geological Survey in February, 1911, reference was made to the giant kelps of the Pacific Coast as a possible practical source of potash, based on some exhaustive experiments and analyses made of several varieties of these huge seaweeds, and the Department of Agriculture has been busily investigating the practicability of harvesting the annual growths of these inexhaustible ocean meadows.

Credit for the discovery, or at least discussion of the availability of these seaweeds as an adequate source of American fertilizer, and their amazing richness in soluble potash seems to belong to David M. Balch, S.B., who contributed to the *Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, in 1909, an interesting description of the growth and composition of the "Giant Kelps of California," suggesting the feasibility of utilizing them as an ever renewable source of cheap potash. It is this plan to which Geologist Phalen briefly refers. Here is a potash supply readily available for the use of the farmer. It only remains to devise a plan for reaping the unique crop; the rest of the process is simple, for seaweed has been used as a fertilizer from time immemorial.

The ocean is a vast and inexhaustible reservoir of potash. Held in a dilute solution, the ocean's potash content, figured from the "Data of Geochemistry" of the United States Geological Survey, would nevertheless constitute a mine of solid potash salts the size of the State of Indiana and 8000 feet deep. It would cover the entire United States to a depth of approximately 100 feet. It is quite impracticable to extract commercially the mere trace of potash from sea water, yet the seaweeds eagerly concentrate it; indeed in this respect their usefulness to man may be compared to that of the clover family whose roots concentrate the free nitrogen from the limitless supply of our atmosphere. Thus it only remains to harvest the seaweeds as we do the clovers.

#### BROAD SEA MEADOWS OF GIANT KELPS

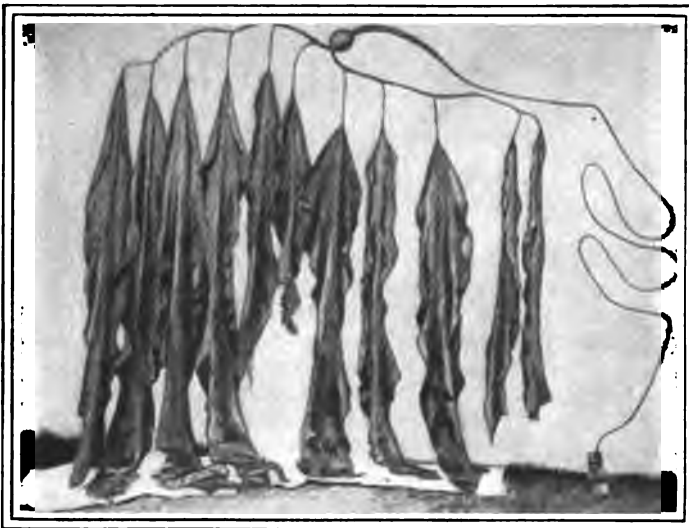
Mr. Balch describes three species of giant seaweed or kelp which cover thousands of square miles of seafloor along the Pacific Coast, ranging from Mexico up to the Arctic Ocean, the plants growing in a single season to a height of sixty feet, and forming dense belts or groves, covering the ocean's surface in many places with broad meadows of graceful foliage, and with tissues literally gorged with potash. A large number of analyses, made by Balch of the salts secreted by these kelps, show a potash content of from 50 to over 70 per cent.

If by any means at our command, says Mr. Balch, we attempt to extract the dozen ounces of potash contained in each ton of sea water, we shall find ourselves engaged in a difficult and unremunerative endeavor which we cannot successfully accomplish. But our marine agencies are quietly and ceaselessly accomplishing this task for our advantage. Each plant of the giant kelps stores up yearly, in addition to other valuable products, most liberal quantities of potash of a remarkable purity as the result of a natural process. We have but to gather the plant and utilize its products. If we are not wise enough to do so, the plant, having reached maturity, decays, its products return to the ocean, are taken up by its successors in the ensuing year, and the opportunity is ours once again. Along our coasts are growing with the rapidity and vigor of the bamboo countless millions of marine plants, each of which may store up during its short life from one to two pounds of chloride and sulphate of potassium.

The conclusions reached are that a ton of air-dried kelp in addition to valuable by-

products can be depended on for a minimum yield of 500 pounds of pure potash salts and three pounds of iodine. These are worth above \$20 in the markets, and with the addition of the by-products Mr. Balch conservatively places the value of the product of a ton of air-dried kelp at \$25. This value he compares with a yield of \$6 per ton from the distillation of wood, which is cut, split, stacked, seasoned for a year, and then transported to the plant for distillation.

The harvesting and handling of the kelp, according to Mr. Balch, should present no great difficulty. A steam scow or launch, manned and fitted with labor-saving devices, could move quickly from place to place, cut the kelp, draw it on board, carry it to shore, and unload cargo at a minimum cost. The next step would be to put it into condition for transportation. Dried by wind and sun or by artificial methods to a point where the weed is soft and pliable a ton of kelp would be reduced, he states, to a bale of about 250 pounds, in which form it is easily transportable, while its contents will keep indefinitely. The subsequent extraction of the potash and by-products presents no difficulties. It would seem, therefore, that the Department of Agriculture is following at least one solution of the potash problem. One species of the kelp, *Nereocystis gigantea*, grows at a depth of from sixty to 120 feet. Another species of *nereocystis* flourishes in water from fifty to sixty feet in depth, in patches so dense as to impede navigation, and another giant kelp abounds from Mexico to Alaska and from Cape Horn north almost to the equator at a depth of about sixty feet. This plant attains great bulk, and during rough weather it is often stranded in vast quantities, entire plants many hundreds of pounds in weight strewn the beaches. Experts of the Department of Agriculture have been investigating these kelp fields of the Pacific Coast and are now considering the practical proposition of annually harvesting the crop. They have made a sort of survey, during the past year, of about 100 square miles of these kelp groves, and Secretary Wilson expresses the greatest confidence that the American people have here



A BRANCH OF THE GIANT KELP OF CALIFORNIA

(*Nereocystis gigantea*, from which the Department of Agriculture expects to obtain the American potash fertilizer supply. The leaves and stalks of this huge seaweed absorb large quantities of potash from the ocean water)

an eternal source of potash, readily available as a fertilizer, which will make the United States entirely independent of Germany.

No exact statement has been made of the tonnage yield per acre, but it would seem proper to make a general comparison between the yield of an acre of these giant seaweeds and that of some rank-growing terrestrial crop, such as bamboo or banana plants, in which a yield of eighty tons per acre may be considered as a basis, remembering, however, that the giant kelps grow fifty or sixty feet in height. But even eighty tons of green kelp per acre would yield 10,000 pounds of pure potash salts ( $K_2O$ ), or a single square mile, if all the kelp could be harvested, would yield 3200 tons of potash, which, together with the by-products, would be worth when marketed about \$300,000 annually. The process would be costly, but there would seem to be a large margin of profit. Secretary Wilson himself is optimistic in the belief that the kelp groves of the California coast will furnish America a cheap potash supply not only for present needs but for any reasonable increased consumption which can now be foreseen. During the summer the agricultural experts mapped about 100 square miles of kelp fields, and the Secretary states that this area alone "should yield 1,000,000 tons of potassium chloride, equivalent to 630,000 tons of potash ( $K_2O$ ) annually, worth at least \$35,000,000," which is considerably more than double the value of the present importation of potash salts from Germany.

# PHILIPPINE TRADE TO-DAY

BY CHARLES B. ELLIOTT

(Commissioner and Secretary of Commerce and Police of the Philippine Islands)

TWO years ago the markets of the United States, with certain limitations, were thrown open to the people of the Philippine Islands. The vivifying effect upon the commercial community and the general business situation was immediate. It seemed to the merchants that the dead weight of adverse conditions under which they had been laboring was about to be removed. The sky began to brighten. The old listlessness disappeared and a better spirit prevailed. The people felt that they were not entirely forgotten by the home country, and entered upon the work of upbuilding with enthusiasm and vigor. One of the results is shown by the following table of exports and imports between the Philippine Islands and the United States during the corresponding nine months of the past three years:

Year	Exports from Philippine Islands to the United States	Imports to Philippine Islands from the United States
1909.....	\$7,389,028	\$7,935,987
1910.....	12,714,945	11,923,543
1911.....	13,167,118	15,749,029

The total of imports into the Philippine Islands from the United States during 1911 includes \$2,578,075 imported by the army, \$1,034,381 by the navy, \$938,512 by the government of the Philippine Islands, and \$304,965 by the railway companies for construction work, a total of \$4,865,933, items not previously included in the reports.

The record of internal revenue collections tells an even more impressive story of commercial activity. Merchants and manufacturers whose sales exceed \$250 per annum pay a tax of one-third of 1 per cent. on the gross value of all goods, wares, and merchandise sold, bartered, or exchanged and not exported, excluding tobacco, liquors, and agricultural products. During the fiscal year 1911 the total of this tax increased 40 per cent. over that of the preceding year. Including the things above excluded, the gross sales of goods by merchants and manufacturers during the fiscal year 1911 show an increase of about 35 per cent. over those of the year 1909. During the same period the percentage of tax shows that the bank deposits in-

creased about 30 per cent. Another accurate measure of business activity is the sales of documentary stamps, and 27 per cent. more stamps were used in 1911 than in 1909.

## A DECADE OF INCREASING IMPORTATIONS

As compared with 1901, the people of the islands by 1911 had increased their importations of flour 300 per cent., leather 250 per cent., provisions 400 per cent., and illuminating oils 275 per cent. The person whose imagination enables him to find "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything" will have no difficulty in finding in these figures the story of a people's progress from the most primitive conditions consistent with the claim of any degree of civilization, to a much higher degree of economic prosperity. What does such growth mean when translated into terms of everyday life? The use of white flour and imported provisions means a diversified diet, instead of the rice and miserable decayed fish on which so many of the past generation of Filipinos have been nurtured. More and better illuminating oil means reasonably well-lighted streets and plazas, and lamps in houses instead of sputtering rags laid in cups of cocoanut oil. More leather and better cotton goods means well-dressed and shod, instead of barefooted, people.

The enumeration of the articles which the Filipino people have within recent years learned to use and enjoy might be continued almost indefinitely. All this means a higher social and economic life, with new ambitions and desires, and the discontent which demands their gratification. It is the awakening of a people under the stimulating influence of contact with a highly electrified Western civilization, which teaches that economic prosperity and independence is the basis of all healthy life, whether individual or national.

## EXPORTS OF THE ISLANDS

At present the Philippine Islands export nothing but agricultural products, of which

hemp, sugar, tobacco, and copra (dried coconut meat) are the principal. The preëminence which for many years hemp maintained is now being challenged by copra, which twenty years ago was unknown as an article of export. Formerly the copra of the islands was made into oil, and used for lighting, lubricating small machinery, cooking, and other domestic purposes. The increase in the production and export of copra is one of the romances of trade. In less than twenty years its export from the Philippine Islands has grown from nothing to over 100,000 tons, of the value of \$9,000,000. The Philippine Islands are peculiarly adapted to the growth of cocoanuts, and with the extension of the means of communication it is probable that copra will double its production within the next ten years. Copra-making is popular with the natives, and gives better returns for the land and labor than any other crop produced in the islands at the present time.

#### TOBACCO MANUFACTURE

The Payne bill, even with its limitations, proved a great incentive to the manufacture and export to the United States of Philippine cigars. The law limits the number of cigars which may enter free of duty to 150,000,000 per annum, and it is not probable that this figure will be much exceeded for some time to come. Prior to the enactment of the law very few Manila cigars were exported to the United States. In 1908 there were but 29,570. In 1909 this increased to 867,947. In 1910, the market being opened, there were 197,000,000, which represents almost the total number of cigars exported. There was a slight falling off in the export of leaf tobacco in 1910 from 1909, due to the increased demand for material for the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes. During 1910 the value of cigars exported increased from \$1,083,702 to \$2,973,630.

The manufacture of cigars and cigarettes, one of the most important in the islands, employs many thousands of people. The industry is under the direct supervision of the health authorities, and strict sanitary regulations are enforced both as to the persons of the workmen and the premises in which they work. It is probable that there are no tobacco factories in the world where a higher degree of cleanliness is observed than in those of Manila. The tobacco, like other Philippine industries, is susceptible to improvement and increase.

#### THE PRODUCTION OF HEMP AND COPRA

Hemp still holds first place in exports. There has been much discussion about the low price of hemp, but the terms low and high are only comparative. Possibly the producers were spoiled somewhat by the high prices obtained during the war period, and just after the drought of 1904. During 1910 the value of hemp exported was \$1,500,000 more than the preceding year, and its total value was more than twice that of the crop exported in the last year before the Spanish-American war. Unfortunately, hemp has shared with every article produced in the islands the fault of poor and imperfect preparation, and the reasons for the poor quality of much of the recent product must be laid to poverty and ignorance. At the present time the cheaper qualities of hemp bring low prices, to the dissatisfaction of the producers. The first quality of hemp, which can be obtained only in the Philippine Islands, maintains its high price, but the native producers seem to believe that even at the present low price of the cheaper grades they can earn more than by applying the additional labor and care which is necessary for the production of first-class hemp. That this is a mistake is obvious, and the fact is beginning to be appreciated by the producers. There is a steady market for the best quality of hemp, an article which cannot be supplied from any other country, and with more intelligent methods and capable instructors the Philippines will undoubtedly hold this market, to the great ultimate advantage of the producers.

Nothing illustrates better the necessity for expert instruction and careful training of the natives. They have constantly lost money because the products they have been placing on the markets of the world were of poor quality, due entirely to careless and unscientific methods of production and manufacture. For instance, copra from Ceylon, Java, and the Straits Settlements brings a higher price than Philippine copra, which has been unable to compete with the clean, well-dried copra of other countries. The San Francisco market has in the past refused to take Manila copra, preferring the better prepared article from the mid-Pacific and South Sea islands. Liverpool and other large consuming places obtain their supply from the Australian islands. As a result, substantially all Philippine copra goes to France. Earnest efforts are being made to remedy this condition, and it is only a question of time when Philippine copra will be recognized as the equal of any

produced in the world, because nowhere in the world can better copra be produced than in the Philippines.

#### SUGAR AND OTHER PRODUCTS

Philippine sugar has also suffered from faulty methods of production and manufacture. Up to the time that high polarization sugars began to be produced from beets, the Philippines found no difficulty in selling all the cane sugar produced. The years 1892-1893 reached the high-water mark, with a production of about 250,000 tons each year, worth between \$7,000,000 and \$10,000,000. At that time agricultural labor was cheap, and the sugar was sold at a large profit. Under changed conditions it will be necessary to bring Philippine sugar up to the standard of Cuba and Java, even at an increased cost of production. It is recognized that under the stimulus of the Payne bill it will not be many years before the 300,000-ton limit is reached, and that unless this limit is extended, Philippine sugar must then compete in the markets of the world. New methods of culture and modern sugar mills are being introduced, and their influence on the product will soon become apparent.

The principal minor products which are produced in the islands are hats, gum copal, maguey, cordage, and lumber. The output of these articles is steadily increasing, and in the course of a few years they will become important articles of export. When the island of Mindanao is developed, it will produce rubber, cocoa, coffee, spices, and gums for export in large quantities.

#### POSSIBILITIES OF THE EXPORT TRADE

The prosperity of the country is not necessarily determined by its exports and imports, and yet what a country buys and sells to its neighbors is an important factor. During the last year of the Spanish régime, the total goods exported were valued at about \$30,000,000. During the years between 1893 and 1898 the exports at times were under \$12,000,000 a year. In 1902 the total was \$24,500,000. From 1903 to 1909 it averaged a trifle over \$32,000,000. During the fiscal year 1910 the exports amounted to \$40,000,000, which was more than \$8,000,000 over that of 1909. The Payne bill accounted for \$4,600,000 of this increase, and the increase otherwise appears in copra, \$2,500,000, and hemp, \$1,500,000. During that year, however, a great deal of produce had been held and carried over in

anticipation of the passage of the Payne bill. Notwithstanding this, there was during 1911 a slight increase over the figures for the year 1910. There was in fact a decline in but two items, hemp and cigars. In all other items there was an advance. There were exported in 1910, 171,000 tons of hemp, and in 1911, 166,000 tons—5000 tons less. The value of the 1910 export was \$17,400,000, and that of 1911, \$16,140,000. Of cigars in 1910 there were exported 197,000,000, as against 132,000,000 in 1911, and the value of the 1910 exportation was nearly \$3,000,000, as against \$1,700,000 for that of 1911.

In 1910, 128,000 tons of sugar were exported, valued at \$7,000,000, and in 1911, 149,000 tons, valued at \$8,000,000, an increase in quantity of 22,000 tons, and in value of \$1,000,000. In 1910, 115,000 tons of copra were exported, and in 1911, 116,000 tons, but the value increased from \$9,150,000 to \$9,900,000. Of all other articles, including maguey, lumber, and some fifteen or twenty minor articles, there was an increase in value from \$1,360,000 to \$2,080,000. The net result was that a figure slightly under \$40,000,000 for 1910 was increased to something over \$40,000,000 in 1911. With an increasing copra and sugar production, there will be a steady and normal increase in the value of exports. Lord Cromer notes that a wise friend advised him to record, not what had occurred in the past, but what he believed would occur in the future, in order that when reading his record in after years, his sense of modesty might be cultivated. For this purpose we will predict that within five years the total export trade will reach \$60,000,000, and that it will go on increasing until the export per capita is equal to that for Porto Rico and Cuba.

#### NATIVE DISTRUST OF CAPITAL

There is no desire to paint conditions in the Philippines in unduly roseate hues. There are many unpleasant factors in the situation which tend to retard commercial development. Not the least troublesome is the antagonistic attitude of many of the natives toward the introduction of American or other foreign capital. Much of this feeling is unreasonable, although honestly entertained. The demagogues, of whom the country has about the same proportion as other countries, men who have no stake in the country, and whose temporary positions depend upon impressing the electorate, have taught the people that capital will bring with it economic slavery,

and all the other evils which a vivid imagination can conjure up. Fear of the trusts has taken the place of the old fear of the mountain brigands. It is all impalpable and undefined, and yet it is a very real feeling, and a fact to be taken into consideration. The Filipino people have no proper perspective from which to consider such problems. In the old times the rich preyed on them, and they know of no reason why one rich man should differ from another. The more intelligent people appreciate that the natural resources of the islands cannot be developed by native capital alone. There is not enough of it, and the native capitalists as a rule know little of modern business. To this there are of course exceptions, but the average Filipino with money prefers to loan the profits from his *hacienda* to the common people at rates of interest ranging from 2 to 50 per cent. per month, and the Filipinos are willing borrowers at such rates.

Very few of the people are intelligent enough to understand the questions involved in the use of foreign capital in the development of the islands. This, like nearly all the problems in the Philippines, will be solved by education. The good sense of the people will enable them to see the advantages which capital will bring. They know that the islands contain great undeveloped wealth, and have been told that the capitalists will appropriate it all to their own use. The Philippine statutes contain all the safeguards against corporate and capitalistic aggression which the United States is at a late date imposing, and the danger from trusts and other such aggressions is insignificant. The present laws contain so many restrictions that they are in fact serious obstacles in the way of enterprise. As the Filipinos come to realize the actual conditions, their opposition to the introduction of capital will cease. The government realizes that new capital is necessary for the development of the great natural resources of the country, and that the safeguards which have been inserted in the statutes will enable the people to reap the benefits of the development, while escaping many serious evils with which the

people of the United States have had to contend.

The well-to-do element already favors the policy of inviting capital to the country, while the opposition includes all the agitators who oppose whatever Americans favor, and fear the loss of their influence in the prosperity of the country. The only argument which has any validity is that advanced by those who believe that with the establishing of mutually beneficial commercial relations between the United States and the Philippines, the Filipino people will lose all interest in the political battle cry of *Independencia*. From the viewpoint of those who prefer a poor and insignificant native state to a prosperous and wealthy self-governing, autonomous community under the sovereignty of the American flag, the opposition to the economic growth of the country through the use of American energy, skill, and capital is intelligible, if not intelligent.

The civilization which the Spaniards built was feudal, ecclesiastic, scholastic, and in some senses Quixotic, laying stress on much which the modern world deems trivial and inconsequential. When touched by the modernism which organizes, constructs, and seeks to subject nature with a rough hand and make her work in harness, the people trained in the old ways instinctively shrink from the contact. It is not so much that they object; they do not understand and appreciate.

This, however, is not true of all. Many appreciate the value of what has been done, and the necessity for capital to carry on the work. They realize, in the words of one of their leading men, that such things as "the land gained from the sea for the new port works, rapidly created by the use of powerful machinery, the buildings of iron and cement which are quickly erected everywhere, the powerful engines and apparatus in the fire stations, the ice plant, the street-railway system, the electric-light system, the sewers and waterworks of the city of Manila, the great printing shop and the diverse factories which have been erected, are irrefutable proofs of a great industrial development and a revelation of completely modern industrialism."



# THE SHORT BALLOT IN AMERICAN CITIES

BY H. S. GILBERTSON

**I**T IS eleven years since the Galveston disaster. But out of that exigency, with beginnings in the merest of accidents, has grown a movement which has re-created the structure of one hundred and sixty American cities, shaken some of the most cherished traditions of our politics, and put a new note of optimism in our political thinking.

Galveston's rehabilitation needed a strong, efficient direction from its governing body; its complex unworkable government could not give it. Straightway, without resort to theory, some of the leading citizens proceeded to map out a very simple plan of control at the hands of five men, who were to have ample powers and be unhampered in their choice of means. The plan was adopted and worked exceedingly well, but it was not democracy, for the commission was chosen by the Governor. The legislative act creating it was declared unconstitutional on these grounds. But it was revived in substantially its original form with this vital difference: that the "commissioners" were to be chosen by popular vote.

The shifting of control from Governor to people caused uneasiness to the local leaders, who were only too familiar with the results of the popular rule under the old government. But the electors made good this time by electing to office the very men whom the Governor had appointed. And for ten years they have been reelecting them again and again, so that with one exception the original commission has been at the helm in Galveston till this year.

It was a new phenomenon; the people actually selecting for office not men who had been identified with office-getting organizations, but bankers and business men of ability with reputations to sustain and interests of their own to protect. So that the Galveston experiment not only solved the local problem of efficient government, but it did so without a sacrifice of democratic principles. In fact, the theory which has grown up out of Galveston's success is that the simplified conditions of citizenship have been all that is really needed to put the people of a community in effective control.

FROM TEXAS TO IOWA

The idea spread to Houston, which adopted in 1905 not the exact plan of organization, but its essential simplicity—five men, the only elective officers, copious in power, conspicuous. Two years later Dallas fell in line, and in the same year the idea took root in Des Moines. From then on the "Commission government" idea has been a national possession, for the citizens of Des Moines did not content themselves with having a popular and workable government for its own sake, but advertised it far and wide as the city's chief civic asset.

In obtaining permission from the State of Iowa to adopt the commission form of organization, Des Moines hit upon a device which has accelerated the movement in the country by several degrees. This was the adoption of a State-wide permissive law, which made it possible for any city (within certain limits of classification) to put the plan into operation by a popular election, called upon petition of 25 per cent. of the qualified electors. Seven Iowa cities reorganized under this arrangement. South Dakota adopted a similar law in the same year.

"COMMISSION" LAWS IN TWENTY STATES

In 1907 and 1909 Kansas adopted two such laws, for her first- and second-class cities, respectively, and now every important city in Kansas is under the commission form. The other States which have adopted such blanket laws are Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, New Mexico, Wisconsin, Alabama, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Washington, Nebraska, New Jersey, and Wyoming. The six last named have enacted such legislation during the past year. The home-rule charter States of California, Oregon, Colorado, Washington (cities of over 20,000 population), Michigan, Minnesota, and Oklahoma, all have "commission" cities. In Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Maine several cities have charters by special act of legislature. So that altogether cities with a total

population of nearly four million either are now or shortly will be governed under this plan.

Galveston is a city of moderate size, with a population of 36,981. For a time the movement was identified with cities of this class, but later it was spread both to the larger and smaller communities so that now in the "commission" group are hamlets like Canton, S. D., too small for a separate census enumeration, and Oakland, Cal., Omaha, Neb., Birmingham, Ala., and Memphis, Tenn., all having a population in excess of 100,000. Buffalo with a population near 500,000 has voted favorably on the idea, but has been unable thus far to bring the New York Legislature to see it in the same light; and some enthusiasts even suggest the "commission" form for New York City.

On November 7, last, Lowell and Lawrence, Mass., Sacramento, Cal., Chanute, Kan., Lexington, Ky., and Fremont, Mich., adopted the plan. The people of Salt Lake City elected the first commissioners under the new system. Soon also Paducah, Ky., Eugene and Salem, Ore., and Pasadena, Cal., will pass upon the question. In Denver, Colo., Baltimore, Md., and Wheeling, W. Va., the inauguration of the new system is being vigorously urged by the leading commercial or civic associations of the respective cities. It is doubtful if any specific political reform ever spread with such rapidity and achieved such popularity within the short period of four years, which is virtually the age of the movement, reckoning from the time of its adoption in Des Moines.

#### WHAT IS "COMMISSION" GOVERNMENT?

The particular plan of organization adopted in Des Moines is not the universal type. When the charters are analyzed it is found that they vary somewhat widely in detail. The basic structure of all, however, is this: A body of five men (three in smaller cities, seven in Omaha) on each of whom is devolved the supervision over a department of the city's activities. Thus in Galveston, there are four departments (the mayor in Galveston is not specifically assigned to one), designated, (1) Finance and Revenue, (2) Streets and Public Property, (3) Water and Sewerage, (4) Police and Fire. The five men sit as a body in a deliberative capacity. All of the commissioners are elected by a vote of the whole city. Normally and logically they are the only elective officers, but a few charters provide for a separately elected fiscal officer on the theory that the audit of the commission's accounts should be con-

ducted by an officer who is not one of their servants. Under the Alabama law this separate audit is conducted by a State examiner. ✓ The Des Moines charter added to the structure what were at the time unknown and untried "devices" of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, measures designed to make doubly sure that the people would control. This instrument also included civil service and corrupt practices provisions and a scheme of non-partisan elections. These features, however, were all taken from older forms; and they constitute no essential part of the commission movement, inasmuch as one or all of them are absent from nearly every law except the Iowa statute. The Initiative and Referendum have rarely been used, and of the Recall the most striking instances of its use lie outside the commission-governed cities. The only commissioners ever removed were those of Tacoma, Wash., and during September, 1911, the mayor and one other commissioner in Wichita, Kan.

The Galveston plan was hewn in the rough. Wide application has shown that certain adjustments must be made in localities to make the instrument thoroughly responsive to the will of the people. There is a rather fine question in social psychology: How to arrange the popular selection of the elective body in such a way that every member of it shall receive such adequate scrutiny as to secure his full responsibility to the voters of the city. In Wichita the mayor was separately designated on the ballot, *i.e.*, voted for as mayor, although under the Kansas law he is no more important than any of his confrères. But the people thought he was more important, with the result that the interest in the Wichita elections has been centered on the mayor, at the expense of the other commissioners. To remedy this defect, a radical step has been taken in New Jersey and Nebraska: a commission of five is elected by the people and from their own number the commissioners select a mayor. Thus every candidate for commissioner elected is, potentially, the head of the city government, and, presumably, receives a corresponding share of attention at the hands of the electors.

The Sacramento, Cal., charter, which was voted on November 7, is a remarkable one in several respects: the Board of Education is wiped out and its functions vested in the City Council, one of whom will be Commissioner of Education; the Commissioners will be elected in rotation, one every year (the Short Ballot idea reduced to its lowest



terms); the system of Recall is unusual and almost unique.

Perhaps the most radical proposal of any is that which has been made by the Board of Trade of Lockport, New York, in its bill which it introduced in the last session of the Legislature. Under this proposal, the short-ballot feature is retained; *i.e.*, the five elective officials are responsible for the entire conduct of the city's affairs. But the council (commission) is a regulative body only, like a board of directors. The individual members would have no special administrative duties and responsibilities as in Des Moines. The administrative work would be conducted under the direction of an appointive expert to be known as the city manager, who would have full powers of appointment and removal. The arrangement would give a type of government exactly parallel to that of a private business corporation. It is also a close approximation to the German type of city government, in which the Burgomeister plays the part of manager. The advocates of this scheme point out the difficulties, which have arisen under the Des Moines type, of securing the proper kind of men to perform administrative work by popular election. They also claim that this plan affords a better opportunity for representation for the different interests in the population, since no man would be excluded from public office for lack of executive training.

#### BUSINESS EFFICIENCY

A most striking feature of this movement is the vigor with which it has smitten some of the favorite traditions of American political thought. Theorists have, in fact, furnished less resistance to the spread of the plan than any party to its discussion; and the enemy has rested less upon theoretical objections than in any prominent constructive political movement in the past. Thus the theory of separation of powers, familiarly known as "checks and balances," has come in for some heavy hammering. The old style of city government was deviously complex, studiously "checked," and ingeniously balanced. But the commission plan rudely brushes the theory of separation of powers aside.

The fruit of this iconoclasm is reasonably inferable from the mass of testimony to the business efficiency of the system. The word "mass" is used advisedly, for, in view of the variations of the individual charters, any deductions in support of the essential com-

mission type must be comprehensive in scope. These are some of the results reported:

Dallas, Tex. A deficiency of \$200,000 wiped out and a credit balance established in two years.

Topeka, Kan. Municipal bonds sold at private sale at a higher rate than under the old administration.

Burlington, Iowa. The old city debt refunded in serial bonds bearing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest instead of 6 per cent. as formerly.

Columbia, S. C. Extensive reduction in budget for corresponding items under the old administration.

Hutchinson, Kan. Bonds selling at a lower rate than ever before.

Cherryvale, Kan. The bonds of the city selling at par for the first time.

Corpus Christi, Tex. Extensive improvements in streets and sidewalks, etc.; property values greatly increased.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Bonds of the city selling at a better premium than formerly.

Bartlesville, Okla. City warrants worth par and city deposits now bearing interest.

Houston, Texas. The credit of the city restored from eighty cents on the dollar to par, and the tax rate reduced from \$2.00 to \$1.70 on the same valuation.

Leavenworth, Kan. Bonded indebtedness reduced by \$112,000 in three years while the tax rate remained stationary.

Haverhill, Mass. A saving of \$97,900 effected by the first year's administration.

This evidence, of course, is *ex parte*. Not every commission has realized the hopes of the dreamers; not all of the cities have reduced the tax rate,—Oakland, Cal., for example, has materially raised hers. But this fact is unimportant; for efficiency has a wider meaning in that, while some cities have a constituency demanding retrenchment, more often the demand is for expansion. The significant thing is this: Supporting the activities of every city is an undercurrent of popular optimism and hope, if not actual satisfaction. Even in Spokane, Wash., where the selection of commissioners is said to have been somewhat unfortunate, there is a disposition to see the experiment through. No city has ever gone back to its former plan of government, nor has any evidence appeared that any of them is seriously thinking of so doing; not even Tacoma, in spite of recent unpleasant experiences with the mayor and two members of the council whom she found it convenient to recall. In commercial and financial circles such a sentiment has a ratable value; to the commissioners it has been found to be an earnest of faith and confidence which begets a courage to attack bigger problems and conditions.

## THE SHORT BALLOT AS A SOLUTION

The commission government has found, not a perfectly defined, but a roughly formulated solution for the residuum of big political evils which previous reforms, like the merit system of civil service and the Australian ballot, have not reached—the solution of the *Short Ballot*. This has been formally enunciated by the National Short Ballot Organization, as follows:

First, that only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract (and deserve) public examination.

Second, that very few offices should be filled by election at one time, so as to permit adequate and unconfused public examination of the candidates.

There would be, not an addition of new features and “devices” to the original political structure but a re-creation of the structure itself, starting at its point of contact with the individual citizen. The re-created structure would have in mind the capacities, *and the limitations* of the American citizen of this, the twentieth century, and it would not overtax those capacities or exceed those limitations. Governor Woodrow Wilson, the head of this new movement, expresses himself in these words:

Simplification! Simplification! is the task that awaits us; to reduce the number of persons voted for to the absolute workable minimum, knowing whom you have selected; knowing whom you have trusted, and having so few persons to watch that you can watch them. That is the way we are going to get popular control back in this country,

and that is the only way we are going to get political control back. Put in other elected officers to watch those that you have already elected, and you will merely remove your control one step further away.

The commission plan has made the adjustment at least fairly well for a number of our cities. Will the movement stop here? Is not the broad doctrine of simplicity germane also to the problems of States and counties?

## WIDER SHORT-BALLOT PROSPECTS

At a special election in California on October 10, the State adopted three short-ballot amendments. One, frankly such, took the Clerk of the Supreme Court off the ballot and vested his appointment in the Supreme Court. Another made the members of the State Railroad Commission appointive by the Governor. The third provided a plan for county home-rule charters under which it will be possible for any county to draft a scheme of organization suited to local needs. The amendment specifies that all county officers except county judges and supervisors may be made *appointive* instead of elective as at present. Thus it will be possible for a big county like Los Angeles to shorten its ballot from forty-five to about twenty-three officers, by reducing the elective list.

The California election, by the way, is the first step of the Short-Ballot movement from the cities into the wider field of State government.

## WASTE IN BORROWING ON REAL ESTATE

BY FRANK BAILEY

(Vice-President of the Title Guarantee & Trust Company, New York)

ONCE more the people of this country are economizing. The results of economy are shown by the improvements in the bond market and the lower tendency of interest rates. In some ways, however, our nation will continue to be wasteful, for the plans under which many kinds of business are compelled to operate fail in affording the most economical methods. The railroad and great industrial companies have generally borrowed their needed money in the best market. They select the most favorable season and

borrow for a long term of years. With the man who wishes to borrow on bond and mortgage, to help pay for his home, store, or farm, the conditions are entirely different. The demand often comes at the most inopportune time, and the methods are antiquated and unfair.

The evils attending present methods are known by every borrower to be wasteful, but he can proffer no remedy or obtain no relief, for he moves along the line of least resistance and follows the customs of a century.

Every man who wishes to own his own home, every man now trying to pay for a farm, every man interested in the housing of the people and individual ownership, with the resultant good citizenship, is interested in improving present methods of borrowing.

From my experience, let me illustrate these present wasteful conditions as they exist at the money centers of the United States, by telling you the troubles of a few people in New York City who have been trying to own a home, paying only part cash, the balance on mortgage. Their experiences are duplicated nearly every day in every State in the Union, and the waste is great.

Carl Goetz is a German mechanic by trade. He earns from \$25 to \$30 per week, and that sum represents about his maximum earning capacity. As his children grow older, and reach the working age, they will add to the earning capacity of the family, but, at the same time, their expenditures will increase, so that the net amount the family can spend and save will remain about the same.

His German thrift and love for a home, and a good real estate agent combined—result: he became the owner of a small house in the Borough of Queens, City of New York. The price of the house was \$3500. There was a \$2000 mortgage on it at 6 per cent. and he gave the seller back a \$1000 second mortgage, payable \$200 a year.

He bought the house in the fall of 1900. It was a new house in a district where the improvements were not all made, where assessments were to follow, and where the average large lending institutions of New York City did not lend money. The builder of the house was compelled to borrow his mortgage money from an individual at 6 per cent. interest. The large institutions do not like small loans to little people.

In 1903 the mortgage on his property became due, and he was compelled to arrange a new mortgage with another individual. After a hard hunt, and much negotiation, he succeeded in arranging a new mortgage for another three years at 6 per cent., and the cost to him was \$78.

In 1906 the mortgage again became due, and the holder again demanded payment, and Carl was compelled to go through the same process, and, this time, the replacing of the mortgage cost him \$70. The financial conditions were a little bit more favorable.

In 1909 the mortgage became due again, and the party holding the mortgage also wished payment, and Carl was compelled to

pay this time \$118 for arranging his mortgage, including commission to the mortgage broker and cost of the examination of title and other fees.

All this time, he had been endeavoring to pay \$200 a year on account of the second mortgage, pay the taxes on the house, which were increasing annually, and also pay the assessments from time to time for the street improvements. Carl did not have a very happy time owning that house, but with German determination, he kept at it and he still owns the equity. He was compelled to beg a postponement from the second mortgagee, who generously gave him time, and the house is probably now worth \$5000—the land having increased in value.

In nine years, therefore, in addition to interest and the fixed charges of his house, this thrifty German has paid for obtaining money, above the annual interest, an average of \$88 every three years, which, as far as he is concerned has resulted in his paying 7.4 per cent. interest for his money. At the same time, every three years, he has been sorely distressed lest he should lose his house through inability to obtain a new loan to replace the mortgage called.

James Mahon is another man whose story illustrates the waste in borrowing under the present system. In 1904 he bought a six-family house for \$18,000, borrowing \$10,000 at 5 per cent., due in three years (October, 1907). The mortgage was held by an individual. His mortgage, you see, became due in the midst of the panic. The rent of his house was reduced from \$1900 to \$1600 per annum. The holder of the mortgage insisted that \$1000 should be paid on account of the same and that it should be renewed at 6 per cent. for three years. Mahon had invested his all in the house. He had no money to reduce his mortgage and the result was a foreclosure. He received \$730 as the result of a forced sale. The holder of the mortgage obtained his money, which at the end of the time taken for the foreclosure could be reinvested only at 5 per cent. The lawyers made \$560.

Carlo Olinati, a thrifty Italian, bought a house about the same time. His mortgage became due in the fall of 1907. He had saved some money and could reduce his mortgage but with reduced income and increased rates of interest (the new mortgage being at 6 per cent.), the net income from his house for the past three years has been very little.

These cases are typical of many thousands

of home-owners spread all over this great land. They represent results of a condition which is extravagant and preventive of thrift; because, first, home-ownership becomes more difficult, and, second, a saving man endeavoring to own a home or farm must waste more of his savings than he would have to under a wise economic system by the payment of sums in addition to interest, and at the same time must often borrow at the maximum rate of interest and is not compelled every year to reduce his mortgage.

In most civilized nations of the world, and even in some of the insular possessions of this country, similar conditions do not exist. With them, the lending of money on bond and mortgage, instead of being in the hands of individuals and institutions which loan for profit, and institutions which take mortgages only as an investment, is dominated by the great mortgage banks which offer the lender terms and facilities of which we have no corresponding example in the United States. Let me tell you how the foreigner cares for the borrower.

#### THE GREAT FRENCH MORTGAGE BANK

When we are looking for the financial methods best suited for the little people and for the nation—methods which are productive of thrift, we always turn to France. France takes care of the little borrower, and the little borrower and the little lender make the nation. The French nation, in 1858, chartered the *Crédit Foncier*, or mortgage bank. This bank has loaned over one billion dollars, and now has outstanding mortgages amounting to \$450,000,000. If any of those of whom I have told had purchased a home in France, even in the smallest city, they could have borrowed their money from the *Crédit Foncier* at 4 per cent. interest per annum, giving a mortgage which would run for a long term and which never would have been called. In addition to interest, they would have been compelled to pay an additional per cent. per annum which would have been applied on account of the principal. This additional per cent. varies with the earning capacity of the borrower, and must be at least one-half per cent. per annum. If they had paid 6 per cent., 2 per cent. per annum would have been credited to the principal each year and the interest charge would have been reduced correspondingly. If Goetz had made the same payments to the holder of his mortgage which he had made in

New York, he would have had \$266 more to pay on account of his second mortgage, and the principal of his \$2000 mortgage would have been reduced to \$1575.65 at the end of nine years. This plan would also have removed any fear of losing his home every three years, and would have given him a feeling of security he never had.

As a further aid to the borrower, in cases of sickness or loss of employment or bad crops, for one year the only payment required is the flat interest and after making full payments for five years, no foreclosure can occur until six months after default. The borrower has a chance even in adversity and many a man has been enabled to save his home because of these favorable conditions.

This *Crédit Foncier*, in its years of service to the French nation, has taught the little people that the small annual saving toward the principal will in the end pay the entire debt and that home-ownership in France is safe. It has also made the rate of interest on mortgages in every part of France uniform, in that the little farmer and resident of the city pay the same rate. On the one hand it *tempts* thrift, in that at any time payments may be made in anticipation of future dues, thereby insuring against sickness, and on the other it *forces* thrift in that annual payments on account of principal must be paid.

#### ADVANTAGES OF A GENERAL MORTGAGE BANK

All over this great nation, the borrower is paying rates of interest varying with the locality or supposed risk and the rate of interest current at the time the loan is desired. He is paying frequent commissions and charges for obtaining money as his mortgage matures. His earnings are wasted in three ways unknown to the foreigner. These wasteful methods could be changed here by the adoption of a general mortgage bank. First, the initial expense of borrowing would be decreased, and there could be no charge for the renewal of the mortgage every three or five years. Second: the rate of interest would be reduced and become more nearly uniform through the country. Third: the borrower would be compelled to reduce his indebtedness by small annual payments which would promote thrift. Waste in charges initial and renewal, waste in excessive rates of interest, waste in use of principal, are now eating into the earnings of the workers. The remedy has been applied elsewhere and can be adapted to every State in the Union.

Following the German, Belgian, French, and other nations, those who wish our people well should combine to form a great national mortgage bank. At present, such a bank could not loan money at 4 per cent., but it could lend at 5 or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and insist upon additional annual payments of at least one-half of one per cent. per annum. Each mortgage could be made for a long term of years.

Such an institution would aid the farmer and small borrower as no legislation or change in tariff or trust laws could do, and it would compel the payment of debts. This is a lesson which our people have not learned. The knowledge of amortization, or of how a debt may be satisfied by small annual payments, is here unknown.

#### BORROWING AT $4\frac{1}{2}$ AND 5 PER CENT.

The following examples taken from the rules of the *Crédit Foncier*, 1907 issue, illustrate the advantages to the borrower, assuming the current rate of interest to be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.:

If the owner pays interest at the rate of 4.6658 per cent., payable one-half each six months, the entire interest and principal would be paid in seventy-five years.

A payment of 5.0452 per cent. per annum would under similar conditions retire the entire principal in fifty years.

A payment of 7.6355 per cent. would accomplish the same results in twenty years.

A payment of 12.5281 per cent. per annum, if paid semiannually, would retire the entire principal with interest in ten years.

If \$1000 were borrowed for seventy-five years at an annual payment of \$46.66 at the end of nine years, the principal sum would be \$981.60.

If at the end of nine years, the owner could pay \$200 on account of the principal, the balance of \$781.60 would require annual payments of only \$37.14 to retire the principal and pay interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the remaining sixty-six years.

If the flat rate of interest were 5 per cent., the annual payments would be correspondingly increased. The borrower is thus most fairly and completely cared for under this system of borrowing.

The money to lend would be obtained by the mortgage bank from the sale of debentures, based upon these mortgages, which would make the safest kind of investments. The debentures of foreign mortgage banks are so safe that they are freely bought by all

the people and afford an investment without risk at a fixed rate of interest. The savings of the people would be made to help the people who borrow, and the people who save, and so two blades of grass would grow thriftily while now there is nothing produced. The present wasteful system of borrowing can and should be ended by the early establishment of such an institution.

#### OUR BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

It is true that considerable help is given to buyers of homes in our cities and important centers by the cooperative building and loan associations. These associations, however, far from meet the demand of the vast number of those who wish to buy and own their own homes. Of necessity, they are local in their character and can be established only at centers where there is investing capital, for the proportion of non-borrowing members to borrowers, taking the reports of this State as a basis, averages about six to one. The building and loan associations, therefore, cannot be established excepting where there are many eager to deposit money for the purpose of earning interest without any present intention of owning a home. The earnings of these associations of necessity must be sufficient to attract the non-borrowing members or they would not be able to obtain any money for lending purposes. Those earnings, of course, must come from the borrowers and represent interest and additional charges varying with the associations. In New York State last year, \$34,000 was collected in fines from the various members, and \$434,000 was collected in premiums over and above interest. The rate of interest which must be paid to a building and loan association is higher without the consideration of the premiums than it would be to a great mortgage bank, for the associations cannot obtain their money from the great centers where capital is cheap, but must obtain the small money from the local people who desire the maximum return of interest. Little or no aid can be obtained through the plan of the building and loan association in newer sections of the country or in those sections where capital has not commenced to accumulate. In New York State, for example, the total amount of mortgages held by these associations at the end of 1910 was \$41,000,000. This does not represent one-twentieth of the total annual mortgage requirements of the State, and does not equal one-tenth of the annual mortgage require-

ments of those owning homes in this State. Their plan provides for monthly payments to the association which should liquidate the principal in from ten to twelve years. The duration of the payments and the time of ultimate liquidation of the principal depend upon the success of the association, and in many cases the borrowing members as well as the lending members have been very unfortunate, for both the non-borrowing member and the borrowing member are merely general creditors of the association.

Under the French method, the borrower can make payments which will liquidate his mortgage in ten years, but he is not required to liquidate his mortgage within that period. He can select the time of liquidation in accordance with his earning capacity. The Title Guarantee and Trust Company of New York City, early in this year, offered borrowers a mortgage made for ten years at five and one-half per cent. interest, with the stipulation that one per cent. per annum must be paid on account of the principal. Already that company has loaned over one million dollars on such bonds and mortgages, and the average amount of each loan is \$3000.

Under this or the French system, each payment is credited on account of the principal of the mortgage, and after a mortgage is reduced by a certain amount (an amount readily determined by the owner), it is possible for the owner to stop the drain upon him by changing his mortgage to a term mortgage or by extending the time of maturity by a special arrangement with the lender, for each mortgage is not a part of a series, as it is in the coöperative building and loan association plan, but is an independent contract between the owner and the lender. The payments are required only semi-annually and not monthly, and after a mortgage has been reduced by a reasonable amount, the question of the payments on account of the principal becomes important to the borrower only—the lender no longer cares.

These building and loan associations, however, are helpful in that they loan a larger percentage of the value of the property (in many cases as high as 80 per cent. of the value), and thereby their usefulness is increased, and sometimes also their losses. The establishment of a system of lending based upon the French system would not interfere with the usefulness of the building and loan associations.

#### WANTED: A NATIONAL LENDING INSTITUTION

A mortgage bank, if operating in this country, should be national in its scope. The man in Brownsville, Texas, the farmer in Oregon, and the man in New York City would then be able to borrow at the same rate of interest, not over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 per cent. The mortgage he gives would run for not less than ten years. Each year the borrower would be compelled to pay on account of the principal not less than one-half of one per cent. per annum. The greater saving would be in smaller initial fees for borrowing, a lower rate of interest to many borrowers, the certainty that the mortgage would not be called every three years, with the resultant charges and possible increase in interest; and the compulsory reduction on account of the principal with the resultant lesson of thrift. No one thing works such a great waste to the borrower as the way he now finds his money. To continue it, this nation must admit that it cannot finance the small borrower as well as it does the big railroad, and must turn its back upon the experience of half a century in other civilized countries. Not less than \$50,000,000—and probably \$100,000,000—is yearly wasted by borrowers, a class that can least afford to pay. Such an annual waste is unnecessary and economically unsound. If the farmer of this nation is to be helped it must be through more favorable opportunities of borrowing money.

Several foreign companies are now operating in a small way and furnishing mortgage money to the settlers in Canada. Most of the Canadian farmers from Holland borrow their money from a Holland Mortgage Bank. Such companies, however, lend for the profit and the high rates of interest obtainable, and are small in their influence. A great company formed to reform the present system and stop the waste in borrowing could obtain large sums of money in France and Holland, where such investments are looked upon with favor. Foreign capital, if given the machinery and direction of the able men of this country, would come here as fast as needed. Such a company must only be as successful as the great Mortgage Bank of Egypt to make the rate of interest on all good mortgages on farms and homes not over 5 per cent., to have its mortgage certificates or debentures sell on a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. basis and have its shares show a large profit to the subscribers.



# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

IN the new era that appears to be dawning in China, it will be interesting to note the part that will be played by the Chinese converts to Christianity. As to the sincerity and depth of their convictions many doubts have been expressed, but, in any case, they must have absorbed much of Western thought and civilization in the course of their instruction by the foreign missionaries, whether Protestant or Catholic. Indeed, at many of the stations considerable effort has been made to impart scientific as well as religious knowledge.

A very interesting and impartially written record of personal experience in the missionary field of China is given by Signor Francesco Medici di Marignano, in the *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). Of the present prospects of Chinese missions the writer says:

The Chinese Government, which for several years has been following a policy that might be called nationalist, and one of reaction against the easy granting of industrial concessions cast as sops to the international hydra to quiet its multiple appetites, is now also striving to set a term to the progress of the Christian propaganda. What disturbs it is not the diffusion of a foreign religion as such, but the political and social scope of the teachings of this religion in contrast with certain fundamental principles regulating Chinese social and family life. Moreover, the Chinese Government fears lest its Christian subjects should escape from the moral authority of the mandarins and only harken to the words of their pastors. Finally, it distrusts the Christian propaganda as an instrument of political and economic penetration, placed at the service of the Western nations, and it sees in the missionaries a kind of vanguard, which, without perhaps consciously intending to do so, is already smoothing the way and preparing the ground for other and more dangerous invaders. As a result of the great persecution of 1901, there can be no doubt that the Christian propaganda has made impressive progress in China. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christianity," as our old teachers have said. And this is more especially true when short bayonets and mitrailleuses of the latest pattern stand ready to insure the undisturbed growth of the seed. To-day, in round numbers, the army of slant-eyed followers of the cross does not count less than two million soldiers, while the number of its foreign leaders, including men and women, is between four and five thousand. These figures seem small when placed alongside of the three hundred millions at which the population of the Middle Kingdom is estimated, but they have what

we might term a high qualitative, if not a quantitative value, and represent a force of which the Chinese Government must take heed. Indeed, this Government is only too well aware of the fact and lets pass no occasion of diminishing the spread of the movement; however, it struggles in vain against what has already been accomplished, and is reduced to applying the principle in the matter of missions that was enunciated by the old statesman, Li Hung Chang: "Where they already exist, protect them to avoid worse evils; where they are not yet established, take care that no new ones arise."

The writer, while fully recognizing the good work done by the Protestant missions, inclines to the opinion that the Catholic propaganda is somewhat better calculated to attract the Chinese, because the Catholic priests are as a rule more directly in touch with the people than their Protestant rivals, and also because the elaborate Catholic ceremonial makes a stronger appeal to the materialistic Chinese than does the severely simple Protestant ritual. The multiplicity of the Protestant sects also constitutes a drawback, in the writer's estimation, when opposed to the united front presented by the Catholic missions of all nationalities.

The suspicion with which the activities of the missionaries are viewed by the ignorant Chinese has been often dwelt upon, and Signor di Marignano gives the following curious illustration of this in the words of a Catholic missionary:

There are people stupid enough to believe firmly that we maintain our hospitals in order to gouge out the eyeballs of the dying, so as to use them in the compounding of sorcerer's medicants and philters. No later than yesterday, our porter's brother, who was dangerously ill, refused to enter our infirmary, fearing that he would be subjected to this mutilation; and a few days ago a dying man, seeing a priest approach his bedside to offer him the last ministrations of religion, stretched out his long hands toward the priest, imploring him to stop and spare his eyeballs until the breath had left his body. The most famous among such examples, which would move us to laughter were they not so tragic and pitiable, is something which occurred during the past year in Fu-chien-fu, in this province, where a jar of small onions in oil, brought to the refectory of this mission, was believed to contain precisely such eyeballs prepared as preserves, and was borne around as an awe-inspiring trophy, exciting the indignation of the populace, which broke into the mission building and destroyed it.

## LEADERS OF CHINESE THOUGHT TO-DAY

**E**VERY revolution of any significance has a Voltaire or Rousseau and it is reassuring in its common humanity that behind even the sudden excesses of the Chinese rebellion, there seems to have been the directing force of great minds to whose sounder counsels the incoming tide of reaction from violence must needs return. Herr Alfons Paquet in *März* (Munich) reviews the ideas, and sketches broadly the personalities of those leaders in the Chinese literary field whose writings have been of popular appeal in the last two or three years of the sultry gathering of the storm.

From Kobe, like Victor Hugo from the Isle of Jersey, Kang Yu-Wei, the mentor of the liberal Emperor Khangsu, addresses exhortations to the present Chinese Government, and frets in exile unanswered. Kang Yu-Wei owed his rise to the position of friend and adviser of the Emperor to the magic of his pen alone. He understood to perfection the art of weaving into quotations from the classics his own radical reform ideas as well as examples from modern European history. He wrote for the young Emperor a "Life of Peter the Great," but, unfortunately, was more of a man of letters than a statesman, and lacked the energy necessary to carry out his plans of reform when the Emperor raised him to the control of the Government. But, because he understood, as few before him, how to awaken the political passions of the educated classes, Kang Yu-Wei's ideas are still living forces in China.

A disciple of Kang Yu-Wei is Liang Chi-Tsao, who after the triumph of the Empress' party, has lived in Japan, engaged in political and religious writings. Among these are a three-volume history of the reforms of Khangsu and the reaction in 1898, and "The House of the Crystal Draught of Water" or "Yin Pin Sze," an examination of Confucius' teachings, Buddhism and Christianity. Liang Chi-Tsao in the latter work states that China is not yet at that point where culture, wisdom, and high morals form adequate substitutes for a religion. He rejects Confucianism as being purely educative and thus insufficient. "I love Confucianism," he writes, "but I love truth more. I love the past generations, but I love my country more. I love the sages, but I love liberty more. I know, too, that Confucius loved liberty and his country even more than I." Christianity is also refused because "it strives for power at cost of justice, and some great nations use it as a cloak for their own selfish aims."

Liang Chi-Tsao leans most to Buddhism which he believes has the most universal character. And in the interpretation of the Hongwanji temple, which he learned to know in Japan, Liang Chi-Tsao declares that Buddhism teaches self-reliance. In the inquiry as to salvation by faith or by works, Liang decides, again in accord with the Japanese Schin school, in favor of faith and emphasizes the possibility of salvation for those laymen who endure in worldly struggles—as well as for priests. But he rejects the tenet of transmigration of souls and upholds the Christian belief in the immediate entrance after death of the believer into Paradise.

In direct opposition to Kang Yu-Wei and Liang Chi-Tsao, who are particularly responsible for the prevailing intellectual currents of thought in China to-day, is Ku Hung Ming, the decided reactionary. But the way that he compares Eastern and Western thought makes him more interesting for the American and European reader. Many of Ku Hung Ming's essays and books were written in English. His "Papers from a Viceroy's Yamen," which came out directly after the Boxer risings, provoked Leo Tolstoy's celebrated "Open Letter to a Chinaman." After several years appeared the "Story of the Chinese Oxford Movement," an account of the inner strife and difficulties of China, entangled in a mesh of complications with the powers, and torn between the Manchus and the Chinese. In 1906 Ku Hung Ming published "The Middle Way," a Confucius catechism intended for foreigners. In this book particularly the Chinese author uses the more temperamental sayings of great European writers as splashes of color, beside the lofty but dryly impersonal dicta of his greatest countryman. Quotations from Kant, Goethe, Carlyle, and from his favorite, Matthew Arnold, are veritable props to the reader's stumbling attention on this very unsafe ground. But Ku Hung Ming also quotes the remark of a European traveler: "Canton is an uncanny city. The alleys are full of a filthy mob, partly in greasy rags, partly in naked yellow skin. One sees shaved heads and grimaces. Then the memory occurs of the demoniac nature of the people, their murderous risings, their satanic cruelty." And to this the Chinese author replies:

This Englishman of the aristocratic class, and therefore without ideas, cannot see through the yellow skin into the moral nature and spiritual



worth of the Chinese. If he could, he would see what a faëry realm is hidden actually within this pigtailed, yellow-skinned Chinaman—Taoism, with its fairies and genii that are not a whit inferior to the gods of ancient Greece—Buddhism with its song of immortal sorrow, pity, and grace, as sweet and sad as the immortal mystic song of Dante. And finally the Englishman would see Confucianism with its Way for the lofty of spirit, that may one day alter Europe's social order and civilization, little as the Englishman can grasp the possibility.

It is no mere accident that Ku Hung Ming calls his book "The Chinese Oxford Movement." Matthew Arnold's rôle in John Pusey's and Newman's Anglo-Catholic movement has been an inspiring pattern for the Chinese reactionary. Arnold's style in its conciseness and severe restraint has something Chinese, as his High Church Conservative creed approaches the double creed of Ku Hung Ming—Confucianism and the mandarin rule.

Herr Paquet ends with a charming picture of this middle-Victorian Chinese official in his bureau at Shanghai in the Huang-pu government building. Arrayed in the simple silk mandarin robe, Ku Hung Ming, seated behind his table, conversed in excellent German of a stay in Weimar and of a twelve-year-old boy he had come across in the park there

reading a Reklam "King Lear." And the sage mildly inquires if the land of the great fleet and the great social democracy is still the land which received light from Weimar? He, the Chinaman, had too a very great respect for German professors, but did it not also seem that their importance was decreasing, that one listened to them less reverently than before? After these rather pertinent home shots, Ku Hung Ming took his visitor to dine at a restaurant, and had the *punkah* as a foreign innovation removed before he would sit down. Then they went to the theater to see, of course, a classic which reminded Herr Paquet of a historical drama by Grabbe, and after the theater there was tea-drinking at a narrow high tea house, with a gentle little serving girl with jasmine flowers in her black hair. And the German guest carried off a copy of the "Oxford Chinese Movement" in his pocket as a souvenir, which he duly translated into German on the homeward voyage. The two exiles, Kang Yu-Wei at Kobe and Liang Chi-Tsao wandering through Japan, are both comfortingly similar to French political enthusiasts of the nineteenth century, and Ku Hung Ming is only an Oxford don in a mandarin robe with a delightful reminiscent dash of Li Hung-Chang's naïveté and Wu Ting Fang's ironic waggery.

## THE EMPIRE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

AN exhaustive and forceful article on the war between Italy and Turkey, by M. René Pinon, appears in the *Revue des Français* (Paris). Citing "the ingenious historical theories of Captain Mahan on the sea power," the writer traces in detail the struggle for the mastery of the seas, and the vicissitudes of "the Empire of the Mediterranean." The Middle Sea, it is pointed out, is "no longer a mere annex of the great oceans," but since the eighteenth century has become "a part of the general domination of the seas." With possession of Gibraltar at the west and of the Suez Canal at the east, and with Malta as an important intermediate base, Great Britain's supremacy in the Mediterranean was for a long time unquestioned. To-day, the Ottoman Empire is "one of the theaters of rivalry between Great Britain and Germany for the empire of the seas"; and Britain will continue to hold control of the Mediterranean only so long as she maintains her naval superiority.

In admitting British supremacy in the

Mediterranean, M. Pinon speaks regretfully of the supersession of France in Egypt. He reminds his readers, however, that France has still "considerable material and moral interests in Syria" and "a policy of penetration and direct government in the Barbary States," sufficient to assure her "a brilliant place in the Mediterranean equilibrium, but not control of the Empire of the Mediterranean Sea."

Turning to Italy, M. Pinon observes that

the Italian peninsula has never exercised, since the dismemberment of the empire of Constantine, a preponderant influence upon the destinies of the Mediterranean countries. The Papacy alone, continuing the great imperial traditions, directed the struggle against Mussulman Barbary, and exhausted itself in vain efforts to arm the Christian nations against the infidel. The Italian cities of Genoa and Venice pursued an egotistical and narrow policy of mercantile interests. But a unified Italy came necessarily to have a Mediterranean policy and a program of expansion on that sea of which it was, so to say, the vertical axis. . . . From the time of the *Risorgimento*, Italian patriots had demanded for the "third Rome" hegemony from the Old

World and advanced the candidature of Italy for the Empire of the Mediterranean. The apostles of "Young Italy" had already marked North Africa as the first stage in the exterior expansion of the reconstituted kingdom.

"North Africa should come back to Italy," wrote Mazzini in 1838. Both England and Germany favored this essay of unified Italy: they saw in the latter a power capable of counterbalancing French influence in the Mediterranean. Twenty-eight years later Bismarck wrote Mazzini:

The Empire of the Mediterranean belongs incontestably to Italy, which possesses on that sea coasts twice as extensive as France. . . . The Empire of the Mediterranean should be the constant thought of Italy, the objective of her ministers, and the fundamental idea of the cabinet of Florence.

Campo Fregoso, in his "Il primato Italiano," thus affirmed the predestined mission of Italy in the Mediterranean:

In the near future Italy will group about her the greater part of the European nations. Situated at short distances from our coasts, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria are natural colonies for us. It is in vain that England and France have sought to revive the glorious epoch of the Romans, and to substitute it in northern Africa for the natural protection of Italy. Let it not be forgotten that in Egypt alone there are 15,000 Italians, that Algeria and Tunis contain a great number also, and that on all the coasts arts, commerce, and industry are in Italian hands.

After tracing the events which led up to the recent conflict between Italy and Turkey, M. Pinon goes on to say: "France and Italy gave their respective sureties that the equilibrium of the Mediterranean should not be disturbed." France recognized the special interests of Italy in Turkey, and Italy engaged herself not to interfere with the French policy in Morocco. The *coup* of Agadir precipitated the dénouement of the Moroccan question, and Italy decided to take action without further delay.

## THE NEED OF "QUIET ZONES" FOR SCHOOLS

THE establishment, at the request of the Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise, of zones of quiet around the hospitals in the city of New York, has proved so beneficial that hospital zones have been since instituted by municipalities throughout the United States. Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, the founder and president of the society, makes a strong appeal in the December *Forum* for the establishment of similar zones around the public schools, concerning which she says:

There is a most important feature of school sanitation which, up to the present, has not been recognized, namely, the urgent need of protecting the young from the injurious effect of outside noise, which, by rendering concentration difficult, increases the mental effort required for school tasks and, by preventing free ventilation, menaces the physical well-being of the child. This is a matter so grave and so far-reaching in its consequences that its utter neglect is little short of incredible.

The urgency of action in this matter presented itself to Mrs. Rice on the occasion of her visiting many schools and addressing thousands of boys and girls in the course of her campaign for a "safe and sanitary Fourth of July." She "was astonished to discover the amount of preventable noise which penetrated the classrooms, and the absolute foulness of the air which sickened those entering from without," the latter being due to the fact that in most cases the windows were tightly closed. The sources of the disturb-

ances included cobble-stone and other rough pavements, the proximity of garages, car barns, factories, junk-shops, the cries of street hawkers and venders, the shouts of children and hoodlums, besides the avoidable noises of traffic.

With the view of ascertaining the sentiment of principals and teachers on the subject, letters were sent to the principals of all the schools in the five boroughs of New York, representing about 14,000 teachers, asking for an expression of opinion with regard thereto. The responses received were overwhelming, many of them expressing "touchingly the distress endured and also the hope that relief might be vouchsafed." One teacher wrote: "The nervous tension under which we labor is materially increased by the numerous unnecessary noises which hinder us so seriously in our work. Sometimes these have been so great that we have been compelled to resort to the expedient of writing our directions on the blackboards." Another said: "I am most of the time under a physician's care, the condition of my ears being due to ear-strain alone." In one school it was reported that "four teachers were spending most of their salary for ear and throat treatment," while vocal paralysis was complained of in another. It was estimated in another case that "the noise robs class and teachers of 25 per cent. of their time."

As to the necessary course of procedure in any organized effort to improve school conditions, Mrs. Rice writes:

Taking up first the consideration of those buildings already erected, the most obvious step would probably be the removal of all rough pavements and the substitution of a sound-deadening material, wood perhaps in preference to all others on account of its noiselessness. The next would perhaps be the diversion of traffic, when practicable, between the hours of eight-thirty and three-thirty. This would mean much more than the mere avoidance of noise, for it would permit the children to enter and to leave school, and even to play in front of the building at noon, without the danger of accidents.

The third would probably be the bringing to bear of pressure on the car-line companies in order to force them to keep their equipment in good order. . . . Loose track-joints should be made good, curves should be kept greased, and the starting of a car from the barn with a pounding flat-wheel should be made a finable offense. Fourth, the passage of an ordinance creating school zones, and its enforcement, would do away with rapid driving, the cries of hucksters, the blowing of auto-horns, and all those other noises which are due largely to ignorance of the presence of a school building, and which could be stopped by the erection of warning signs stating that needless racket would be pun-

ished. As regards protective ordinances, two, concerning the distance at which street musicians and hucksters must remain away from school buildings, have already been enacted; but since there is no warning sign to catch the eye, and to show the vicinity of a school, they have always been a dead letter. As for the elevated roads, where passing before school houses, they should be compelled to employ all possible sound-deadening devices.

When, however, the erection of new structures is to be considered, the utmost care should be exercised in the selection of quiet sites. Side streets should be preferred to avenues, as less likely to be disturbed by the laying of future car-tracks. No school buildings should be erected within two hundred feet of those sheltering noisy occupations, and—once erected—the neighborhood should be restricted, all disturbing trades being forced to seek other sites.

Mrs. Rice in the same article treats at length the subject of ventilating the schools, especially by means of open windows—a question the most pressing of all, for behind it "looms up the danger of undermining the health of the child and of exposing it to the risk of infection through impure and contaminated air."

## THE HONOR SYSTEM AT THE OREGON PENITENTIARY

AN article summarized in the September REVIEW on "Prison Experiments in Humanity," gave an account of a remarkable innovation in prison practice at Montpelier, Vermont. In the *Pacific Monthly* Mr. Jennings Sutor describes an equally remarkable test of the honor system by Governor Oswald West at the Oregon State Penitentiary. By way of foreword to his article Mr. Sutor prints some "mild extracts" from Bunko Kelly's book, "Thirteen Years in the Oregon Penitentiary," of which the following—a mere detail of a flogging—is a fair sample:

"... Give him some more, Charley." Sheriff did so until the boy began to cry for mercy and ask Christ for pity. "Lay it on, Charley," said Brofield, "and call on me for mercy. I am Christ; I am the man you've got to call on. Now crack him around the side where it hurts."

Governor West proceeds on totally different lines. Instead of considering convicts as dangerous individuals, to be punished, not reformed, and from whom the State is to be protected at all odds, he regards them first of all as men—as men who have made mistakes and who are to be taught better. Soon after the governor had taken the oath of office, the penitentiary officials were surprised

—not to say scared—by a visit from him at 6 A.M., and a request to have breakfast with the convicts. He came again and again—he "cultivated the habit of dropping in without saying anything about it beforehand; and the word soon passed about among the men that the governor was their friend and was really holding out a hand to them." Profiting by his personal talks with the men, the governor saw a way whereby he could save the State money; and this, combined with the governor's strong interest in his fellow-men, may be said to have been the chief reason for the introduction of the honor system at the prison.

Salem, where the Oregon State Penitentiary is located, has a number of other State institutions, such as the Hospital for the Insane, State Industrial School for Boys, Tuberculosis Sanitarium, etc., all of which have considerable tillable ground about them. Here were hundreds of acres awaiting crops; there, in the prison, were hundreds of strong, active men shut up until their appointed times should expire. To bring these opposite poles together was the problem. Governor West put his plan to the men frankly.

"Look here," he would tell a prisoner. "The State can't afford to keep you here at its expense any longer than necessary. You don't want to

stay here. I'll make this bargain with you. I'll let you out of the prison and put you at work near by. You will give me your word not to run away. I'll see that you are paid a certain amount for your work, enough so that you will be able to get to your home, or where you wish when you leave the penitentiary. You work faithfully and I'll parole you as soon as you show you deserve it."

This argument was strong in its appeal to the men because the most wayward of them could see that to take the governor up on his bargain was a good thing for him. It meant that the convict would get his liberty—what he wanted. . . .

To-day you can take a trip over almost any road out of Salem and pass convicts at work without being able to tell them from the ordinary industrious farmhand to be met with in any countryside.

There's no "prison look" about them. The hang-dog shift is lacking from their eyes. There is a healthy tan on their faces. The feeling of satisfaction that comes from a hard day's work out-of-doors is noticeable. The cleverest forger, the most accomplished safe-cracker, the most daring of porch-climbers seem to have the unhealthy lure of their crafts driven out of them. There is no room for crime thoughts when there's a day's work to be done in the country sunlight, with the knowledge that they are as free from suspicion and surveillance as the rich farmer, who is working his own fields across the road.

They may be road building—the roads of Marion County are a grateful evidence of their employment in that capacity—they may be plowing, milking, doing any of the jobs that a farm has to offer; perhaps they drive back to the penitentiary at night with their own team or perhaps, as is the case with many, who are working some distance from the prison, they camp out or are given quarters in a house or barn.

Few of the people living about Salem resent the liberty given to the convicts. One man, it appears, did complain that he thought the

presence of a road gang near his house was an unmerited menace to his property and safety. The gang was withdrawn; but the man's neighbors and their wives gave the convicts a dinner, which was held in a nearby grove and at which the governor sat at the head of the table, the farmers sitting with the convicts, and the women of the neighborhood acting as waitresses,—probably the most remarkable dinner-party Oregon ever saw. One of the convict-guests said:

Under a system like this, where we are treated as men, the best we can do is scarcely sufficient. Under compulsion, and guarded by cold steel and heartless men, the least we can do is good enough. We feel that under such a system as the present one incarceration is a help and not a hindrance in getting us reestablished as beneficial members of society.

The honor system works. In the two years immediately preceding its adoption about thirty men escaped, of whom some were killed, some were captured, and some are still at large. Since the system has been in effect three men only have broken their pledges, and one of these has been recaptured. As to the quality of the work done by the men, there is no complaint; and the work ranges from the making of shoes for the State institutions to the laying out of grounds like those of the State Tuberculosis Sanitarium. The State shares the proceeds of a convict's labor with him; and before he leaves the prison he is offered the kind of work for which he is suited.

## THE WORLD-WIDE STUDY OF EARTHQUAKES

**SEISMOLOGY**—the science of earthquakes—existed potentially in the sporadic investigations of geologists throughout and prior to the nineteenth century, but not until toward the end of that century did it acquire coherence and a separate following. As a quasi-independent branch of knowledge it is, in fact, about thirty years old, and it has flourished hugely in the opening decade of the twentieth century. Societies devoted to its cultivation have sprung up all over the world; national and international organizations have been effected, bearing official character and enjoying government subsidies; while the literature has assumed such proportions that no scientific library quite succeeds in garnering the whole of it. Nevertheless, it remains almost completely unfamiliar to "the man in the street."

From the *Bulletin* of St. Louis University for December, 1911, and from the initial number of the new *Bulletin* of the Seismological Society of America, we glean the following particulars:

While the Englishman, Robert Mallet, whose career belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century, may be regarded as the first great seismologist, in the modern sense of the term, the organization of earthquake investigations on an extensive scale began in Japan, about the year 1880, chiefly under the influence of Professor John Milne. To this day Japan, which is the "earthquake country" *par excellence*, possesses a far more elaborate seismological organization than any other part of the world, the country being covered with a network of over fifteen hundred observing stations, at least seventy of

which are equipped with modern recording apparatus. The University of Tokyo still enjoys the distinction of possessing the only chair of seismology in the whole academic world. It was founded in 1886, and is now occupied by the famous Professor Omori. In 1892, as a result of the great Mino-Owari earthquake of the preceding year, the Japanese Government established the Earthquake Investigation Committee, which has published a long series of valuable memoirs. Japanese seismology is eminently practical, and its cultivation is primarily a measure of self-protection. Much attention has been paid to the subject of earthquake-proof buildings and other phases of earthquake construction.

The International Seismological Association grew out of suggestions made by Dr. G. Gerland and the late Dr. E. von Rebeur Paschwitz at the Sixth International Geographical Congress, held in London, and the committee of seismologists to which its organization was entrusted met for the first time in Strassburg, April 11-13, 1901. This meeting has been followed by a series of congresses, to which most of the civilized countries of the world have sent official delegates. The latest assembly was held at Manchester, England, last July. The permanent committee—the governing body of the association—has its headquarters in Strassburg.

The organization of seismology in various countries presents some striking contrasts. Naturally the countries that are most afflicted with earthquakes generally possess the most active seismological services. Next to Japan, perhaps the most extensive network of observing stations, under government control, exists in Chile, where the work of its organization was entrusted, a few years ago, to the French seismologist, Count Montessus de Ballore.

In Europe, seismology is as zealously cultivated in the northern countries, where it is primarily of academic interest, as it is, for example, in Italy, where an appalling succession of seismic visitations has made it a subject of popular and practical concern. Generally speaking, the seismological work of each country is assigned, for convenience sake, to the official meteorological service. While the connection between earthquakes and weather is debatable, the fact that the various weather bureaus possess elaborate networks of observatories and stations, manned by intelligent observers, makes it a simple matter to add seismology to the traditional duties of these institutions. Nowa-

days, an earthquake is not studied chiefly as a local phenomenon. The earthquake waves are followed in their course around the world; the automatic records traced by seismographs at widely scattered stations are promptly exchanged and compared; and the history of the earthquake is not considered complete until its utmost ramifications have been taken into account. Hence the urgent need of filling up the gaps that still, unfortunately, exist in the international network of stations.

The United States is still conspicuously backward in the study of earthquakes, though gratifying progress has been made in the last year or two. Following the great California earthquake of April, 1906, a number of scientific men on the Pacific coast founded the Seismological Society of America, whose membership now extends over the whole country and beyond. Its *Bulletin*, recently launched, affords the seismologists of this country a medium for the interchange of ideas, the need of which had been strongly felt.

The most remarkable feature of the situation of seismology in the United States is that the science is practically unrecognized by the national and State governments. A few years ago the American Association for the Advancement of Science urged upon Congress the plan of installing seismographs at certain of the more important stations of the United States Weather Bureau—an arrangement analogous to that existing in Europe. This bureau had long maintained a single seismograph,—at its Washington headquarters,—and was in a position to extend its seismological work at comparatively little expense. Although this plan was earnestly advocated by the chief of the bureau, Professor Moore, it failed to obtain Congressional sanction. Even the modest efforts of the bureau to enlarge its work in this field without the financial backing of Congress were checked, a few months ago, by a decision of the Comptroller of the Treasury that no authority existed for such an undertaking on the part of the national weather service.

Later Congress was urged to establish a bureau of seismology under the Smithsonian Institution, but the bill introduced to this end, carrying with it a subvention of only \$20,000, never emerged from the committee room. These occurrences have led seismologists to reflect that a seismic shock of, say, force 9, on the Rossi-Forel scale, having its epicenter in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol at Washington, might not be without consolatory aspects and results.

## THE CASE FOR ITALY IN THE WAR OVER TRIPOLI

A GREAT deal of comment on the Turco-Italian war and the developments of the Italian campaign in Tripoli has been published in the United States, most of it, if not hostile, at least not favorable to the occupation of Turkey's North African possessions by the troops of King Victor Emmanuel. Italy, appearing in the light of the aggressor, has been criticized as a breaker of the world's peace. The Turkish side, as that of the under dog, as well as the efforts made by the friends of international peace all over the world, to bring about the settlement of the dispute before some tribunal, have, perhaps, made American readers forget that, whether adequate or not, Italy has a case. Last month, in these pages, we presented editorially Mr. Stead's views. We have also, from time to time, given comments from the Turkish press. Herewith we give a summary of some opinions set forth in the periodical European and American press in support of Italy's contentions. These have been gathered and arranged frankly in the interest of his country's reputation by a patriotic Italian student of political economics, the Baron Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino, who is in this country studying social and economic conditions, and who was the chairman of the Italian Committee of Protest against the alleged untrue publications of Italian atrocities in Tripoli to which we alluded last month.

In support of the contention that Italy did not want the war, "resigned as she has been to her rôle of disinterested spectator of the colonial exploits of other nations," the Baron di San Severino refers to an official statement made by the Italian Minister Nitti (Agriculture and Commerce), and quotes Dr. E. J. Dillon, correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* and review writer of the *Contemporary*, as saying: "Signor Giolitti, the Premier, leans heavily for Parliamentary support upon the Socialists, and his ambitious schemes of social legislation postulated thrift in money matters and peace and neighborliness with all the powers." The moment had come, however, when, what with the fact that Turkey had "exasperated Italy by a long list of vexatious piracies, discriminations and obstructions," and "the unpunished assassinations of our countrymen in Ottoman territory," the Italian government had to move. France had already absorbed Algeria and Tunis, and was on the point of swallowing Morocco.



BARON DI SAN SEVERINO, WHO IS PROCLAIMING THE JUSTICE OF ITALY'S CASE IN THE WAR

Italy, by her geographical and political situation, the real Mediterranean power, having always lacked an aggressive policy, had come to be regarded as forever in the international nursery, without spirit to defend her interests when attacked, or courage to provide an outlet for her congested population by imitating the example of the rest of Europe and transferring her authority to what had once been part of Imperial Rome. For years, the Italians claim, (the words quoted are from the *National Review* of London) they had been "protesting to the Young Turks against their cavalier treatment of Italian nationals and Italian commerce. The Young Turks, placing all their trust in their secret understanding with Germany, treated the Italian complaints with derisive contempt." After the other nations, says the Baron di San Severino, had each and all, at their convenience, taken a piece of the African coast of the Mediterranean, they "innocently believed that the most Mediterranean power—in fact, the Mediterranean power par excellence, would have continued to look on, always bent upon her policy of friendly disinterestedness, and would have allowed some other power to seize that

last vestige of the ancient Roman possessions in North Africa, where to-day, in place of the ancient civilization, despotism, chaos and massacre reign supreme together with contempt and hatred for the very name of everything Italian."

The Italian position was set forth in a public address at Turin, early in October, by the Premier, Signor Giolitti, in the course of which he said:

Foreign policy cannot, like home policy, depend entirely upon the will of the Government and Parliament, but of absolute necessity must take into account events and situations which it is not in our power to modify or even sometimes to accelerate or retard. There are facts which take the shape of a real fatality, from which a nation cannot escape without irreparably compromising its future. In such moments it is the duty of the Government to assume every responsibility, since the least hesitation or delay may mean the beginning of political decadence fraught with consequences that the nation may be left to deplore for long years, even for centuries. The Ministry recognizes the whole responsibility that it has incurred in engaging the country in this struggle; but it faces that responsibility with equanimity, because it is convinced that, in face of the persistent and systematic hostility which has for years hindered our economic activity in Tripolitania, and in face of the constant provocations offered by the Turkish Government, any hesitation or delay would have compromised both the honor of the country and its political and economic position.

As to Italy's attitude toward the Hague

Tribunal and the subject of international arbitration, Baron di San Severino endeavors to make clear by quotations from British, German and American writers, including President Taft, the general belief that for a while, at least, there are occasions when war is the only honorable recourse of a nation. Hague conferences and international peace tribunals, the Baron maintains, simply narrow the occasions for war, just as (here he quotes James C. Beck, formerly assistant Attorney-General of the United States) the "civil courts lessen, without altogether destroying physical strife between individuals." Italy's position, he concludes, is clear.

Although she played an important part in the Peace Conferences, and she owes something to her reputation, she has been compelled, for reasons already mentioned, to go to war with Turkey. Russia, that same nation whose sovereign called together the First Peace Conference, was she not obliged to go to war with Japan? To speak of more recent events, was not England on the verge of war with Germany only a short time ago, according to Sir Edward Grey's own statement? As to the ultimatum given by Italy with all diplomatic correctness, about which so much has been said, she allowed Turkey more time to consider and answer than Russia was given by Japan, and undoubtedly much more than Germany would give to England, France, or indeed to any other nation before firing the first shot. Had Italy not acted as she did, some other swifter and prowling power might have forestalled her at Tripoli.

## AN ITALIAN MANIFESTO AGAINST WAR

THE Cimbali incidents in the Italian parliament in 1910 and again on the 12th of June, 1911, provoked a great amount of inquiry as to the professor whose promotion to the chair of international law at the Royal University of Sassari had been vetoed on account of his known advocacy of universal peace.

Signor Francesco Giordani in the *Rassegna Nazionale* informs us that Professor Cimbali from the beginning of his career has constantly inculcated in his works and lectures the recognition and guarantee of the rights of lesser nations against the stronger predatory powers.

Professor Cimbali has consecrated more than twenty-five years to the reform of international law in the sense that justice should supersede the arbitrary principle, that the common actions of nations should be ruled by morality and ideal justice and that the states should become the active organs of public morality. With unwearying courage

he carries the torch of his idea to everything referring to the rights to existence and territory of the nations, observing minutely all the daily events that confirm his pessimistic ideas of the existing international code. He says:

As many congresses may meet as you like; they will always be an ignoble hypocrisy and mystification, because in our day there dominates the crime of conquest as much as in barbarian antiquity and the darkest of the Middle Ages, and there is no code to be cited nor any tribunal of appeal against the brutalities of international violence. The true and only international law, that of the future, international law as liberator and peacemaker of the peoples, demands and proposes the abolition of conquest and wars of conquest, because only with the universal abolition of conquest and wars of conquest will the great humanitarian sphere of international law be attained and secured—the recognition and guardianship of the rights of independence of all the people of the earth. Now if war be absolutely necessary to achieve the independence of an enslaved and oppressed nation or to defend her from the menace of the certain,



imminent and inevitable danger of aggression,—war will then always be a just, holy and obligatory war, not only for the nations directly interested, but for all the great powers who in deed and not in word only desire to be defenders and furtherers of right and international peace. There is no interior law, public or private, that sanctions individual slavery and impedes and fights the great liberating and consecrating revolutions of the rights of man. There is no public and private international right and there never will be one that sanctions and protects the most disastrous and execrable of human slaveries—the slavery of nations—and that forbids and combats at the same time the sacred wars of liberation and of support of the independence of weaker peoples.

Signor Giordani adds that it is indeed folly to believe in the results of congresses and peace associations until at least the rudimentary idea shall have penetrated into the public conscience, in political economy and in public instruction, that international law must first of all recognize the independence of every nation in the world, civilized or barbarian, primitive or progressive, and forbid all violence, invasion, oppression, stealing of foreign territory, even if the native is allowed to inhabit and cultivate it as subject to the alien conqueror. The peaceful rupture of the Swedish-Norwegian union, the independence that the venerable King Oscar II of Sweden voluntarily granted his Norwegian folk when they wished to form an independent state, is worthy of admiration as proof of dignity and sagacious policy, of modern ideas and new civil ideals on the base of the rights of nations—ideas and ideals rejected by other states, as Great Britain in respect to Ireland, Egypt, the Soudan, the Transvaal, the Orange State Colony and India; by Austria-Hungary in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina; by France regarding Algeria, Tunis, Madagascar,

Cochin-China, etc., etc. But peace in the absolute sense would be a too sublimely poetic ideal to cherish with any hope of fruition.

War is perhaps a necessary evil, but the motives may become solely honest and legitimate combats against wrongs and abuses, for in an era of advanced civilization despotism and imperialistic ideals will be inconceivable. War even now is permissible only when the native land is offended, when one's own interests must be defended. But when a state proposes a war of booty, and has the mania of dominion and conquest, increasing the area of its own territory at the expense of other nations, war remains in the highest degree condemnable. The strengthening of moral thought and infusing moral conceptions deeper into public customs and into individual and social consciences, the prevention of growth of the fallacies of moral and legal superiority in regard to other human beings, the spreading of ideas of duty toward humanity, the rejection of the old commonplace that conquest may be civilization, in favor of the simple justice that all nations have a right to personal liberty without the infliction of the customs and laws of other nations—all this and no less will be necessary before it can be said that progress is reached—that universal peace is more than the plaything of statesmen. While radiant visions of a future of federated nations are held up to us and liberty, equality and fraternity are proclaimed with the elimination of all hostilities, in reality no law is observed, but veritable crimes go on, and stronger nations are stained with the blood of the weaker as so many vampires feeding on semi-civilized and somnolent savages at will.

## THE MANUFACTURE OF PRECIOUS STONES

THAT the future market for precious stones has for some time been a matter of serious concern to all those engaged in the jewelry trade is an open secret. And this concern has been accentuated greatly by the developments of recent years. It will perhaps, however, come as a surprise to the general public to learn that during the year 1908 alone more than a ton of genuine rubies was actually manufactured, and sold by the French factories, and that the latter are now in a position to supply the entire market demand. These stones are in no wise to be termed imitations, for they are identi-

cal—physically, chemically, and mineralogically—with, and indistinguishable by the most expert jewelers from the native stones.

The progress of invention by which this condition has been brought to pass is reviewed in an interesting manner by Dr. A. Ritzel in a recent number of the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*. Efforts originating early in the last century, and succeeded by the sporadic attempts of chemists from time to time, met with no success, so far as producing commercial stones was concerned, until near the end of the century. Indeed, a French



chemist. Gaudin, succeeded in proving to his own satisfaction that it was not possible to produce rubies in any usable size. Notwithstanding this, in 1882, a Swiss named Wyse actually put some artificial rubies on the market, which possessed all the properties of natural rubies. These rubies had been obtained by melting together small fragments.

The real inventor of the artificial ruby, however, was the French chemist Verneuil, who, working at first in partnership with Frémy, and subsequently alone, year after year, after the latter dropped outdiscouraged, finally arrived at a beautifully simple process by which rubies of any desired size can be built up, and each of these rubies is mineralogically a single crystal, and has been found in all essential respects identical with the native stone. Proceeding further, other precious stones whose base, like that of the ruby, is corundum, as, for example, sapphire and topaz, have been obtained, and a new stone which possesses the remarkable property of chameleonic colors, like the chrysoberyl alexandrite, displaying an exquisite and extremely intense play of colors from violet to red according as it is viewed by day or lamplight.

The cost of manufacture of stones by this process is so small as to be trifling in comparison with the cost of the native stones, and it seems inevitable that within a short time these latter must drop out of competition, coincident with an enormous reduction in

values. Stones formerly valued at \$10,000 can now be manufactured and sold for \$25.

Lovers and owners of gems will, however, be reassured to know that no process has yet succeeded in making diamonds, nor is apparently likely to succeed from the present outlook. This stone has apparently ahead of it still a long lease of life as the essence of money, though one of very uncertain duration. It has been proven by mineralogical chemists that the diamond is an unstable form of the element carbon, of which it consists, a form which becomes stable only under a very high temperature and pressure, and it follows that only under such conditions can it be formed. Under any other conditions the alternative form of the element, namely graphite, will be formed in its stead. Although pressures and temperatures have been produced intense enough to cause the formation of diamonds, the resulting crystals were microscopic, and no present way suggests itself by which the crystals can be caused to grow to a commercial size within any reasonable duration of time. Furthermore, the crystals produced, microscopic as they were, were discolored, and would have possessed little value even had they been larger. Years and decades perhaps must still elapse until we can produce diamonds artificially, as we now do rubies—a good thing for the diamond mines of South Africa—but when that time comes, there can be no longer any talk of diamond trusts, and their carefully built financial structure will crumble like a house of cards.

## DISINFECTION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

AT times it is good for the man of to-day to devote a little study to the methods and manners of our ancestors a few centuries back, and to convince himself that the total sum of human knowledge has been, after all, added to but in comparatively small degree in our generation. We too often flatter ourselves on account of our superior position and pity our benighted forbears who knew so little! In no direction, perhaps, is our feeling of complacency more likely to be developed than in reflection upon the advance of medical science and, more particularly, public hygiene. A recent paper in *Cosmos* (Paris) shows us, however, that even in the seventeenth century the study of sanitary science had progressed far, and it will interest many to follow "Dr. L. M." in his review.

To prevent the spread of contagious diseases it is necessary to isolate those who have contracted them and to destroy the microbes which may have caused them or with which are infested the places and the things with which they have had contact. This truth was well known before the actual nature of disease germs had been discovered. In the case of the plague, for example, it was known what sorts of objects were most apt to retain and later to diffuse the plague-producing agent. Indeed, in very ancient times recourse was had to means of disinfection somewhat complicated, but, from the standpoint of efficacy, worthy of a place alongside those now held in high esteem. Fire purifies everything; the burning of articles of slight value, of soiled linen and even of wooden

houses, was the first resort in the old times, as it is also to-day. Water is likewise a most efficient sanitary agent; the cleansing of the Augean stables by the rush of torrents of water; the washing of cloth in running water, especially after it has been dipped in boiling water, is a means known and employed from the earliest times. Although nothing is better than purification by fire, it is easy to see that this method of disinfection is not always—in fact, is rarely—applicable. Washing in an abundance of water is also very efficacious, but this can be rendered even surer by combining with it the use of antiseptics; sublimate, carbolic acid, spirit—without forgetting soap, which is one of the best, since it carries away impurities in the suds. We employ to-day these several methods: burning, heating, washing. We add to these the use of steam under pressure, and in greater measure, although chiefly in living rooms, antiseptic vapors, such as sulphurous acid and formaldehyde.

Our ancestors did almost as well, but at the cost of greater trouble. Thus, a medical treatise published in Dresden in 1711 gives the following directions: "To avoid the plague, it is necessary above everything else to keep the air of the rooms free from contamination. Windows should not be opened if they look to the south or west, or when there is atmospheric disturbance, fog or thunder-storm, and especially when in the vicinity of, or opposite to, infected places. If, in spite of everything, the windows must be opened, it is best to do it between eight and ten o'clock in the morning. Living rooms should be thoroughly fumigated. To this end one should use sulphur, saltpeter, agate, incense, savin, rue, oak leaves, mastic, myrrh, styrax, juniper berries, birch bark, lemon or pear peelings. From time to time use should be made of claws or horn. Vinegar poured over hot slates is also to be recommended. And as all sorts of bad odors and harmful fumes may come from heaps of filth, bedroom utensils or cesspools, everyone must take care that these things, as well as refuse and rubbish (including spoiled meat, fish and other food-stuffs), should be removed from houses and rooms." (*Medizinischer Unterricht*, p. 12.)

Another author of the same period lays down the following rules (we quote the essentials):

Of all house equipment, the things which should certainly be cleansed are bedsteads and bed-linen, silk, linen, hemp and wool goods. Mattresses should be ripped open, the feathers spread upon

broad screens or wide frames covered with muslin, and smoked three times a day with the fumigating powder referred to and each time stirred with sticks. This operation is repeated for three or four days, and, in the meantime, the ticking and bed-clothing should be washed in a cold solution of lye, then in a hot solution; then in fresh running water. After they have been hung upon clean rods and allowed to dry, some one who is well and clean will put back the feathers after they have been sufficiently fumigated. They should then be restored to the owner by the notary. Each owner should be directed to hang out such a bed for several days longer in the open air. All linen cloth, under-clothing, shirts, table-linen, handkerchiefs, neck-cloths, bed-linen, silk, hemp, woolen cloth or worsted should be soaked in cold water for twenty-four hours, then in a hot solution of lye, then washed again in cold water, hung out upon very clean cords, and, finally, when dry, returned by the notary to the place whence they came. Papers, even if sealed, and books such as are kept in libraries, should be put in large baskets of iron wire, fumigated many times, then placed for a long time in the open air, or, if it is windy or raining, in large rooms where the air circulates. Meantime the furniture, supplies and utensils should be cleansed and the house freed of all filth and rubbish. Windows should be washed as well as doors, shutters, tables, chairs, benches, and the floors of the rooms, with a solution of lye. When everything is dry, the walls and ceilings are scraped and whitewashed.

Before those who have survived the plague shall be permitted to return to their houses, they should be thoroughly disinfected. Lest germs of contagion should be found in their clothing, the latter should be burned for safety's sake. The disinfection should be carried out in the following way: Those who had been living in a house of this kind, whether they have had the plague or not, should betake themselves, once their quarantine is over, to a river or a pond, where fresh clothing has been brought for them. When they have found a suitable place, they shall undress themselves and throw their clothes into a fire built for the purpose near at hand. They shall go into the water, wash themselves from head to foot, dress themselves again in the clothes which have been got ready for them, and then return to their homes, where they shall remain for six or seven days, after which, if nothing has happened, they may come and go as do others.

This mode of disinfection was, in the seventeenth century, applied to entire towns.

All the houses were emptied, then the fumigators began their work. The first day the rooms were smoked with hay wet with vinegar or sour wine. The house was thus filled with a thick, acrid smoke which remained quite perceptible all day. In the evening the windows were opened. On the second day the house was deodorized with the aid of a fire fed with rosemary, lavender, juniper berries, and other aromatic plants. Finally, on the third day there were burned in the house sulphurous substances mixed with mercury and arsenic. As a result, poisonous fumes were evolved, necessitating the withdrawal of the workmen; all rats and other vermin were thus disposed of. On the fourth day the house was again deodorized by means of a fire fed with juniper, myrrh and benzine, and was thus filled with a pleasant perfume.

## GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE AS COLLEGE PRESIDENT



GEN. ROBERT E. LEE AS HE APPEARED IN 1867

FROM the day of the surrender at Appomattox, General Lee withdrew into private affairs of life and took no part whatever in state. In June, 1865, he applied for amnesty under President Johnson's proclamation, and in every possible way showed that he regarded it as his duty to work for the complete restoration of peace. He declined all business offers that were tendered him at this time, and accepted with much diffidence and after considerable deliberation the presidency of Washington College at Lexington, Virginia. In a contribution entitled "Lee After the War," in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., makes public some interesting facts regarding General Lee's service in this capacity.

In August, 1865, when General Lee accepted the presidency, the college consisted of forty students and four professors. The endowment yielded little or nothing, and the salary of \$1500 that was offered the new president had its only basis in faith. Very soon after General Lee's acceptance was announced, money and students began to appear, attracted by his name; but it is a mistake to suppose that General Lee was content to work only with his name. For five years, as Mr. Bradford says, he gave the best of his thought and toil to building up the institution. Indeed, "all the qualities which had

made him famous on the battlefield displayed themselves with richer and more fruitful effect in the ways of peace." One incident related by Mr. Bradford goes to show that General Lee did not exhibit all the greed that is commonly attributed to the modern college president. In writing to a lady who was considering a large legacy to the college he expressly stated that he had no wish to divert a gift from another institution, but merely gave information about Washington College with a view to permitting the lady to follow her own preferences in the matter.

Mr. Bradford clearly shows that General Lee's college presidency was by no means a sinecure. So faithfully did he attend to his correspondence that a newspaper editor who had occasion to send to a large number of college presidents a circular calling for an answer relates that General Lee was the only one from whom he received a reply. He did not confine himself, however, to the details of administration. He made frequent visits to classrooms of the institution, remaining a few moments at examinations and recitations, "asking pertinent and stimulating questions, and then departing with the dignified bow of his grave, old-fashioned courtesy."

And his intellectual interest was much more than a mere routine observation of pedagogical work. As may be seen from his yearly reports to the trustees, he set himself immediately to devise large educational plans, which went far beyond the means he had to work with and far beyond the traditions that prevailed about him. Brought up at once with old habits of thought and modern practical training, he would have saved, if possible, the liberal, classical culture of the past, yet combined it with the energetic commercial methods of new America. He wanted to build up his scientific courses, his laboratories, begged money for them, sought teachers for them. He designed an elective system which was most broadly in advance of current ideas; yet he saw the necessity of checking such a system by rigid supervision and constraint. In other words, so far as his limited opportunities will allow us to judge, he was a thinker in education as he was a thinker in war.

But these were "worlds not realized," and I find him in his human relations even more worth study. He managed his faculty as he managed his generals, with firmness tempered by an ever-ready sympathy. In their personal welfare he took the kindest and most genuine interest. "My wife reminds me," says Professor Joynes, "that once, when I was detained at home by sickness, General Lee came every day, through a deep Lexington snow, and climbed the high stairs, to inquire about me and to comfort her."

At the same time he was himself minutely exacting about matters of duty and wished others to be

so. A professor walked into church with his pipe-stem protruding from his pocket. This caused some comment in the faculty meeting, and the offender took out the pipe and began cutting off the stem. "No, Mr. Harris," said the general, "don't do that; next time leave it at home." The narrow circumstances, not only of the college, but of the whole South, seemed, to Lee at any rate, to demand the closest economy. One day a professor wished to consult a catalogue and was going to tear the wrapper off one prepared for mailing. Lee hastily handed him another already opened. "Take this, if you please." Regularity and punctuality were his cardinal principles, and he did not like others to neglect them. A professor who was not always constant at chapel one day spoke warmly of the importance of inducing the students to attend. Lee quietly remarked: "The best way that I know of to induce students to attend is to set them the example by always attending ourselves."

While some of these anecdotes, and others like them, may suggest a little of the martinet,

the general testimony seems to be that kindness of manner made up for any sharpness of speech, and Mr. Bradford assures us that Lee "thought nothing of traditions and system when it trammelled the progress of the soul." He opposed the making of needless rules, and declared that no rule should be made that could not be enforced. And when a member of the faculty appealed to precedent and urged that "we must not respect persons," Lee replied, "I always respect persons, and care little for precedent."

General Lee's college presidency ended with his life, on October 12, 1870. He was buried in the college chapel, which he had been instrumental in erecting. The name of the institution was then changed, as a fitting tribute to its greatest administrator, to "Washington and Lee University."

## OUTLOOK OF THE DRAMA IN AMERICA

"THE fact that many sober-minded persons, from William Winter down to those of less distinction, loudly condemn the modern stage, should cause no uneasiness to those familiar with the history of dramatic criticism," writes Prof. William Lyon Phelps in the *Yale Review*. In successive centuries Ben Jonson and Richard Steele complained of the desertion of nature by the dramatists—the former asserting that "the concupiscence of dances and antics so reigneth, as to run away from nature, and be afraid of her, is the only point of art that tickles the spectators"; and the latter lamenting that

Nature's deserted, and dramatic art,  
To dazzle now the eye, has left the heart;

All that can now or please or fright the fair  
May be performed without a writer's care,  
And is the skill of carpenter, not player.

For himself, Professor Phelps believes "that at this moment the most promising form of literature all over the world is the drama."

The names of Oscar Wilde, Barrie, Pinero, Shaw, Jones, Galsworthy, Phillips, in England, form a brilliant galaxy; and in America, such plays as "The Climbers," "The Girl with the Green Eyes," "The Truth," and "The City," by the late Clyde Fitch, "The Great Divide," by the late Mr. Moody, "The Witching Hour," by Augustus Thomas, "The Easiest Way," by Eugene Walter, and many other works by young writers who are attracting wide attention provide a combination that should fill us with well-founded hope.

And while it is unfortunately true that "in England and America we lag behind conti-

nental Europe," he is of the opinion that "not only is the air filled with signs of promise, but during the last twenty-five years more good dramas have been written in the English language than in any preceding twenty-five years since the death of Shake-



PROFESSOR WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, OF YALE

speare." Along the same line he cites the prophecy of the late Bronson Howard:

In all human probability the next great revival of literature in the language will be in the theater. The English-speaking world has been gasping for literary breath, and now we begin to feel a coming breeze. I may not live to enjoy it fully, but every man of my own age breathes the air more freely already. Let us hope that the drama of this century will yet redeem our desert of general literature. The waters of our Nile are rising.

The standard of dramatic art on the continent of Europe is so far ahead of America that our attitude "should be that of a humble pupil, ashamed of his ignorance, willing and eager to learn." In Paris in six successive days Professor Phelps heard ten works by standard authors, including Racine, Hugo, Dumas, and Molière. He says:

At one of these classic matinées the best seats in the house were sold for fifty cents, a distinguished literary man gave a lecture preliminary to the presentation, and the theater was packed with high-school boys and girls, nearly all of whom had copies of the text in their hands, and made notes on the margin as they followed the actors' voices. Think of the educational value of such an institution, if we could combine it with school education in this country!

Berlin equals Paris in the high standard of its theaters and of its audiences. Professor Phelps compares a week's program of plays in Boston with the dramatic bill of fare offered in the two Continental capitals—much to the disadvantage of Boston. In New York, "although pathetically far behind Paris or Berlin, things have improved steadily since the beginning of this century." Melodrama has fallen off there in the last four years; and comedy has risen at the expense of melodrama and farce. As to the popularity of vaudeville and music halls, Professor Phelps does not "feel that it is in itself entirely deplorable, or that it is an injury to the cause of true drama." But if the theater is to "maintain its popularity against this hydra-headed rival, it must make a quite different appeal: it must supply the audience not only with an interesting spectacle, but with food for real thought."

Professor Phelps cites some bad tendencies of the drama in recent years, among which are: the love of mere scenic effect; the organization of theaters into a trust, though this has had some good by-products; the rise in the price of seats.

To-day the ordinary price of a very ordinary production is two dollars. . . . Suppose a man, his wife, and two daughters decide to see a play: eight dollars gone to start with; and what Stevenson happily called the "leakage of travel" may raise it

to ten. For ten dollars they are likely to see a vulgar play, acted in a clumsy and perhaps silly fashion. And for those same ten dollars, the head of the household can purchase not merely one book, but a whole set of standard books, which will remain in the library permanently, and give instruction and delight to the third and fourth generations. Between these two alternatives, how long will a wise man hesitate?

The worst thing happening to the drama in the past fifteen years has been "the craze for the dramatization of popular novels," which, though finally killed by the American sense of humor, "wrought havoc in dramatic art during the days wherein it afflicted us." Such dramatizations are "no better from the point of view of dramatic art than the appearance of popular prizefighters on the stage." Dramatic criticism is "in a bad way just now," and "requires complete reform in our country." There is no reason why a criticism of a play should appear on the morning after the first performance.

A well-known dramatic critic in New York told me that he was forced to write his criticism on the elevated train running from the theater to the office of the newspaper. In Paris, there is always one performance of the new play the night before the *premiere*, to which the critics are invited; and in addition there is always the weekly review of the drama during the past seven days, when the critic has time to reflect before writing. Something ought to be done to improve the critic's opportunities. No doubt should exist in the public mind as to the integrity of the critic, and the newspaper on the day following the play should contain simply a truthful statement of the drama's reception by the audience, with an announcement that an extended review would appear later.

Professor Phelps "regards the foundation of the New Theater as the greatest single thing that has ever happened in America for the betterment of the stage."

The management gave New York the best stock company it has ever seen, and proved the enormous superiority of such a system to the dress-model star idea. . . . Shakespeare as given by the regular New Theater company was thrilling. Another thing . . . was the improvement in enunciation and pronunciation. It was a delight to hear the English language spoken as those actors spoke it.

Reasons for optimism in viewing the outlook of the drama are: The literary quality has recently greatly improved; authors who have attained success in other forms of literature all over the world are now turning their ambition and their talents toward the theater; and the custom of publishing plays has spread rapidly. Three of the biggest box-office successes in New York during the past season were all "literary" plays—"Chantecler," "The Blue Bird," and "The Piper."

## YUAN SHIH-KAI, THE LAST HOPE OF THE MANCHUS

THE recall of Yuan Shih-kai from retirement is a striking reminder that three years ago an imperial edict "advised and permitted" this masterful Chinese to withdraw from official life and to retire to his home, in order that he might nurse "the rheumatism in his leg" which made him no longer fitted for the duties of the high office which he then held. In the fall of 1911 another order from the imperial palace at Peking calls back the "invalid by edict," who (his rheumatism proving most obliging) soon finds himself able to travel to the capital, there to assume the responsibility of stemming the tide of revolution. According to an interesting sketch of the life of "the foremost man in China," printed in the *Oriental Review* (New York), Yuan Shih-kai was born fifty-two years ago in the province of Honan.

He was adopted as a boy by a soldier uncle, and in 1882 he went with a Chinese detachment to the assistance of the King of Korea, then threatened by a revolution. He remained in that kingdom for twelve years, becoming Imperial Resident at the early age of twenty-six, and continuing to hold that post until the war with Japan in 1894-95 expelled the Chinese from the peninsula. Nominally as Chinese minister to Korea, he dictated the policy of the Korean Government in its dealings with other countries, and when the Tonghak-dong insurrection occurred in 1894, he telegraphed to China and had troops sent to Asan, Korea.

This being in violation of the Tientsin treaty between Japan and China, Japan also dispatched troops, and proposed to Yuan that China and Japan coöperate in the carrying out of Korean reforms. Yuan, desiring a free hand in Korean affairs, caused the Korean Government to inform the Japanese that "Korea would carry out her proposed reforms of her own accord, but that the first thing required was that Japan withdraw her troops." Though his tactics in Korean diplomacy were bold and clever, Yuan did not stand to his guns. As a matter of fact, he fled from Seoul to Tientsin, leaving the Koreans in the hands of the Japanese. We condense the following further details of his career from the *Oriental Review* sketch:

Realizing China's need of an army trained on European lines, he [Yuan] reorganized the Chinese military establishment and soon had 5000 well-disciplined men under his command. His discipline was severe; the use of opium was prohibited; but he treated his men well, and paid them regularly. In 1899 he was made Governor of Shantung. He set himself vigorously to suppress the Boxers;



YUAN SHIH-KAI

he had the courage to disregard the imperial edicts ordering the plunder and massacre of foreigners; he worked with the Yangtse viceroys to maintain order; and not a foreigner in his province perished while Chihli was in flames. On the death of Li Hung Chang, he was appointed Viceroy of Chihli (1901). Upon his advice was issued the famous edict of 1904 abolishing the traditional examinations in Chinese classics and making entrance to official life dependent upon a degree in one of the modern colleges. In the closing year of the reign of the Empress-Dowager Tzu Hsi, he was appointed a member of the Grand Council and administrative head of the Waiwu-pu (the office of foreign affairs).

Speaking of the return of Yuan Shih-kai to Peking, Mr. Charles K. Field, in the December *Sunset* (San Francisco) asks:

What does this journey mean to the Manchu dynasty, to the blue flag of the Ching Hwa republic, now floating above the roofs of Canton? Has the revolution that seemed to conservative observers to have come too soon, actually produced the hoped-for leader in an unexpected way? Has it provided unwittingly the machinery of a middle course, whereby the Manchu baby may still grow up on his yellow throne, a fictitious ruler only in a land dominated by a military dictatorship in the

iron hands of a Chinese leader? Will this dictatorship be accepted, for the present, for the sake of the reforms it will establish, by those who have dreamed of the fall of the Manchu? Or has Yuan Shih-kai "come back" too late?

At Tientsin after the foreign occupation Yuan made cleaner, wider streets, created an adequate police, established schools, and even a hospital for women and a training school for nurses under an American-trained woman student.

It is unquestioned that he has done more for his country than any other man living. And what is more, he has been at the head of official life in China and he has never got rich, as official life goes.

And yet it seems equally unquestioned that, in spite of all this, Yuan Shih-kai does not possess the confidence of his country. The Chinese deny him the title of patriot. It remains to be seen whether they will be satisfied with anything else in the crisis

which they have now reached. Yuan is an opportunist, by general verdict; what he has done for his country has been done for Yuan; the army he organized has been taught loyalty—to Yuan.

After his well-known treachery to the late Emperor, resulting in an accession of favor from the late Empress-Dowager, the Chinese people spoke of him as the real ruler of China. They believed that he could have named the next emperor, as Napoleon did. That he did not do so, seems to be the thing that they cannot forgive him. To-day the Chinese shake their heads and say that perhaps he cannot be trusted. And if he succeeds in initiating reform in finance, education, communication, and government, will this satisfy the new republic, and "quench the rebel flame in Szechwan and the famine-stricken Yangtse valley"?

## WHERE CHINESE ARE WANTED—HAWAII

**S**TRANGELY as the announcement strikes on American ears, there is at least one country where "Chinese cheap labor," so far from being ruinous, seems to be a desideratum. Hawaii, the "Paradise of the Pacific," finds itself face to face with serious economic and political conditions. The economic condition is one "much unlike that of any other part of the United States,"

a condition which threatens not alone the economic welfare of Hawaii, but which is also a point of danger in the greater economic organism of which Hawaii is now an integral part, and of which no part may be injured without affecting more or less every other.

Politically, the Hawaiian Islands are in danger "of being dominated by an electorate that may prove irresponsible and undesirable from a national point of view."

A change for the better cannot be expected for the near future unless the large population, which consists mainly of field laborers needed in our sugar industry and whose children are fast becoming voters of this territory, are supplemented or replaced by people who are willing and suitable to be assimilated by Americanism, and who will eventually embrace our methods of life, own property in these islands, and make their permanent residence here.

These quotations are from an article by Mr. D. D. Oehler in the *Mid-Pacific Magazine* (Honolulu) which describes the gravity of the situation without reservation. The problem which annexation did not settle was that "of fully Americanizing the islands"; and this problem "is still as far from its solution as it

was on Annexation Day." Economically, says Mr. Oehler, the islands have been and are dependent entirely upon one industry—sugar.

Should, on account of economic necessity in other parts of the United States, a downward readjustment of the protective tariff on sugar be demanded, our interests would clash with such demand most seriously; by a large cut of the sugar tariff our only industry would be injured or partly destroyed, meaning financial loss to every inhabitant of the Hawaiian Islands and ruin to many. A similar result would be brought about by very low prices for a number of years. . . . We all make a living, directly or indirectly, out of the sugar grown in these islands. . . . We must preserve and maintain our only industry, our daily bread—sugar—for the sake of which we asked the United States to annex us, and must supply it with adequate and suitable field labor, so far furnished by Asiatic races alone, and, further, we must fulfill the obligations imposed upon us by annexation and Americanize by settling Europeans or Americans in these islands, not only field laborers, but property owners of an intelligent middle class.

The fertility of the soil being unquestioned, the sanitary conditions good, and the climate ideal, there should be "some way of making this a land of golden opportunities for the European settler." Why are there practically no American settlers in Hawaii? Mr. Oehler believes that the following causes are more or less responsible:

An insufficient and uncertain labor supply for even the existing sugar planters, who should be primarily protected under any sane and conservative policy. Insufficient roads and transportation facilities. Insufficient capital for the encouragement of new industries. Lack of sufficient markets for a number of products which may be grown,

and excessive marketing expenses. Insufficient protection of the small planter against voluntary or involuntary absorption by or amalgamation into large enterprises and corporations. Insufficient protection of the small planter and of new industries against the hostility of existing industries, principally caused by the shortage of labor.

Mr. Oehler contends that the solution of the problem under discussion rests mainly on securing an adequate and stable labor supply. As to the nature of this supply, he says:

As European laborers will not remain here under present conditions, we should get authority from the federal government to bring to these islands thirty to forty thousand Asiatic laborers, preferably Chinese, who might be admitted in small individual troupes as needed, during a limited period of time, say ten years, a sufficient time to establish other industries and to settle European or American planters on government lands.

The large sugar planters would remain "the backbone of the country, able to bear the burden of taxation and of Americanization until such time as the development desired had been successfully concluded or nearly so"; but, with the privileges of Asiatic, *i.e.*, Chinese labor and tariff protection, they "should be compelled to do their duty toward the Americanization of this country."

They should agree to employ Europeans or Americans only in every position above that of field laborer, and they should by all means encourage diversified industries and small European planters, by granting fair grinding contracts, etc. They should further be compelled to employ not less than, say, 20 per cent. of European laborers at wages and inducements for advancement sufficiently large to keep them here permanently.

These European laborers would be the nucleus for the final Americanization of the Territory.

## BERGSON AND BALFOUR DISCUSS PHILOSOPHY

IN two unusually interesting and noteworthy contributions to the *Hibbert Journal*, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour and M. Henri Bergson discuss the latest developments in philosophy. Mr. Balfour criticizes M. Bergson, and M. Bergson, without referring to Mr. Balfour, states his own position.

The subject of the paper by the French philosopher (whose general philosophy was set forth in these pages in the issue for August last) treats of "Life and Consciousness." He laments that, in the enormous work done in philosophy from antiquity down to the present time, the problems which are for us the vital problems have seldom been squarely faced. He thinks philosophy will now give them their rightful place. There is no absolutely certain principle from which the answers to these questions can be adduced in a mathematical way. But we possess lines of facts, he says, none of which goes far enough, or up to the point that interests us, but each of them, when taken apart, will give nothing but a probability, but being put all together, by converging on the same point, may give an accumulation of probabilities which will gradually approximate scientific certainty.

The first line of fact is consciousness. All consciousness is memory, preservation and accumulation of the past in the present. At the same time all consciousness is an anticipation of the future. Consciousness is above all a hyphen, a tie between past and future.

Consciousness is no more limited to creatures possessing a brain than digestion is to creatures possessing a stomach. Digestion exists long before a special stomach has been developed, and consciousness may exist long before the brain has been developed. Through the brain, however, consciousness works with the greatest precision, and we find that in selecting between the respective responses to given stimuli, the brain is the organ of choice. It appears therefore as if from the top to the bottom of the animal scale there is present the faculty of choice, and more particularly the choice of action, of combined movements, in response to stimulation arising from without. Yet the function of consciousness has been seen primarily to retain the past and to anticipate the future. That function is natural to choice.

Consciousness and matter appear to be antagonistic forces, which nevertheless come to a mutual understanding, and manage somehow to get on together. Matter is theoretically the realm of fatality, while consciousness is essentially that of liberty; and life, which is nothing but consciousness using matter for its purposes, succeeds in reconciling them. The essence of life seems to be to secure that matter, by a process necessarily very slow and difficult, should store up energy ready for life afterwards to expend this energy suddenly in free movements. Sensation is the point at which consciousness touches matter. M. Bergson says:



That these two forms of existence, matter and consciousness, have indeed a common origin, seems to me probable. I believe that the first is a reversal of the second, that while consciousness is action that continually creates and multiplies, matter is action which continually unmakes itself and wears out; and I believe also that neither the matter constituting a world nor the consciousness which utilizes this matter can be explained by themselves, and that there is a common source of both this matter and this consciousness.

### The Balfour Criticism

Mr. Balfour begins his criticism of "Creative Evolution" by recalling the time of more than forty years ago, when in the English universities the dominating influences were John Mill and Herbert Spencer—Mill even more than Spencer. The fashionable creed of advanced thinkers was scientific agnosticism. This was a challenge that Mr. Balfour himself took up in his "Defense of Philosophic Doubt." He bears glad witness to the reaction that has followed:

In the last twenty years or so of the nineteenth century came (in England) the great idealist revival. For the first time since Locke the general stream of British philosophy rejoined, for good or evil, the main Continental river. And I should suppose that now, in 1911, the bulk of philosophers belong to the neo-Kantian or neo-Hegelian school.

Mr. Balfour begins his statement of M. Bergson's position by outlining his own position toward freedom. Being neither idealist nor naturalist, he accepts freedom as reality. The material sequence is there, self and its states are there, and he does not pretend to have arrived at a satisfactory view of their relations. He keeps them both, conscious of their incompatibilities. M. Bergson takes a bolder line. Freedom is the very cornerstone of his system. Life is free, life is spontaneous, life is incalculable. Then follows one of those similes for which Mr. Balfour has become famous:

As we know it upon this earth, organic life resembles some great river system, pouring in many channels across the plain. One stream dies away sluggishly in the sand, another loses itself in some inland lake, while a third, more powerful or more fortunate, drives its tortuous and arbitrary windings farther and yet farther from the snows that gave it birth. The metaphor, for which M. Bergson should not be made responsible, may serve to emphasize some leading portions of his theory. What the banks of a stream are to its current, that is matter generally, and the living organism in particular, to terrestrial life. They modify its course; they do not make it flow. So life presses on by its own inherent impulse; not unhampered by the inert mass through which it flows, yet constantly struggling with it, eating patiently into the most recalcitrant rock, breaking through the softer soil in channels the least fore-

seen, never exactly repeating its past, never running twice the same course.

Mr. Balfour then proceeds to criticism. He holds that M. Bergson has not given answer to the following questions: Why should free consciousness first produce, and then, as it were, shed, mechanically determined matter? Why, having done so, should it set to work to permeate the same matter with contingency? Why should it allow itself to be split up by matter into separate individualities? Why should it ever have engaged in that long and doubtful battle between freedom and necessity which we call organic evolution? This leads up to the main question, On what grounds are we asked to accept the metaphysics of M. Bergson? According to his theory of knowledge, M. Bergson's view is that not reason, but instinct, brings us into the closest touch, the directest relation, with what is most real in the universe. Reason is at home, not with life and freedom, but with matter, mechanism, and space, the waste products of the creative impulse. Man is not wholly without instinct, nor does he lack the powers of directly preserving life. "In rare moments of tension, when his whole being is wound up for action, when memory seems fused with will and desire into a single impulse to do—then he knows freedom; then he touches reality, then he consciously sweeps along with the advancing wave of Time, which, as it moves, creates." But, asks Mr. Balfour, How is it that instinct is greatest where freedom is smallest, and man, the freest animal of them all, should especially delight in the exercise of reason? Again Mr. Balfour asks, if it be granted that life always carries with it a trace of freedom or contingency, and that this grows greater as organisms develop, why should we suppose that life existed before its humble beginnings on this earth? Why should we call in super-consciousness?

For the super-consciousness does not satisfy Mr. Balfour. It already possesses some quasi-aesthetic and quasi-moral qualities. Joy in creative effort, and corresponding alienation from those branches of the evolutionary stem which have remained stationary. But why banish teleology:

Creation, freedom, will—these doubtless are great things; but we cannot lastingly admire them unless we know their drift. We cannot, I submit, rest satisfied with what differs so little from the haphazard; joy is no fitting consequent of efforts which are so nearly aimless. If values are to be taken into account, it is surely better to invoke God with a purpose than supra-consciousness with none.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

TYPICAL TURKISH PEASANTS FROM THE PERSIAN FRONTIER

## TURKEY'S INTEREST IN PERSIA'S FATE

**A** GLANCE at the map will show that the Turco-Persian frontier is very long, and unmarked by any natural boundaries of distinction. Until recently it has never been strongly fortified. The trade relations between Persia and Turkey have been well developed for a long time. Persia having no ports of importance on the Caspian, most of her trade still goes over the long and primitive caravan routes by way of Armenia to the ports of Trebizond and Samsoun on the Black Sea. Persia and Turkey are both Moslem countries. Turkey's subjects, in great numbers, live on Persian territory. The Russian menace for Turkey, always great, is intensified now that it may come, not only from the North, but from the East.

Foreseeing the Russian advance into the ancient land of Iran, several years before the Turkish revolution Ottoman troops occupied strategic points on the northwest Persian frontier, in the neighborhood of Lake Urmiah, chiefly in order to encourage Persia to stand up against Russia in these parts. In 1908, when Abdul Hamid was expelled from Turkey, and Shah Mohammed Ali Mirza from Persia, the Turkish press was full of exhorta-

tions to Persia to assist in defying their common enemies, Russia on the north and Great Britain on the south. When, some years ago, Britain menaced Persia with invasion unless the trade routes in the South were made secure, and when, later, Shah Mohammed Ali Mirza returned with Russia's backing to precipitate civil war, the Turkish press again exhorted Persia to stand firm against her enemies. Now, while the government at Constantinople is engrossed with the war over Tripoli, the attack is made on Persia's independence. Considering the fact, however, that as yet her fight with Italy does not deprive her of any soldiers, Turkey may yet have something to say in the fate of Persia. In a recent vigorous editorial, the *Jeune Turc* said:

Until the final disappearance of an independent Persia, there will be many discussions in European foreign offices, and we Turks will have a lot to say. For us this Persian affair is a life and death question. The integrity and independence of our own country is dependent upon the integrity and independence of Persia. . . . We have never had any ambitions on Persia, as the Russian *agents provocateurs* try to make the Persians believe. Whatever England and Russia may do, let them mistake not, we are watching them.

## THE MEANING OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAW

IF any man may fairly be designated as the author of the Anti-Trust law of 1890, it is the Hon. George F. Edmunds, for many years chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, and for nearly half a century regarded as one of the country's foremost constitutional lawyers. Senator Sherman, it is true, originated the general plan of the law, but the drafting of the enactment itself, with the exception of three sections, was the work of Mr. Edmunds. This fact gives point to the appearance in the *North American Review* of an article from the former Senator's pen which gives an exposition of the law and relates the circumstances attending its framing and passage by the Senate. This article, it may be stated in passing, was written several months ago, before the recent discussion of the law had reached an acute stage.

Mr. Edmunds expresses the hope that in future the penal provisions of the law, as well as those of a civil character, will be brought into play. In his view the fear that some literal construction of the words "restraint of trade" might lead to the sacrifice of just, fair, and wholesome business arrangements may be safely dismissed. No business conduct that is beneficial to the public interest will be condemned as "restraining":

If in a particular community there be two grist-mills grinding the grain brought by surrounding farmers and each does it well, but the supply of grain will permit the mills to run only half-time, the owners, in order to pay their employees fair wages and make a living profit, are compelled to charge the farmers too high prices for grinding, or else fail. They contract to combine forces and do all the grinding in one of the mills and use the other for sawing lumber, and thus save the farmers from excessive tolls, pay the employees full wages, and make a fair profit themselves. Is that a contract in *restraint* of trade? Common sense says no. Public policy says no. Both say that it is the reverse, and that it helps business, labor, and the public.

And so of trade and commerce and so-called monopoly, if the party concerned can show (and it is for him to show) that his contract or act promotes and benefits trade and is consistent with the general and equal welfare of the whole people, and thus recognized by the public policy stated in an earlier part of this article, it is not any restraint of the trade or the creation or the attempt to create the monopoly prohibited by the act. It is the contracting or conspiring and the monopoly that are vicious, and not the subjects of them, as the recent decisions of the Supreme Court indicated.

The fact that the penal provisions of the Anti-Trust law remain generally in abeyance is deplored by Mr. Edmunds, since in this

situation the consequences of violations of the law fall mainly upon the stockholders in corporations. Mr. Edmunds would like to see every one of the remedial clauses of the law—equity injunctions, interdicts, and mandates, fines, forfeitures, and imprisonments—brought into full exercise without fear or favor.

### The Supreme Court Decisions

In the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, Prof. Henry R. Seager, of Columbia University, reviews the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases, and concludes that the influence which the decisions are likely to have on the forms of business organization to be adopted in the future depends very largely on the promptness and statesmanship which Congress may display in working out a regulative policy for industrial combinations.

In many respects the German type of combination—the stable, legalized pool—is superior to the American trust. If American business men and American corporations were given freedom equal to that enjoyed by business in Germany to enter into reasonable agreements for steadying production and avoiding violent fluctuations in prices, the legalized pool, which readily adapts itself to changing economic conditions, would in many instances be preferred to the more rigid single corporation. Under a wise regulative policy it is probable that many different forms of organization would flourish side by side. At the same time, protection from unfair and oppressive methods of competition would be a great encouragement to the small producer and would enable him to regain some of the ground he has lost in the unequal competition he has frequently been compelled to carry on with the unregulated trust.

Some one has grandiloquently declared that "the Anti-Trust act is the Magna Charta of the American business man." Until these decisions were rendered, it might well be doubted whether such a statement was intended in jest or in earnest. The act was applied to the railroads, although there is good reason for maintaining that it would have been better public policy to permit the railroads to enter freely into rate agreements, subject as they are to the regulative control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It was applied to labor organizations, when in other countries, and particularly in the United Kingdom, the recent tendency has been to allow increasing liberty to combinations either of workmen or employers engaged in trade disputes. At the outset and for a number of years it was not applied to a single important trust. The recent decisions have at length given it the application which Congress intended. They thus constitute the most important forward step toward a solution of the trust problem that has been taken since the act was passed, twenty-one years ago.

# NOTES ON BUSINESS AND INVESTMENTS

## An Æsop "Moral" Up to Date

**A** MAN in Minnesota last month had an experience, with a moral. It recalls the famous fable of Æsop about the man who hid his gold at the foot of a tree in his garden.

To this tree the owner would repair from time to time to dig up his treasure and gloat over it. But one day a robber watched him, and as soon as he had gone, scratched up the gold and made his escape.

One of the man's neighbors, on hearing of his loss and being told that he never did anything with the gold but look at it, said: "Then come again and look at the hole; it will do you just as much good." Hence the old saying, "Wealth unused, might as well not exist."

The experience of the Minnesota man, 2500 years later, is an interesting parallel. He had saved for years and accumulated nearly \$3000. With it he intended some day to buy a farm. He hid the money beneath the floor of his house. There it was, indeed, safe from burglars. But what was his surprise and sorrow last month to find the entire roll of bank notes reduced all to dust—by rats and mice!

There was but one chance for his savings to be restored. That chance he took by appealing to the Treasury Department at Washington. But the problem presented to the experts of the "redemption bureau," whose business it is to identify mutilated money, was this time beyond their ability to solve. So the Government could not make good the loss. There was not the evidence demanded by law that the money destroyed ever really existed.

To safeguard and also to bring into general circulation the money hoarded by people like this unfortunate man—those who are at once ignorant of investments and the feats of interest and afraid to trust their savings to the local banks—is one of the important purposes for which the Government's Postal Savings Bank system was established. It was, therefore, an odd coincidence that this strange loss should have been reported almost simultaneously with the publication of an authoritative review of the first year's working of the system. This report called

attention to the success with which "hoarded money" was being drawn out.

It is in thinly settled communities, far from cities and bankers, that the government system seems to have proved especially popular. It is said indeed that, were it not for the regulation limiting deposits to \$100 a month for any one account, the total so far would be much larger. A number of instances are recorded of farmers having tried to place in Uncle Sam's safe keeping savings amounting to thousands of dollars apiece.

As it is, the Government now is holding upward of \$11,000,000 of the people's money. Deposits were received during the year at more than 5000 offices. An excellent showing, considering the delays that were naturally incident to the perfecting of a new organization of such size. Of the total deposits, a large proportion is reported to have come from the foreign born, who, heretofore, have sent their savings out of the country in amounts aggregating perhaps \$35,000,000 yearly.

## The Hazard of Investing in Mines

**A** MISSOURI man, who died a few weeks ago, after having made a fortune in mines and mining property, provided for the future of his heirs in a way that would hardly have been expected of him.

In dividing his wealth among his kin, he made it a condition that, if any of the beneficiaries should use the money to buy mining stock or mines, their rights to participate in the estate should cease!

What his special reasons were for insisting that his family should shun the industry that had brought him riches may never be known. If they could be, they might add some interesting chapters to the book of experience upon which wise folks depend to get at the principles of all successful investment. But, taken merely at its face value, the prohibition which he made is important as a highly practical application of one of the "Don'ts for investors" invented a little while ago by one of the country's foremost mining engineers—"Don't invest your money in a mining property because a friend (or even a blood relation) became rich through fortunate investment in mining stock."

It was, of course, perfectly logical for this same authority to add: "Don't, on the other hand, be deterred from investing in a mining property merely because another less fortunate friend or relative became bankrupt because of some other mining investment." He might have said, in other words: "If you can, learn for yourself all of the facts about whatever enterprise of the kind that tempts you; if you cannot—just don't." And touching upon the merits of such stocks as a class, here is what another well-known engineer wrote not long since in an official report to a State Board—of a State where mining is a leading industry:

Mining stocks do not represent anything definite. Some pay dividends, in which case their quotations are comparable with those of other securities. But in the majority of cases mining stocks represent nothing more tangible than hopes. They fluctuate widely as these hopes rise and subside. The very fluctuations make the stocks useful for gambling. People buy them not as serious investments but as temporary speculations, often knowingly paying more for them than they are worth, on the chance of *selling them to somebody else* [our italics] for still more. . . . The public, of course, is fed with tales of the marvelous possibilities of great mines, and their past record is pointed to often enough. Yet gambling forms an element to be reckoned with in every district where trading in mining stocks has become established.

Note that this authority says "every district"—no exceptions are made. And to illustrate his point, he mentions one mine that was once valued—by stock quotations—at \$12,000,000. A few years later it had depreciated to \$60,000.

Financial folks nowadays agree that nearly all of the mining "prospects" really worth while, as soon as they are discovered and passed upon by the experts, are acquired by large organizations, or business men of means and special experience. A trustworthy financial newspaper instances one large corporation which had no fewer than 600 such propositions offered to it last year. Of that total only two were accepted.

The 598 rejected ones have joined the great company of mining prospects "financed" by "somebody else"—the amateur public at large, the last resort when the professional investor has said "No."

### Bonds for Little People

**M**OST of the investment complaints in this country come from those the French banker calls "the little people"—investors who save by 5's and 10's, with no ciphers added! Unfortunately it is along the pathway of such that the pitfalls of the invest-

ment world are nearly always laid. One reason is this: The man or woman with but a few hundred dollars saved has been led to believe that the sound bonds of well-known and successful corporations are rarely available in amounts less than \$1000.

On the contrary, however, there is no reason why any investor should not become a secured creditor of a municipality, a railroad, a public service corporation, or a big industrial company, instead of a partner in a phantom mine or any other scheme of doubtful merit! Nor need he sacrifice much income, thus to safeguard his principal.

Dealing in bonds of small denomination is a bothersome business—one from which many investment bankers are still inclined to withhold their encouragement. It is a hopeful sign, however, that some have undertaken to "specialize" in bonds for "little people," and that they report an increasing demand for such securities. A few of the bonds available in \$100 and \$500 amounts to which attention has been directed lately by the specialists are named below:

Denomination	Name of Bond	Approximate Yield
		per cent.
\$100	New York City Bonds..... 4	4.30
500	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Adj. 4s	4.27
500	Balt. & Ohio Southwestern 3½s	4.27
100	Colo. & Southern Ref. & Ext. 4½s	4.50
500	Rock Island, Ark. & La. 4½s	4.88
100	Southern Pacific, San Fran. Term. 4s	4.43
100	Amer. Telephone & Tel. Col. 4s Cts.	4.62
100	Cleveland Electric Illuminating 5s	5.27
500	Southern Bell Telephone 5s	4.95
500	New York Telephone 4½s	4.45
100	Laclede Gas 5s	4.40
100	Central Leather 5s	5.20
100	General Electric 3½s	4.37
100	International Steam Pump 5s	5.60
500	U. S. Steel Sinking Fund 5s	4.85

Of course, each bond on this list is better suited to one kind of investor than another. It is the very variety and range that offers encouragement.

There are scores of other "small" bonds suitable for starting the right kind of an investment account. A good New Year's resolution would be: To learn more about such opportunities. Any banker in good standing is able to help the interested investor—small as well as large.

### Currency Reform and the Farmers

**A**MERICA'S 6,000,000 farmers produced \$8,500,000,000 worth of crops last year. Or, stated in another way, they created new wealth for the country at the rate of nearly \$24,000,000 a day.

They didn't break all records. But even so, no other class of industrial workers can boast of such an accomplishment. And yet every other class has better facilities than the farmers for obtaining "banking accommoda-

tions"—money to carry on its business. This inequality is by no means the least important of the defects in the nation's present currency system which the reformers propose to remedy. Much attention was paid to it in the last month's discussions of the suggested monetary legislation.

It was pointed out that the phrase "commercial transactions" as used in the "Aldrich plan," should be understood as including "all notes and bills of exchange, issued or drawn for agricultural purposes." Such a regulation, if adopted by Congress, it is urged, would place the farmer on practically the same footing as the merchant, the manufacturer, the trader, or any borrower on stocks, bonds and other investment securities that are now accepted as standard collateral. None of these would be better served than the farmer in the matter of obtaining credit at the banks and trust companies that become members of the proposed Reserve Association.

In some sections of the South and West, it has, of course, been the practice to extend to the farmers as much financial aid as possible, within the limitations of the admittedly defective banking system. But that aid has seldom been adequate in amount. What is of still more importance, it has always been costly. One observer of conditions in the South, for example, recently told of planters who were paying as high as 10 per cent. for money borrowed on the cotton which they were holding in the warehouses awaiting the market. And this was at a time when the banks in New York and other financial centers were giving accommodation to big borrowers on "negotiable securities" at a charge of 6 per cent. or less.

Men in other lines of industry ill-deserve such a material advantage over the farmer. Agriculture is the country's biggest business. Workers in it are rightly held to be entitled to more adequate banking facilities than the present organization gives them. The amended Aldrich plan would provide for such facilities. It would enable the farmer to meet his legitimate financial needs, irrespective of disturbances in the money centers of the country, and irrespective of his locality, or the character of his crops. It would make his credit "national."

### **Aid for Borrowers on Farms and Homes**

**T**O provide the farmer with the necessary facilities for financing his industry, as such, will be to solve but half of the problem

with which he is confronted. The other half and its solution is suggested by Vice-President Bailey of the Title Guarantee & Trust Company elsewhere in this magazine in a timely article on "Waste in Borrowing on Real Estate." Mr. Bailey's plea is for the establishment in this country of a national mortgage bank which, like the far famed *Crédit Foncier* of France, would lighten the burden of paying for the farm itself.

How such an institution would work—the kind of evils it might be expected to correct—is clearly explained in the article. It need only be emphasized that in extending aid to borrowers on real estate of whatever kind, a mortgage bank, such as Mr. Bailey proposes, would not interfere with the usefulness, in that respect, either of a reformed banking system or any of the other institutions that now loan money to farmers and prospective home-owners.

Last month it was pointed out in these pages that one of the amendments to the Aldrich plan would set free for borrowers on real estate about \$200,000,000 now held by national banks as separate "savings deposits." But the mortgage requirements of New York State alone are more than that.

At present the treasuries of the big life insurance companies are among the chief sources of funds for loans on farms. Recently published figures showed that twenty-three such institutions had \$1,098,771,608 invested in real estate mortgages. But of that total \$414,872,841 was in New York City—largely on office buildings—and \$427,802,943 was divided among only eight of the interior States. That left but \$256,000,000 for all the rest of the country—an average of less than \$7,000,000 for each of the States outside the favored region.

Figures like the above suggest one reason for the emphasis which Mr. Bailey places on the necessity of making the institution he is talking about "national" in its scope. If one turn to a consideration of the facilities for borrowing now offered to home buyers by the building and loan associations, another reason becomes apparent. It is, of course, important that societies of that kind—the "local" or "neighborhood" type—have assets of \$1,036,712,600 and over 2,000,000 shareholders. But still the geographical area which they serve is narrow. For example, more than one-half the total number of associations, and a still larger proportion of the total membership, are in four States—Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey.

# TIMELY BOOKS OF THE NEW YEAR



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ARNOLD BENNETT

(From his most recent portrait)

## ESSAYS AND LETTERS

AMONG the many books that have appeared on Tolstoy, his life and doctrines, few have come so near the portrayal of the real Tolstoy as has that of Romain Rolland,<sup>1</sup> the author of "Jean Christophe." As he permits the one word, Tolstoy, to stand as the title of his work, so he permits the solitary figure of the man, Tolstoy, to stand for himself uninterpreted and unviolated by a flood of comment and criticism. The book is a study of the organic development of a consistent life, a record of Tolstoy's childhood, youth, early work, marriage, theories, conscience, and final confession of faith. We discover that Tolstoy the artist and the seer was the apostle of no doctrine more startling than the Sermon on the Mount. "To know faith one must share it," he cries, and "to know God and to live; it is the same thing." Personal salvation cannot save us, only love for the souls of others. If we pursue our own salvation to the exclusion of that of others, life ceases as it did with Tolstoy, at fifty. Then he writes in his diary: "I am like a man lost in a forest, who is seized with horror because he is lost, and cannot stop although he knows at every step that he is straying farther." Rolland makes plain the fact that Tolstoy did not

deem the world capable of realizing his own rigorous ideal; these ideals were appeals to the heroic energies of the soul. The great Russian was, in Rolland's words, the "incarnation of fraternal love in the midst of a people and a century stained with the blood of hatred."

Biographical studies of Tolstoy will undoubtedly continue to come from the press for some time. Nathan Haskell Dole, one of the better known translators of the great Russian, has just completed a "Life" of Tolstoy,<sup>2</sup> which, while restating well-known facts of his career in a sympathetic, orderly way, lays special stress on his mental evolution. Mr. Dole also presents a number of estimates of Tolstoy by well-known contemporaries.

A new edition in small, convenient form of the complete works of Tolstoy forms one of the holiday offerings of the Crowells. The set is in fourteen volumes, and there is a discerning introduction by Mr. Dole. Mechanically this set is very satisfactory, the paper and print being excellent. There are frontispiece illustrations to the volumes.

To turn men to seek the fine friendship of books, friendship that gives solace and keeps the flame of a man's spirit burning, is the mission of the gift volume "The Friendship of Books,"<sup>3</sup> by Mr. Scott Temple. The various selections are concerned with the friendship of books and men from the time of St. Augustine's uplifting after reading the lost dialogue of Hortensius by Cicero, down to the modern tributes from the pens of Matthew Arnold and Andrew Lang. They consider books in various classifications, as friends at home, inspirers of the heart, teachers of life, companions in pleasure and as silent, friendly spirits. The illustrations are quaint and attractive drawings in pen and ink by Harold Nelson. The frontispiece bears this quotation from Blaise Pascal: "If a book interests you, if it seems strong to you, be sure the man who wrote it, wrote it on his knees."

Arnold Bennett's piquant essay written in 1900, "The Whole Truth about an Author,"<sup>4</sup> comes in a new edition with an additional preface which gives the history of the writing of this particular volume. The utmost candor and delightful humor enliven the pages; he seems to tell everything, yet there is much left to feed the imagination. Ancient literary skeletons are pulled relentlessly from their cupboards to serve as warnings to budding genius, and the bubbles of illusion that surround a literary career are pricked with arrows of commercial facts regarding the profession. We write to live, fundamentally; living to write comes afterward when our stomachs are lazily content and it is possible to find sanctuary from commercialism in a garden. We grow to our proper ends in spite of our efforts, not because of them; the germ of what we are to be thrives in spite of our squirming and our serums of education. Mr. Bennett writes directly, simply, and vigorously, always with a certain sense of the separation of the actual Arnold Bennett from the

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Lyof N. Tolstoy. By Nathan Haskell Dole. Crowell. 467 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>2</sup> The Friendship of Books. By Scott Temple. Macmillan. 245 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> The Truth about an Author. By Arnold Bennett. G. H. Doran Co. 154 pp. \$1.

<sup>4</sup> Tolstoy. By Romain Rolland. Translated by Bernard Miall. Dutton. 321 pp. \$1.50.



machine that is capable of turning out thousands of words of copy a week. The bare history of his success is a record of the triumph of industry, persistence, and pluck allied with genius.

Along with the reprint of "The Truth About an Author," we have a striking new essay, "The Feast of St. Friend,"<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Bennett. It was written primarily for a Christmas book, but it is good for any season of the year. Some of us understand things but do not dare to tell them: Arnold Bennett understands and dares to tell that somehow the bottom has been knocked out of Christmas for grown-up folks. Then he proceeds to analyze the causes of the decadence of this festival and mixes a potion for our healing, which is the cultivation of a child-like spirit and a sympathetic imagination. He tells us that one of the spiritual advantages of feasting is that it expands us beyond our common sense, which is particularly good for the Anglo-Saxon mind that is self-contained and self-contracted by the outward forms of life.

"That vital urge which carries existence beyond mere preservation to never-ending perfection"—this is the theme of Edwin Björkman's book of essays: "Is There Anything New Under the Sun?"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Björkman insists that there is. He holds that, Ecclesiastes and Buddha to the contrary notwithstanding, "crookedness is actually being made straight these days." We are discovering that much which used to be deemed fatal is little more than accidental. We are, moreover, learning how to prevent or counteract many of the accidents. All life, this essayist contends, has a meaning. Therefore he is optimistic. That meaning is an imperative demand, not only for continued existence, but for endless growth. In all the essays of this little volume, most of them philosophic, some literary, some dealing with the general trend of modern thought, others with the relation of typical thinkers to that trend, the writer has followed up his theme and conception of the meaning of life: "not only mere preservation, but the continued march on toward perfection." Three of the essays in this volume, those on Henry James, Bernard Shaw, and John Galsworthy, have already appeared in the pages of this REVIEW. Mr. Björkman writes with a lucid, forceful, and nourishing style, and his pages are saturated with a wholesome idealism.

A new revised edition of Edward Carpenter's book, "Love's Coming of Age,"<sup>3</sup> has been brought out by Kennerley. This book, first written fifteen years ago, refused by five or six well-known London publishers, and finally published at the author's expense, has since been translated into most European languages, and run into many editions. It is one of the sanest, most straightforward, most decent discussions of sex questions that has yet been published.

"The Tudor Drama,"<sup>4</sup> by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Instructor in English in Yale University, is a history of the English drama down to the retirement of Shakespeare. The book grew out of a series of lectures on the Source of the Elizabethan Drama delivered at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1908. Their content covers the evolution of the drama in Scriptural, Miracle, and early Morality



EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

(Whose new book of essays, entitled "Is There Anything New Under the Sun?" is noticed on this page)

Plays, Romantic and Pastoral Comedy, and History Plays. The tracing of the genesis and development of the various types of Tudor drama is technical and scholarly. In such measure as the Tudor sovereigns molded the permanent national consciousness of English life, so has the Tudor drama molded the modern English drama. Bibliographies are appended to the various chapters, and the volume is illustrated with sketches of theaters and stage settings of the Tudor period. Mr. Brooke has wisely accorded to Marlowe his rightful position as a prominent factor in the development of dramatic forms.

"Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race,"<sup>5</sup> by Mr. T. W. Rolleston, is an account of the early history, religion, mythical and romantic literature of the Celtic race, as the author states, for the Anglo-Celtic, not the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Mr. Rolleston follows the progress of the Celts from a prehistoric race of the Iron Age when Switzerland, Burgundy, Northern France, Illyria, and Galatea were their strongholds, down through the centuries until their independent and natural life was absorbed by the conquering races that overran the islands of Britain. The Celtic literature is the oldest non-classical literature in Europe; the Celtic conceptions of God and the Other-World the most lofty. The mystery of the Danaan Myth as it appears in the Celtic Bardic literature is inter-

<sup>1</sup> "The Feast of St. Friend." By Arnold Bennett. Doran & Co. 118 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> "Is There Anything New Under the Sun?" By Edwin Björkman. Mitchell Kennerley. 259 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> "Love's Coming of Age." By Edward Carpenter. Mitchell Kennerley. 199 pp. \$1.

<sup>4</sup> "The Tudor Drama." By C. F. Brooke Tucker. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 461 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> "Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race." By T. W. Rolleston. T. Y. Crowell Co. 456 pp. \$2.50.



preted with scientific insight; the volume is of exceeding value to students, and its material, while free from adaptation, will interest the general reader. There are sixty-four illustrations by Stephen Reid.

"Old Lamps for New"<sup>1</sup> is a book of short essays, dialogues and thumb-nail sketches by Mr. E. V. Lucas. One of the essays begins with this sentence: "We were talking about Lamb." After reading the essay we are not sure but that Mr. Lucas must have been talking *with* Lamb, so carefully has he preserved the whimsical humor of Old China and the inimitable Roast Pig. As the best of Lamb is not a single essay, but the fragrance of them all, so the best of Mr. Lucas's essays is the gist of them all. "On the Track of Jan Vermeer" is wholly delightful: "Where are the lost Vermeers?" he asks. There are but thirty-nine in public galleries and private collections, and the accomplished painter of Delft painted at least twenty-four years. Under what grime and in what obscurity lie hidden the vivacity and charm, the rich coloring, the incomparable "white planes" of the lost Vermeers?

"The Man of To-Day,"<sup>2</sup> by Mr. George S. Merriam, is a collection of papers presenting a portrait of humanity as seen to-day in its achievements and its progress toward high ideals. It is a helpful book, food for everyday life; the chapters discuss life in its many phases,—youth, time, the struggle for success, love, marriage, infirmity and death. The liberal quality of religious thought of the present day is given with the courage of strong convictions; there is no quibbling over dry-as-dust theology and orthodoxy. The personal sketches include those of Emerson, Brooks, and Edward Everett Hale. The chapter entitled "The Message of Emerson" is an eloquent tribute to the Sage of Concord.

#### A FEW VOLUMES OF VERSE

"The Singing Man,"<sup>3</sup> a book of songs and shadows by Josephine Preston Peabody, author of "The Piper," the Stratford prize play, collects Miss Peabody's most important poems written and published in the magazines within the last few years. "The Singing Man," the poem which gives the title to the volume, is an ode to the portion of labor, a powerful arraignment of the greed of modern commercialism that crushes the gladness from the life of the laborer and reduces to a brutish machine him who was once the singing man. "Face that wreckage you who can, it was once the Singing Man." Miss Peabody is always the poet, but in her serious verse the weight of the burdens of humanity has shorn a tithe of lyrical music from her meters. The love poems, and those on motherhood and childhood which are included in the book, are clear and sweet as rippling water; their deeps and shallows flow as rivers to the sea of song; there is magic in them for tired hearts, and joy and sudden tears.

Theodore Roosevelt has written a preface in the nature of a tribute and an appreciation for the poems and dramas of George Cabot Lodge.<sup>4</sup> To realize that death smote the gifted author of these poems lamentably, untimely, it is only necessary

to read at random from his works. However much is given of mature thought and lyric beauty, there is always the sense of a richer harvest that might have come. "The Great Adventure" and "Life in Love" are incomparably the best that has come of late from our Western poets. Rarely in the works of any poet do we find lines as musical as these—"The eyes of love—clear as the dawn-stars—singing over seas," and "the perpetual peace of death's inscrutable divine event." A fitting epitaph might have been taken from his poem, "Death": "I know he lives indeed who dies a champion in the lists of truth."

"Mona,"<sup>5</sup> by Mr. Brian Hooker, is the libretto of the opera "Mona," which will be performed at the Metropolitan Opera House this season. The score is the work of Professor Horatio Parker, dean of the Music School of Yale University, and winner of the \$10,000 prize offered by the directors of the Metropolitan for the best opera in English by an American composer. The place is southwestern Britain, the time the first century A.D. Mona is a British princess who dreams of great deeds and leads her people in revolt against Rome. She learns at last that her lover, Gwynn, whom she slays with her own hand because he opposes her and strives for peace, is the son of the Roman governor of Britain, and that through him she might have saved her race. It is a new setting of the world-old truth that no good may come save through love, the tragedy of the reformer who fails because of the rejection of the normal, human activities of life. Mona cries as she is led away to captivity: "Dreams—only great dreams, a woman would have won." Mr. Hooker's blank verse is of exceptional strength and true poetical beauty.

As a religious poet Miss Harriet McEwen Kimball holds a recognized position in American literature. The latest edition of her poems<sup>6</sup> includes those carefully selected from her earlier volumes, together with forty or fifty hitherto uncollected ones. Miss Kimball's religious verse is of Wesleyan fervor and simplicity, and the secular lyrics which complete the volume are full of Nature voices, wood notes, and song of cricket and of bee.

#### TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

That genial French churchman and critic, the Abbé Félix Klein, who has already written two discerning and sympathetic books on the United States and its people ("In the Land of the Strenuous Life," and "An American Student in France"), some months ago completed his account of his latest visit to this country under the title "America of To-morrow."<sup>7</sup> This has just been translated by E. H. Wilkins, and published with an introduction by Professor Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago. The Abbé Klein finds that we have improved a great deal during the past decade. He likes us immensely. He believes we have many faults, but he says our hearts are in the right place, and we are willing to correct these faults when we know them. The frontispiece to the volume is a portrait of Abbé Klein, which we reproduce on the opposite page.

A six months' journey by canoe in the far northwest of Canada, chiefly on the Peace and Mackenzie Rivers, furnishes material for some very vivid and entertaining writing, with some unusual

<sup>1</sup> Old Lamps for New. By E. V. Lucas. Macmillan Company. 258 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>2</sup> The Man of To-day. By George S. Merriam. Houghton Mifflin Company. 348 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> The Singing Man. By Josephine Preston Peabody. Houghton Mifflin Company. 88 pp. \$1.10.

<sup>4</sup> Poems and Dramas. 2 vols. By George Cabot Lodge. Houghton Mifflin Company. 328 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>5</sup> Mona. By Brian Hooker. Dodd, Mead & Co. 190 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>6</sup> Poems. By Harriet McEwen Kimball. Little, Brown & Co. 208 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup> America of To-morrow. By Abbé Félix Klein. A. C. McClurg & Co. 359 pp., port. \$1.75.

and excellent pictures, in Mr. Ernest Thompson Seton's latest volume, "The Arctic Prairies."<sup>1</sup> He subtitles it "A Canoe Journey of Two Thousand Miles in Search of the Caribou." An excellent series of appendices, giving very useful botanical and zoological side information on the general subject, completes the volume.

But few foreigners have had so many opportunities of penetrating into exclusive Italian circles as have been granted to Mrs. Tryphosa Bates Batcheller. In her latest book on Italy, "Italian Castles and Country Seats,"<sup>2</sup> the result of her extensive trips, Mrs. Batcheller tells her experiences in several trips throughout Italy and makes the reader familiar with the home life of many of the representatives of the ancient Italian aristocracy. The writer had the entrée, not only of titled families in whose villas she was hospitably entertained, but of royalty itself. King Emmanuel, Queen Elena, the Queen Dowager Margherita, and the little Prince and Princesses have all been, it has been said, personal friends to Mrs. Batcheller, and autographed portraits of them, as well as many of the leaders of the noble houses of the kingdom, add to the attraction of this handsomely printed and bound volume. Perhaps the most valuable service Mrs. Batcheller does to Italy in this book is to show that the kingdom is not an array of ruins of former greatness, but that the Italians are a modern, prosperous, industrial people, as well as the inheritors of the grandeur that was Rome's.

A very pleasingly illustrated travel book on Italy, entitled "A Little Pilgrimage in Italy,"<sup>3</sup> by Olave M. Potter, is a literary and artistic record of

Italian travel. Miss Potter found Italy most interesting in Umbria. "If you are travel-stained with life," she tells us, "if the sweat of a work-a-day world still clings about you, if you have lost your saints, and almost forgotten your gods, you will cure the sickness of your soul in Umbria." The



THE HEAD OF A MUSK OX  
(One of Ernest Thompson Seton's drawings in his book, "The Arctic Prairies")

illustrations—there are 97 of them—are by the well-known Japanese artist, Yoshio Markino.

The "Adventures in the Congo" of Mrs. Marguerite Roby<sup>4</sup> are described in vivacious narrative by the lady herself in a volume of more than 300 pages, copiously illustrated, with a map at the end. Mrs. Roby believes that the stories of atrocities in the Congo and of the horrors of Belgian rule have been, to say the least, greatly exaggerated. She found the natives in a surprisingly prosperous and happy condition, considering their backwardness in the arts of civilization. She says that she will be satisfied if, having "presented a true and up-to-date picture of every-day life in the Congo," she is able to "blot out some part, at least, of the blood-stained picture that has been painted by others."

"From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam"<sup>5</sup> is the fascinating title of a really fascinating story of travel in which scholarship and some lively description are very intimately mixed. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson (Indo-Iranian languages at Columbia University), author of "Persia Past and Present" and other works on the Near East, has made several extensive trips through all sections of Asiatic Turkey, of Caspian Russia and Persia, chiefly for purposes of historical literary research. He tells the story of his experiences and observations in a very entertaining and informational fashion, and illustrates them with many excellent pictures and a good map. He gives, besides, a valuable list of works of reference on the regions described.

Once upon a time, not so very long ago, a man and his wife decided to take a motor trip through Algeria and Tunis. This is the way Mrs. Emma Burbank Ayer begins her absorbingly interesting volume, "A Motor Flight Through Algeria and Tunisia,"<sup>6</sup> which is illustrated copiously with photographs taken by the author. The travelers



ABBÉ KLEIN

(At the University of Chicago)

<sup>1</sup> "The Arctic Prairies." By Ernest Thompson Seton. Scribner's. 415 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> "Italian Castles and Country Seats." By Tryphosa Bates Batcheller. Longmans, Green & Co. 512 pp., ill. \$4.80.

<sup>3</sup> "A Little Pilgrimage in Italy." By Olave M. Potter. Houghton Mifflin Company. 360 pp., ill. \$4.

<sup>4</sup> "My Adventures in the Congo." By Mrs. Marguerite Roby. Longmans, Green & Co. 312 pp., ill. \$3.50.

<sup>5</sup> "From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam." By Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. Macmillan. 317 pp., ill. \$3.50.

<sup>6</sup> "A Motor Flight Through Algeria and Tunisia." By Emma Burbank Ayer. A. C. McClurg & Co. 445 pp., ill. \$2.



MRS. EMMA BURBANK AYER'S MOTOR CAR IN ONE OF THE STREETS OF THE CITY OF TUNIS

returned loud in their praises of the roads, the excellence of the hotels in the large cities, the variety and charm of the scenery, and the fascination of the people and the Oriental life as seen by them in the cities and on the road.

Another one of Mr. Clifton Johnson's illustrated series of travel books, which are appearing under the general title, "American Highways and Byways," has been brought out by Macmillan. This one, "Highways and Byways of the Great Lakes,"<sup>1</sup> is a record of "a search for the picturesque and the characteristic in nature and life in the region of our great inland seas." Beginning with the valley of the Genesee and a voyage on the Erie Canal, Mr. Johnson takes us from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, through the Straits of Mackinac, round about the "Soo," through the region of the pictured rocks, the copper country, and the Wisconsin water sides, ending with a chapter on Tippecanoe. The illustrations, which are from photographs taken by the author, are excellent, and help to realize the story.

An unusually entertainingly written book of travels in the South Sea Islands, by Frank Fox,<sup>2</sup> is made up of what the author calls "Peeps at Many Lands: Oceania." There are some very attractive landscape views and other scenes in color.

Mr. Charles Dawbarn's "France and the French,"<sup>3</sup> is an attempt to present "a moving pic-

<sup>1</sup> *Highways and Byways of the Great Lakes*. By Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 328 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>2</sup> *Peeps at Many Lands: Oceania*. By Frank Fox. London: Adam and Charles Black. 204 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> *France and the French*. By Charles Dawbarn. Macmillan. 322 pp., ill. \$2.50.

ture of the most intellectual and brilliant people of the world, a picture founded on personal observations and inspired by strong sympathies."

Among other new books of travel and description are the following: "The Dominion of Canada," by W. L. Griffith (Little, Brown); "Two Years Before the Mast," by Richard H. Dana, Jr. (Macmillan); "The Spell of Egypt," by Robert Hichens (Century); "Down North on the Labrador," by Wilfrid T. Grenfell (Revell); "The Broken Wall," by Edward A. Steiner (Revell).

#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

A half-century's accumulation of new evidence now distinguishes the Greece of modern scholarship, from the Greece of Grote and our grandfathers. We now come nearer to fully understanding the Greek people, since we know something of their surroundings, as well as something of the geographical and economic conditions under which they lived. An attempt to make clear to the modern mind, in terms clearly comprehensible to that mind, just what fifth century Athens was really like is made by Mr. Alfred E. Zimmern in his study of "The Greek Commonwealth."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Zimmern, who is a late Fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford, and whose name became familiar to American readers some years ago as translator of several volumes of Ferrero's "Greatness and Decline of Rome," has written an unusually interesting historical analysis. He admits that his judgment is fallible, but he says "I have done my best to play no tricks with the evidence."

All that is historically known of the Roman empresses down to the fall of the Western Empire has been gathered into a continuous story by Joseph McCabe,<sup>5</sup> author of "The Decay of the Church of Rome." Mr. McCabe's account reproduces different phases of the luxury and decline of Roman society, and presents a gallery of types of Roman women in the setting of their times. The volume is illustrated with portrait reproductions of busts and medallions.

A study of Rome from the other social extreme is Frank Frost Abbott's "The Common People of Ancient Rome."<sup>6</sup> Professor Abbott (Latin Language and Literature at Princeton) deals with the life of the common people, with their language and literature, their occupations and amusements, and their social, political, and economic conditions. The average Roman man and woman was faced by many of the problems which confront us to-day, not excluding the regulation of large commercial corporations; the high cost of living; charity on a large scale; and the government of inferior races. The fact, says Professor Abbott, that the Roman's attempt to improve social and economic conditions runs through a period of a thousand years, should make the study of them of value to us.

A more sedate story of "The Religious Life of Ancient Rome," beginning with the earliest times, and tracing in detail the changing religious ideas of the Roman people to the rise of Christianity, and ultimately to the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, is Dr. Jesse Benedict Carter's volume on "The Religious Life of Ancient Rome."<sup>7</sup> Believing that there was very little reliable infor-

<sup>4</sup> *The Greek Commonwealth*. By Alfred E. Zimmern. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 454 pp. \$2.90.

<sup>5</sup> *The Emperresses of Rome*. By Joseph McCabe. Holt & Co. 357 pp., ill. \$4.

<sup>6</sup> *The Common People of Ancient Rome*. By Frank Frost Abbott. Scribners. 290 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup> *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*. By Jesse Benedict Carter. Houghton Mifflin Company. 270 pp. \$2.

mation in books on the subject of the religions of Egypt, Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, set about, some years ago, preparing an exhaustive study of the religion of ancient Egypt. The two volumes now published under the title "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,"<sup>1</sup> trace the development of the fundamental beliefs of the Egyptians through no less than two score centuries, endeavoring to ascertain what were the foreign influences which "first modified these beliefs, then checked their growth, and then overthrew them." The two volumes are copiously illustrated, the frontispiece in each case being a colored "pull out" chart.

Another recent volume attempting to interpret the life and general character of the ancient Egyptians comes in the recent issue of Harper's Library of Living Thought. It is entitled "The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe."<sup>2</sup> The author, Dr. G. Elliot Smith (of the faculty of the University of Manchester), credits the Egyptians with considerable influence upon later civilizations. It was they, he says, who invented the copper implements, and thus inaugurated the age of metals.

The biography of Montaigne, which Mrs. Edith Sichel has prepared,<sup>3</sup> is one of those excellent pictures of a historical personality for which Mrs. Sichel has become so well known. There was evidently considerably more in the personality of Michel de Montaigne than most of us have imagined who have not seen the documents or heard the old legends which this biographer has used so skillfully.

From Gilbert K. Chesterton we have a ballad epic,<sup>4</sup>—a story of King Alfred and the Danes, that

<sup>1</sup> *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*. 2 vols. By E. A. Wallis Budge. Putnam. 844 pp., ill. \$10.50.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe*. By Dr. G. Elliot Smith. Harper's. 188 pp., ill. 75 cents.

<sup>3</sup> *Michel de Montaigne*. By Edith Sichel. Dutton. 271 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ballad of the White Horse*. By Gilbert Chesterton. John Lane Co. 132 pp. \$1.25.

connects the victory of Alfred with the valley in Berkshire known as the "Vale of the White Horse." There is a shadowy legend which relates that King Alfred once played the harp and sang disguised as a minstrel in a Danish camp. Upon this slender historical foundation Mr. Chesterton has shaped a splendid epic of the glory and supremacy of the Wessex king. From its bold rhythms the British lion rears his ponderous head: it is a rune such as the lions of Trafalgar Square might roar should



MESSALINA

("The Wickedest Woman in Roman History." Reproduced from the bust in the Uffizi Palace, Florence, in Joseph McCabe's Book, "The Emperors of Rome.")

See page 118)

peril threaten the bulwarks of the English monarchy. The particular ballad entitled "The Harp of Alfred" is exceptional for its poetic artistry. Seldom has a writer of vigorous prose turned poet deserved sincere commendation; but in the case of Mr. Chesterton one could wish he had always written in meter. The epic is prefaced by a quotation from King Alfred's addition to Boethius,—"I say, as do all Christian men, that it is a divine purpose that rules, not fate."

An illustrated story of the love romances of three European queens, the Empress of Russia, the Queen of Spain, and the Queen of Italy, has been made into an attractive book by Kellogg Durland,<sup>5</sup> and published only a few days before the author's death. Mr. Durland was a traveler of wide experience, and a writer of sympathetic and attractive style.

Undoubtedly the remarkable personality of Maria Theresa has been considerably obscured by the historical importance of the wars in which she was involved. The biography recently issued by

<sup>5</sup> *Royal Romances of To-day*. By Kellogg Durland. Duffell & Co. 278 pp., ill. \$2.50.



MARIA THERESA AT THE AGE OF THREE

(From a portrait in the Hofburg, Vienna, reproduced in the biography by Mary Maxwell Moffatt)

Mary Maxwell Moffatt<sup>1</sup> (author of "Queen Louise of Prussia"), of the great feminine sovereign of Austria-Hungary during the middle of the eighteenth century, is an endeavor to tell the story of Maria Theresa herself. Diplomatic and military events are dealt with only in so far as they directly influenced her life, or indicate her character. The volume is illustrated.

The wise philosopher, Parmenides, once said that divine souls have the peculiarity of being younger and at the same time older both than themselves and other things. Such a soul was Emerson, whose religion was all religion, whose philosophy was all philosophy. He came abreast the solid phalanx of his generation like a pillar of flame, leading on to that proportion of life which he called permanence, beauty, and grandeur. His intimate journals have been recently published with annotations by his son and grandson, Mr. Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes.<sup>2</sup> The volumes are illustrated with photographic reproductions from old daguerreotypes and engravings of Elizabeth Hoar, Thoreau, Thomas Carlyle, Coleridge, and others of Emerson's friends. The intimate picture of Emerson drawn from the pages of the journal differs in no wise from our conception of him gathered from his formal compositions. His life was in accordance with all that he wrote; he lived by his own sayings: "Every sensual pleasure is private and mortal; every spiritual action is public and generative," and "Let us answer a book of ink with a book of flesh and blood. All writing comes by the grace of God. Nature will outwit the wisest writer, though it were Plato or Spinoza, and his book will fall into that dead limbo we call literature; else the writer were God, too, and his work another nature."

We have already had occasion, more than once, in these pages, to commend unreservedly the treatment of the literature of England, given in that truly monumental work "The Cambridge History of English Literature." Volume VII in this work,<sup>3</sup> which is being edited by Dr. A. W. Ward and Mr. A. R. Waller, considers "Cavalier and Puritan."

For the purpose of writing a history of the constellations as known and as written of by all nations in every age, and "to revive an interest in the mythology that twines about the stars," William Tyler Olcott (author of "A Field Book of the Stars" and other books) has prepared a useful illustrated handbook which he has entitled "Star Lore of All Ages."<sup>4</sup>

Broadway, New York, if not "the greatest street in the world,"<sup>5</sup> is certainly one of the best known of modern highways. In his rather elaborate historical account, Mr. Stephen Jenkins adheres to the conception of Broadway as a continuous road from Bowling Green, in the Borough of Manhattan, to the city of Albany. By far the greater portion of his book, however, is devoted to that part of Broadway that lies within the confines of New York City. Pictures of the famous Broadway buildings and scenes, many of them from old prints, enhance the interest of the text.

Mr. J. B. Kerfoot<sup>6</sup> describes the Broadway of to-day with light and pleasing touch, and his observations are appropriately illustrated by a series of clever drawings, the work of Mr. Lester G. Hornby.

#### REPRINTS OF CLASSICS

The "Imitation of Christ,"<sup>7</sup> by Thomas à Kempis, comes most appropriately at this season of the year among the new editions of favorite classics. So long as men hunger after righteousness and faith is a living thing, so long will the "Imitation of Christ" be read, for it is one of the few inspired books which like the Bible are essentially alive in themselves. Beside the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians we may place the fifth chapter of the third book of the Imitation for equal sublimity in its conception of divine love and compassion. This little book of religious mysticism teaches the doctrine of belief in matters spiritual according to the admonition of St. Augustine, namely that we must "rid ourselves of much knowledge in order to leave room for reasonable faith." This edition is beautifully illustrated with colored reproductions from paintings by the old masters: Raphael's "Virgin and Child," Guido's "Ecce Homo," Titian's "Holy Family" and Fra Lippo Lippi's "Annunciation" are among their number.

"Schooners, islands and maroons, and buccaneers and buried gold." Robert Louis Stevenson's "Treasure Island,"<sup>8</sup> that immortal yarn of a map, a treasure, a mutiny, a derelict ship, a sea cook with one leg and a sea song, is offered among the holiday books in a fine edition illustrated with fourteen plates in color by Louis Wyeth. Praise for Stevenson's story has been set down heretofore in unstinted measure, but in this edition the text must divide honors with Mr. Wyeth's capital illustrations. His studies of Old Pew, Ben Gunn, Mr. Hand, and Long John Silver heighten the zest for the story. The cover design shows the buccaneers hoisting the Jolly Roger against the blue and gold of a marine sunset.

Philosophy in cap and bells, wit and satire sifted from the chaff of ancient folklore and superstition, comes to us freshly in the attractive gift-book edition of Æsop's Fables.<sup>9</sup> The existence of the traditional Æsop, the slave and dwarf of the sixth century B.C., has been doubted by historical authorities, but the fables live on to please each succeeding generation by the force of their aptly expressed truths. This edition is issued with full-page borders in tint and is illustrated with quaint drawings in pen and ink by E. Boyd Smith.

"Gentlemen, what does this mean, chops and tomato sauce?" Mr. Pickwick and the jovial Samuel Weller return to us in a new édition de luxe, of the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club,"<sup>10</sup> capably illustrated in color and pen and ink by Cecil Alden. The volumes are tastefully bound, the type clear, the margins wide, the illustrations a joy forever. Mr. Alden has wisely avoided subtlety in the portrayal of Dickens' characters: they are washed in broadly with a suggestion of gentle burlesque in their delineation. The frontispiece, a reproduction from a painting

<sup>1</sup> Maria Theresa. By Mary Maxwell Moffatt. E. P. Dutton & Co. 382 pp., ill. \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Edited by Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Houghton Mifflin Company. 2 vols. 551 pp., ill. \$3.50.

<sup>3</sup> The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. VII: Cavalier and Puritan. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Putnam's. 613 pp. \$2.50 per volume. \$31.50 per set.

<sup>4</sup> Star Lore of All Ages. By William Tyler Olcott. Putnam's. 453 pp., ill. \$3.

<sup>5</sup> The Greatest Street in the World—Broadway. By Stephen Jenkins. Putnam. 509 pp., ill., maps. \$3.50.

<sup>6</sup> Broadway. By J. B. Kerfoot. Houghton Mifflin Company. 189 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>7</sup> The Imitation of Christ. By Thomas à Kempis. Little, Brown & Co. 310 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>8</sup> Treasure Island. By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 272 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>9</sup> Æsop's Fables. By E. Boyd Smith. Century Company. 170 pp. \$2.

<sup>10</sup> The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club. 2 vols. By Charles Dickens. E. P. Dutton & Co. 900 pp., ill. \$7.50.

of the famous court scene, showing Mr. Pickwick, Samuel, Messrs. Dodd & Fogg, and Mrs. Bardell, is excellent in its characterization and crisp of technique.

#### SOME NEW BOOKS ON COOKERY

About a year ago an old method of cookery, long since forgotten, was revived by a famous French chef, M. Nicholas Soyer, in charge of the cuisine of Brooks' Club, London. It has had an immense vogue in England, and is acquiring real momentum toward becoming a fad in this country. The system, in brief, consists in cooking well-nigh everything, except soups, in paper bags especially prepared for the purpose. Advocates of the scheme contend that it saves fuel, obviates the necessity for handling dirty pans, and preserves a larger amount than possible under the old-fashioned system of the juices and flavor of the substances cooked. A little book<sup>1</sup> containing a full description of Soyer's method of cookery, written by the chef himself, comes to us from Sturgis & Walton.

Other new publications dealing with cooking or other phases of the art of preparing food are: "The Mushroom Hand Book," by Elizabeth L. Lathrop (J. S. Ogilvie); "The Family Food," by T. C. O'Donnell (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company); "The Book of Entrées," by Janet MacKenzie Hill (Little, Brown & Co.); "The Cook Book of Left-Overs," by Helen C. Clarke and Phoebe D. Rulon (Harper's).

#### A STUDY OF "WOMANHOOD"

Only a physician, who is at the same time vice-president of the British Divorce Law Reform Union, a member of pure food associations, sociological societies, and "infant mortality conferences" all over the world, could have the temerity to write what his publisher has called "an exhaustive and valuable discussion of all that concerns woman in the light of modern social and scientific knowledge." Dr. C. W. Saleeby, with his scientific attainments and excellent, compact, stimulating style, has had the temerity to make this attempt. It will be admitted that in his book, "Woman and Womanhood,"<sup>2</sup> he has treated the subject with dignity, sympathetic insight and an approach to finality which is unusual in the writings of men on matters that concern the other half of the race. The whole teaching of the book, from all its social generalization down to the details it gives for the wise management of girlhood, is based upon a single and simple principle which Dr. Saleeby phrases thus: "Woman is nature's supreme organ of the future." We should base on this truth, he contends, all our discussions, theories and plans for the right living of woman and for the solution of the economic, political and educational problems that now face the race because of woman's part in its continuance.

#### A COUPLE OF NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGY

Mr. John Spargo, than whom there is probably no better living authority on what is worth while on the subject of socialism, has written an intro-



"GRACE CHURCH"

(From the drawing by Lester G. Hornby in Kerfoot's "Broadway")

duction to Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan's book "American Socialism of the Present Day."<sup>3</sup> He highly commends the work, and regards it as "a faithful, helpful picture of the movement at this time of transition . . . really indispensable to the student of socialism." The book attempts to give a bird's-eye view of the movement, to sketch the political organization of socialism in the United States, noting its weak points as well as its strong ones, discussing problems of theory and tactics, and stating the position of the leading spokesmen of the movement, either in their own words, or in an impartial condensation of them.

There is a new note in the volume by Ameen Rihani: "The Book of Khalid."<sup>4</sup> It is a study of America and the Americans by an immigrant. We have had so much in print telling what Americans think of the immigrant that it is relieving and profitable to let the immigrant himself take the floor and tell us what he thinks of us. Mr. Rihani, who was born, raised, and educated on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, "who entered the land of the free through the dingy portals of Ellis Island, and who learned to know America by the painful, but instructive process of beginning at the bottom and working upward," has written what is, in many ways, a remarkable book, full of delicately ironical touches.

<sup>1</sup> Soyer's Paper Bag Cookery. By Nicholas Soyer. Sturgis & Walton. 130 pp. 60 cents.  
<sup>2</sup> Woman and Womanhood. By Dr. C. W. Saleeby. Mitchell Kennerley. 398 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>3</sup> American Socialism of the Present Day. By Jessie Wallace Hughan. John Lane Company. 265 pp. \$1.25.  
<sup>4</sup> The Book of Khalid. By Ameen Rihani. Dodd, Mead & Co. 349 pp. \$1.30.

# THE SEASON'S BEST FICTION

## SOME NOVELS OF DISTINCTION

ONE of the notable tokens of American progress may be observed in the state of the book mart. Publishing houses are more and more willing to print, and the community is more and more apt to buy, writings addressed to cultivated minds. Even among the novels—some people consider all novels frivolous—this tendency continues to grow, manifesting itself through volumes of both native origin and foreign.

Practised pens have brought forth, this season, a group of choice fictional works, which, because they, through their excellence of craftsmanship, meet an exacting critical standard, there-



JENNIE GERHARDT

(As she is represented in the frontispiece of Theodore Dreiser's new novel noticed on the facing page)

fore, if on no other credentials than those of good literary art, fulfil a cultural function. Mrs. Wharton, for one, has achieved her New England tragedy of "Ethan Frome" with all the delicacy of an etcher intent upon the value of every line. Ethan Frome is a farmer afflicted with a shrill and bitter hypochondriac of an unhelping mate. Into their cheerless abode comes as a sort of housekeeper a pretty young cousin of the wife. The inevitable happens, and then fate plays a trick diabolical enough to content the holiest saint. For the lovers' attempt to die together results only in a miserable accident to the girl, who, a cripple for life, spends the rest of her long days with the couple, slowly drying up, souring, and growing a second affliction unto the harassed soul of Ethan Frome. With these New England rural types come into contrast certain sons and daughters of wild, stormy Dartmoor, delineated with master hand by Eden Phillpotts in his new romance "The Beacon" (Lane). Robert Herrick's self-torturing physician—see "The Healer" (Macmillan)—whose ambitious wife will have him ostentatiously successful regardless of his nobler aspirations—affords comparison in so far as concerns the subject of sensitive idealism, with the now chastened Helena Richie, so beautifully created by Mrs. Deland and playing a fresh part in that gifted writer's "Iron Woman" (Harper). Here the outstanding figure is however a wonderfully imagined female iron-master, shrewd, hard, and sordidly materialistic while manifesting undercurrents of loftiest integrity. Neither, in the briefest mention of this earnest book, should one pass over the tender, charming pages that describe the early lives of Helena's and the iron woman's children.

From Henry James one awaits no pæan of childhood, although his elaborately reluctant divulgence of "What Maisie Knew" sticks in the memory. "The Outcry" (Scribner) relates to the questioned genuineness of a Mantovana, which the urbane but astute Mr. Bender wants to acquire for his collection in America. Writing in a vein of less cryptic linguistry than is this author's wont, the sophisticated arch-verbalist provides a delightful social comedy played off by Belgravian *bon ton*. A very joy to *cognoscenti* of both the literary and pictorial arts must prove this latest regalement *à la* Henry James. Of him and William de Morgan it might almost be said that their language alone gives an education. As for "A Likely Story" (Holt), one feels inclined after reading it,—and having acquaintance with de Morgan's previous romances,—to ask whether there is anything this man does not know. He now reveals himself equally at ease in studios, spiritism, and stenography! And that without prejudice to an original story narrating how an old Italian-painted portrait, and its photograph too, conversed with twentieth-century Londoners. Romantic aspects of medieval France—see "The Song of Renny" (Scribner)—Maurice Hewlett conveys by means of the poetic feeling, the erudition, and the finely chiseled diction which place him first among the historical novelists of the Anglo-Saxon world to-day. In some ways he transcends Scott, notably at portraiture of character.

The profitable publication of foreign works like

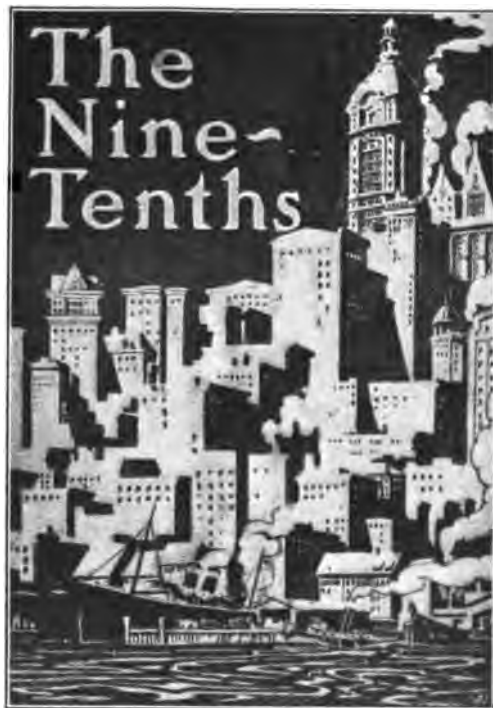


Sudermann's "Indian Lily" (Huebsch) and Karin Michaelis' "Dangerous Age" (Lane) should help dispel the ancient wail "translations don't pay," for besides these the season's output includes half a dozen other meritorious products of continental origin. Also such publication seems to imply a more receptive state of mind toward the freedom of speech demanded by Puritan John Milton, but still resisted here by conscientious objectors. These would perhaps frown upon Sudermann's sketching of loose life at the German metropolis, or might object to the Dane's extraordinary study of what might in scientific parlance be termed psycho-pathological phenomena of the menopause. "We are all more or less mad then," declares a woman entering upon her change of life.

But sometimes an American novelist will fling into one's face, as it were, negation of this community's fast advancing mental development. For example, in "The Conflict" (Appleton)—hardly a novel of distinction, however—David Graham Phillips again shows himself obsessed with the politics of business and the business of politics, to the almost complete exclusion of esthetic and intellectual affairs from the ives of the *élite* of a great American city. In this book we find a young lady belonging to the best society of said city, despite the "four years at Wellesley, and two years about equally divided among Paris, Dresden, and Florence," in conversation with her presumably congenial friends, never making a reference to, or disclosing interest for, the Louvre or the Comédie Française, Giotto's bell tower or the Loggia dei Lanzi, the Court Opera or the Green Vaults. Theodore Dreiser's "Jennie Gerhardt" (Harper), a far better book, provokes analogous reflections. Mr. Dreiser, for example, having informed one that "the Kanes were wealthy and socially prominent," having endowed Lester Kane with a reflective and refined mentality, and having blessed him with much leisure to boot, sends this gentleman thus equipped on a foreign tour, and gives a full account of all that Lester Kane saw, felt, thought, said, in Liverpool, London, Baden-Baden, Berlin, Paris, Venice, Rome, Athens, Cairo, Luxor, Karnak, Austria, Switzerland, yes, renders a circumstantial budget of scenical, historical, poetical, artistical, philosophical, sociological impressions, in two pages of print. At the least this is incompetent character drawing, the more conspicuous in an author revealing unusually deep human sympathies; Jennie herself captivates one's heart of pity because of the lack of moral strength which accompanies her hunger for affection, her touching sense of gratitude, and her unchanging sweetness. But this tale possesses other strong qualities of merit, not the least of which is the author's perception of life's uncertainty and apparent lack of rational cohesiveness.

#### RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC

Mr. Huebsch, the American publisher of Sudermann's two latest volumes, has this year extended the cultural scope of his catalogue by listing therein Hauptmann's most noted play "The Weavers" and his novel "The Fool in Christ." The carpenter's son Emanuel Quint, principal figure of this beautiful and lofty book, imagines himself the Saviour, and roams the Silesian countryside preaching the Nazarene dispensation in veritably apostolic language, scandalizing the authorities by his impudent assaults upon the constituted order. That precisely this would happen did Jesus really come back to earth, not only Hauptmann opines,



THE STRIKING COVER OF JAMES OPPENHEIM'S NEW NOVEL. (SEE NEXT PAGE)

but a Frenchman named Charles Morice. "The Re-Appearing" (Doran) tells of the actual Christ's sudden arrival in Paris one winter's day. As suddenly the population begins to reform. Family life becomes purified. The *ménage à trois* falls into discredit. A taste for simplicity and frugality sets in. Nobody frequents the theaters, the cafés are deserted, the jewelers' shops lose their customers, and the automobile industry falls flat. So does the champagne trade. Worse still, the Stock Exchange degenerates to a moral institution. And to crown all, a vast mob assembles in the Place de l'Etoile, and follows the Saviour up to Montmartre, where he delivers a subversive oration very like that reported in the fifth to seventh chapters of St. Matthew. Plainly something drastic must be done to prevent "the country from going to the dogs," and so on Christmas Day the Prefect of Police calls at the "Hotel of the Three Kings," and "regrets" that he must "request Monsieur" to absent himself from the territory of the French Republic forthwith. Meanwhile however the Parisians have commenced to tire of their own fanatical excess of virtue, so that the banishment of Jesus but anticipates popular opinion. *Vox populi vox dei.*

No such irony and no such force of directness do the two Englishwomen manifest who would promulgate Christian belief and conduct. Mrs. Humphry Ward forsooth marches up Keble and à Kempis, Bossuet, Harnack, Scherer, and a whole host of theologians ancient and modern, together with a living bishop and chapter of "the Church," in a six hundred and thirty page effort to bring "Robert Elsmere" up to date. But this eloquent lady's attachment to a local, national sect—the state church of England—impairs a sweeping spir-





AN ILLUSTRATION FROM "THE MAHATMA AND THE HARE"

itual potency, sets aflame no passionate conviction. For fervent feeling Miss Marie Corelli never leaves ought to be desired; and always must her philosophic mediocrity damage what she writes. "The Life Everlasting" (Doran), mystical, occult, follows up themes already mooted in "Ardath," "Barabbas," and other novels by this romanticist. "The Case of Richard Meynell," Mrs. Ward's tale, comes from the Doubleday press at Garden City. James Oppenheim and Clara E. Laughlin contribute "The Nine-Tenths" (Harpers) and "Children of Tomorrow" (Scribner) to the season's fiction list. Both show a warm altruism toward New York's manual toilers; each conceives a metropolitan editor whose culture, one might say, represents an irreducible minimum.

Finally, the Spaniard Ibañez instills disgust of bullfighting by "The Blood of the Arena" (McClurg), while Rider Haggard—erstwhile rejoicing in sanguinary contest between man and man—wishes "The Mahatma and the Hare" (Holt) to rouse up detestation against coursing, a British sport for perfect gentlemen which consists in pursuit of a frightened hare by hounds trained for this healthy amusement.

#### ITALIAN AND TOPICAL

Mr. Dreiser or Mr. Phillips, Mr. Oppenheim or Miss Laughlin notwithstanding, America's cultural development grows apace. Whereof increased public cordiality toward foreign authors and subjects affords telling evidence. Robert Hichens can count upon auditorship whatever his theme, but the iridescent setting of Rome's brilliant cosmopolitan *beau monde* renders "The Fruitful Vine" doubly readable. A childless husband's thirst for paternity is the prime factor of this richly emotional romance, the right to whose American imprinting Stokes & Company have acquired. Two lesser tales of Italy come from the Riverside Press—namely, Edith McVane's "Tarentella" and Eugenia Frothingham's "Her Roman Lover," the same establishment sending forth "In the Shadow of Islam," which registers Demetra Vaka's impressions of the Young Turk party and prompts comparison of Turkish views on love and marriage with our own. Colette Yver supplies authoritative information upon the progress of feminism in France by means of a story entitled "Love versus Law" (Putnams), where admittance of French women to practise at the bar looms a prominent issue. More hotly than ever rages at the present time discussion around the subject of divorce, which public agitation an American and an English scribe separately reflect. But Joseph M. Patterson's "Rebellion" (Reilly & Britton) and Anthony Hope's "Mrs. Maxon Protests" (Harpers), both take the same general point of departure: "Winnie Maxon had broken a law and asked a question. When thousands do the like, the Giant, after giving the first-comers a box on the ear, may at last put his hand to his own and ponderously consider."

To the rather recent discovery that children—as well as women—have "rights," Constance Armfield's English story of "The Larger Growth" (Dutton) gives advertisement. From London too—though via Indianapolis, where the Bobbs-Merrill Company "keep store"—arrives I. A. B. Wylie's "Dividing Waters." A sharp satirical flavor at British expense quickens this more than merely competent romantic exposition of some differences between Herr John Bull and Mrs. Germania; and that calls to mind Pierre de Coulevain's surpassingly witty fictional criticism of that "Unknown Isle" (Cassell)—situated between Leinster and Picardy—whose foibles never had a cleverer com-



COMPLETE COVER DESIGN OF "THE BLOOD OF THE ARENA"

mentator, Max O'Rell and Bernard Shaw not excepted. Sybil Spottiswode's "Her Husband's Country" (Duffield) also treats of Anglo-German divergences. "Flower of the Peach" (Century) brings forward observations by Percival Gibbon about the "nigger" problem in the new South African Union. Most topical of all—and yet perennial—appears the name of "Monna Lisa" on a new novel (Crowell).

#### SEQUELS AND SUNDRY

Art, science, philosophy, religion, politics, music—what branch of civilized interest does not Romain Rolland touch upon? "Jean Christophe in Paris" (Holt) continues the career of this restless soul, this arch-type of the modern man of culture. That notable seventeenth-century Dutchman, on the other hand, whom Marjorie Bowen made so clearly visual in "I Will Maintain," that same William of Orange takes front place in "Defender of the Faith" (Dutton) as partner of English Princess Mary and formidable opponent of mighty France. Arnold Bennett's "Clayhanger" succeeds "Hilda-Lessways" (Dutton), leaving, in its turn, much for subsequent revelation. The young



"DID I FRIGHTEN YOU?"  
(Frontispiece from "In the Shadows of Islam," by  
Demetra Vaka)

woman in question marries one George Cannon; she learns that he already has a wife, and then, after his disappearance, betrothes herself to Clayhanger without initiating him as to her marriage, only to be confronted by the expectation of a child—where the book comes to an end. A psychologist of first order, Arnold Bennett, however, betrays his absolute indifference to narrative pro-



COLETTE YVER  
(Author of "Love Versus Law")

portion by giving Hilda five pages to fetch a pocket-handkerchief for her mother and eight to find out that she has wedded a bigamist. Clayhanger, too, being a man of his time,—and having perhaps read "Tess of the d'Urbervilles,"—one anticipates no irreconcilable rigidity on his part. That the twentieth-century male regards female frailties with less Oriental fierceness than his forefathers, a story like Mrs. Dejeans' "Far Triumph" (Lippincotts) or Miss Saanen's "Blind Who See" (Century) assuredly does proclaim aloud. But *chacun à son goût*, and if you sigh for tales of love modeled upon passing fashions and ideas, then buy yourself "The Money Moon," written by Jeffrey Farnol with charming literary grace, published by Dodd, Mead & Company in the city of New York, and persuading one—at \$1.25—that life's a happy dream. Among Mr. Farnol's mythological Arcadians of the present day appears a very nice, very good little boy, who reminds one of another, patented a quarter of a century ago by Mrs. Hodgson Burnett. Her latest tale, though, "The Secret Garden" (Stokes), marks an implied recantation from the manufacture of artificial infants, for this idyllic story of childhood contains much veracious characterization. Still, we feel Mrs. Deland's juvenile quartet—Elizabeth and David, Nannie and Blair—better little playmates, jollier and more genuine. Alfred Tennyson relates "A Portentous History" (Duffield), concerning the life of a young Scottish giant who at



ALFRED TENNYSON, GRANDSON OF THE POET, AND  
AUTHOR OF "A PORTENTOUS HISTORY"

last joins a circus. Public unfriendliness to talent of unusual stature—this would seem the story's inner core; to its outward shaping have gone a portion of the greater Tennyson's tremendous rhetoric and also an excess of such lurid language as "Locksley Hall" embodies. The Victorian age receives half-hearted criticism at the hands of Lucas Malet—see "Adrian Savage" (Harper); but Mr. Morley Roberts overwhelms and utterly confounds Victorianism with stinging, impudent wit in "Thorpe's Way" (Century). Here the socialistic, atheistic hero proposes marriage to the anti-Victorian heroine at the dinner party where they make each other's first acquaintance.

Quite innocent of the irony and refinement distinguishing Mrs. Wharton's *Americana*, Mr. Harold Bell Wright's more primitive muse still fits the rugged subject of Coloradan reclamation. "The Winning of Barbara Worth" (Book Supply Company) indeed imparts a sense of the Western country's magnificent bigness and of its splendid destiny. But since all such pioneer work has devolved upon men, and could be accomplished without the presence of women, an injected conventional love story by no means enhances the value of this chronicle. In the case of George Gibbs' "Forbidden Way" (Appleton), also dealing with the development of Colorado, the stress given to amatory romance has greater justification, since part of the drama is played in social circles of New York. Other aspects of life are described by Hopkinson Smith's tale of the old South "Kennedy Square" (Scribner), and Joseph Conrad's novel of revolutionary Russia "Under Western Eyes"

(Harper). An engaging narrative called "Ember Light," written by Roy Gilson and published by the Baker and Taylor Company, devotes its pages to praise of steadfast domestic love.

#### SOME MISCELLANEOUS FICTION

Robert Chambers. "The Common Law." (Appleton.) Deals with studio life in New York.  
G. F. Mertins. "A Watcher of the Skies." (Crowell.) Treats of loss of memory and hypnotism.

G. Wentworth James. "The Price." (Kennerley.) A married woman's intrigue with an aviator.

Horace Vachell. "John Verney." (Doran.) Present-day politics in England.

Hamlin Garland. "Victor Olnee's Discipline." (Harper.) A love story in which the hero's mother is a medium.

Three novels of religious tendency, with setting in Georgia, the Northwestern lumber region, and provincial England: Will N. Harben's "Jane Dawson" (Harper); Norman Duncan's "Measure of a Man" (Wevell); Florence Barclay's "Following of the Star" (Putnam).

Rex Beach. "The Ne'er-Do-Well." (Harper.) Adventures in Panama.

Cynthia Stockley. "Virginia of the Rhodesians." (Estes.)

H. de V. Stacpoole. "The Ship of Coral." (Duffield.) Nautical adventure.

Pierre de Coulevain. "The Heart of Life." (Dutton.) The story of an unhappy marriage, with Swiss setting.

Myrtle Weed. "A Weaver of Dreams." (Putnam.)

Alfred Ollivant. "The Taming of John Blunt." (Doubleday, Page.)

J. A. Mitchell. "Pandora's Box." (Stokes.)



MORLEY ROBERTS  
(Author of "Thorpe's Way")

# THE SEASON'S BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

(SECOND NOTICE. SEE THE DECEMBER NUMBER)

THE fairy tales make the first appeal this month.

We noted last month the artistic writing of Miss Lagerlöf and of Anatole France. In "The Golden Spears," by Edmund Leamy (Fitzgerald)—fairy stories of Ireland, the author's style is not without charm, though he is not a finished artist like France. The preface tells us that the author was an expert at improvisation, and we can imagine how these stories told to children, of whom he was very fond, would hold them spellbound with a gripping fascination, though in the cold regularity of the printed type they are less perfect. The diction is at times refreshing, as, for instance: "Here's a spear that will pierce any shield, and here's a shield that no spear can pierce." But some will no doubt find it difficult to be reconciled to the absolute lack of moral balance in these tales. The heroes are not rewarded for their good deeds, but are simply haphazard recipients of the fairies' bounty.

One turns with peculiar satisfaction to the reprint of Thackeray's "The Rose and the Ring" (Crowell), where with all its horse-play, with all its extravagance (with even a touch of grossness that the editor of a child's book to-day might cut out), we have, as we have in Shakespeare, an absolutely moral foundation that the friends of childhood must welcome with unbounded delight. In J. R. Monsell's illustrations, his dainty figures of the heroine "Betsinda" are admirable, but his caricatures have not the genuine stamp. Thackeray's own comic drawings were superior.



From "The Golden Spears"

Three richly illustrated books, in "The True Annals of Fairyland" series, illustrated by Charles Robinson, that come from E. P. Dutton, are "The Reign of King Cole," edited by T. M. Gibbons; "The Reign of King Herla," edited by William Canton; "The Reign of King Oberon," edited by Walter Jerrold. They give hundreds of well-known tales for a very small price, but we do not feel that Mr. Robinson, who has hitherto been a fairy-tale illustrator *par excellence*, has risen to his highest achievements in the illustrations, and we strongly object to all these classics being published without any authors' names attached to them.

T. W. Rolleston, in his "The High Deeds of Finn, and Other Bardic Romances of Ancient Ireland," illustrated by Reid (Crowell), reproduces folk-lore stories in almost their original form. Here, too, as in "The Golden Spears," there are times when justice goes by the board, where "might is right," but there are a larger number of cases in this book than in "The Golden Spears" where bravery is rewarded and virtue extolled. Whether or not a certain barbaric undercurrent in these tales is just the thing for children is a question. Similar doubts arise on perusing "Stories of Indian Gods and



From "The Reign of King Oberon"

Heroes," by W. D. Monro (Crowell), though otherwise a most fascinating book.

"The Sunset of the Heroes—Last Adventures of the Takers of Troy," by W. M. L. Hutchinson, is illustrated in admirable manner by Herbert Cole (Dutton), and the book is a worthy companion of "Half a Hundred Hero Tales," though the stories are not told with the simplicity of Hawthorne and Kingsley.

Among the tales that are classic, but do not belong to Greek life, also from Dutton, are "The Story of Parzival, the Templar—Retold from Wolfram von Eschenbach," by Mary Blackwell Aterlong, illustrations by William Ernest Chapman; "The Story of Bayard," by Christopher Hare, with illustrations by Herbert Cole; and a volume with nearly five hundred pages is "The Children's Shakespeare," retold by Alice Spencer Hoffmann, illustrated by Charles Folkard.

In order to interest boys and girls in natural resources and industries of the countries a series has been issued by the Penn Publishing Company, covering "The Story" of Gold and Silver—of Cotton, Leather, Wheat, Linen. Two volumes are already at hand, "The Story of Gold and Silver," by Elizabeth T. Samuel, and "The Story of Cotton," by Alice Turner Curtis.



From "The Story of Cotton"

Their pedagogic method is that of the Rollo books. For example, in order to explain to the boys how quicksilver is used in mining gold, the boys have had a lecture from Mr. Bailey on the mercury that makes up the amalgam in filling little Henry's tooth. We are not sure that the young folk will feel compensated for the absence of adventure in these books, by the presence

of encyclopedic information, but their purpose is a good one. Let the child learn his lesson from the stories, even if his applause of them is not overenthusiastic.

The names of E. P. Dutton, as the American publisher, and Ernest Nister, as the London publisher, whose printing is done in Bavaria, in times past



From "The Children of the New Forest"

guaranteed that this printing would be superlatively good; but we regret a recent tendency toward crude coloring in the Bavarian printed books. The color sense in a child must be trained wholly by example, and it is as unfair to put crudely colored books before him as it would be to put ungrammatical books before him. It does not seem creditable to these firms to put forth such coloring as in "The Life and Adventures of General Spoolet, a Story of a Toy Soldier," by D. W. C. Falls. In a second book they issue, "The Adventures of Benjamin and Christabel," by Cyril F. Austin, the designing is very acceptable and the verse equally clever, while the coloring is much more subdued than in the previous book.

The historical or semi-historical stories come in two forms, some reprints from over the water, and some 1911 American stories. The foremost English classic (though not an importation, for the illustrations are by E. Boyd Smith, an American, and the book is issued in this country by Henry Holt) is Captain Marryat's well-known "Children of the New Forest." Marryat was a genuine story-teller. His "Bush Boys" should rank very near the "Swiss Family Robinson."

But it is a question whether our children will take quite the interest in English stories that they will in American history, and perhaps such stories as "Tom Strong, Washington's Scout," by Alfred Bishop Mason (Holt); "Peggy Owen at Yorktown," by Lucy Foster Madison (Penn); "The Young Continentals at Trenton," by John T. McIntyre (Penn); "Scouting for Light Horse Harry," by John Preston True (Little, Brown), will appeal more to their fancy.

Germane to these definite historical books are those which have historic types but cover an indefinite period, as, for instance, the



From "What Katy Did Next"

Indians of the Revolutionary War that figure in "The White Seneca," by William W. Canfield (Dutton).

Ernest Thompson Seton is an ideal author for boys, since he both writes and illustrates his work with ease, knows his subject, and has a comrade's interest in the juvenile audience he writes for, being Chief Scout of the Boy Scouts of America. His "Rolf in the Woods" (Doubleday, Page) is not wholly about animals, for the Boy Scout Rolf and the Indian Quonab contribute a plot around which the animals, including the little hero dog, Skookum, act as "supers," as it were, and form an attractive ensemble.

"The Young Alaskans on the Trail," by Emerson Hough, another author who knows nature at first hand (Harpers), is full of local color, both in text and illustrations.



From "The Airship Boys' Ocean Flyer"

Incidents pile one upon another and the episodes touch very near upon extravaganzas, in such books as "Young Crusoes of the Sky," by F. Lovell Coombs (Century); "The Cruise of the Kingfisher," by H. De Vere Stacpoole (Duffield); "The Airship Boys' Ocean Flyer, or New York to London in Twelve Hours," by H. L. Saylor (Reilly,

Britton) (though here there is a Jules Verne realism in the tale, and the illustrations by S. H. Riesenberg are exceedingly realistic); and in "The Hero of Panama, a Tale of the Great Canal," by Captain Brereton (Caldwell).

Prominent among the girls' books is Mrs. Elaine Goodale Eastman's "Yellow Star" (Little, Brown). Mrs. Eastman has written with a purpose, and with an intimate knowledge of her subject, as did Miss Olcott. She wishes to vindicate the character of the Indian, and she has succeeded in characterizing "Yellow Star" in a vivid manner.

Akin to such books are stories where (though the author may not have been so single of purpose) the characters taken in the group arrange themselves in a *genre* picture that is without false coloring or overdone dramatic arrangement. Such are "The Katy Did Series," by Susan Coolidge, of which new editions have been issued by Little, Brown. "What Katy Did"; "What Katy Did at School"; "What Katy Did Next"; "Harmony Hall," by Marion Hill (Small, Maynard); "Friends in the End," by Beulah Marie Dix (Holt); "Joan of Rainbow Springs," by Frances Marian Mitchell (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard); and "Fairmount Girls in School and Camp," by Etta Anthony Baker (Little, Brown).



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

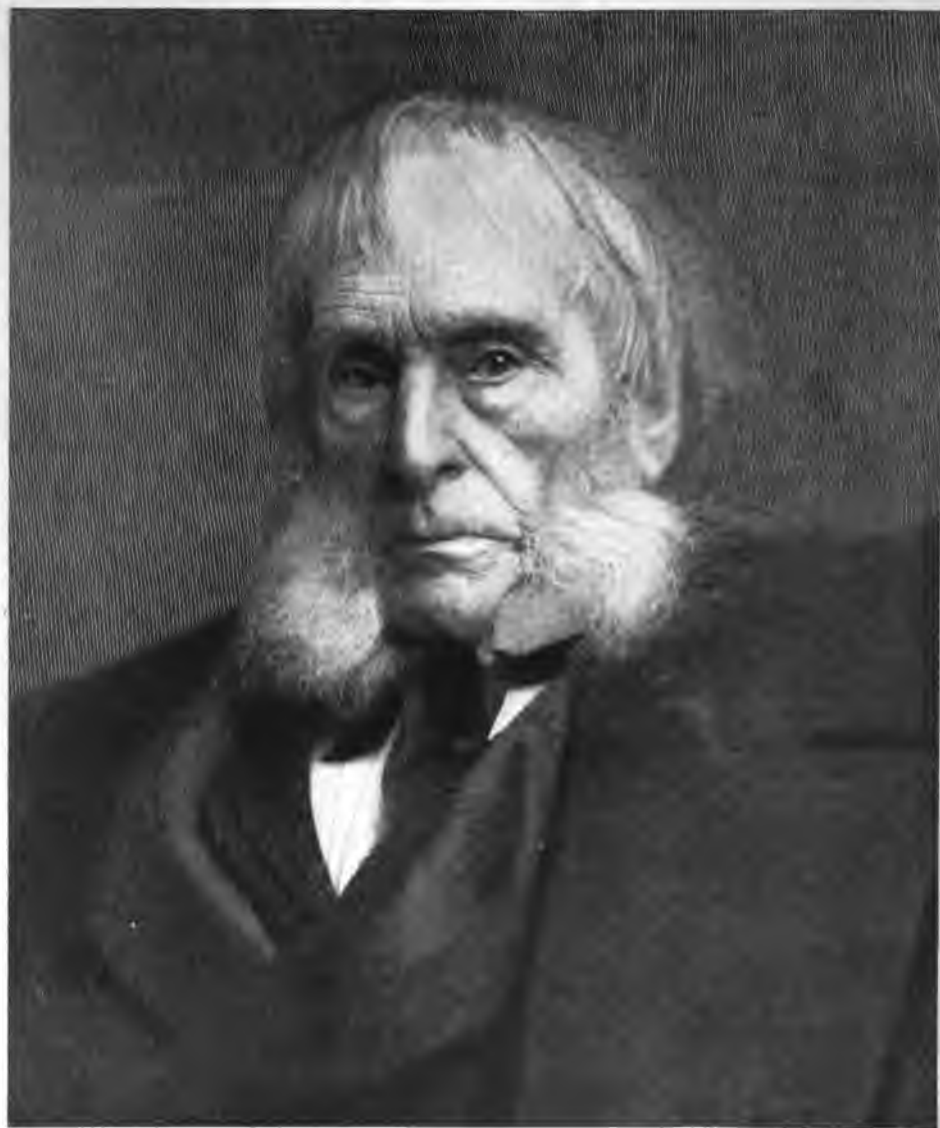
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE LATE JOHN BIGELOW (1817-1911)

When Mr. John Bigelow, of New York, had passed his ninetieth birthday this magazine published a brief sketch of his career as "New York's First Citizen," directing attention to the remarkable activity and mental alertness of this eminent American gentleman. Mr. Bigelow lived to celebrate his ninety-fourth birthday, and when at last he passed away, after a brief illness, it could not be said that he had ever been really out of touch with the world about him, which he regarded as a very good world indeed, despite its protective tariffs and a few other excrescences that he had sought unsuccessfully to remove. Although he had given much time to the preparation of his "Retrospections of an Active Life," Mr. Bigelow refused to the last to *live* in the past. He could reflect about it and relate wonderful stories from its annals, but life, for him, was in the present and his face was toward the future. Born in Monroe's Administration (before the Monroe Doctrine itself), a college student in the reign of Andrew Jackson and a voter in Van Buren's time, Mr. Bigelow remained a Democrat through the convulsions of civil war and the realignment of parties, even down to the era of McKinley and Roosevelt and Taft. Yet he loyally served the Lincoln administration as consul-general at Paris and Minister to France, and the errors of hidebound partisanship were never laid at his door. His was a type of citizenship that cannot too often be held up as a model before American youth.



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLV

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No. 2

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*War and  
the Colonial  
System*

A war between the United States and any other important and responsible country is not likely to occur, because there could be no gain on either side that would counterbalance the loss. We have had no such war in all our history (the war of 1812 being hardly a case in point), and the danger of our being drawn into a great foreign conflict would appear less at the present time than ever before. Our affair with Spain, which might seem to have been an exception to the rule, was limited in several ways, and its motive was not that of a great war. It was a piece of international police work, whereby within a few short weeks we ended a condition of warfare in Cuba that had been going on for three years. The cause of that war was the European colonial system,—a system that lies at the root of almost every international difficulty. Almost every speaker and writer within the past few months who has been discussing the pending arbitration treaties, and the great ideals of peace among the nations, has omitted to mention the chief difficulties that lie in the way.

*The Nations  
as Equal  
and Sovereign*

If the world were made up in fact—as it is in the fiction of international law—of a certain number of equal members of the family of nations, each of these constituting a sovereignty in the full sense and having similar rank and right under the law of nations, it would be comparatively easy to adjust international differences. The organs of world-government could be readily evolved and established. The rules of international law could be adopted and extended in world parliaments. Disputes between nations could be referred to permanent tribunals. National armaments could be reduced to a minimum, and an international fleet could be created to police the high seas and render certain benefi-

cent services to mankind. The trouble is that the world is not made up of a series of equal members of a family of nations. The conditions are wholly unequal, and bewilderingly anomalous. The more rapidly their individual status can be developed and improved, the sooner can world peace be firmly established among the world's political entities.

*Our Share  
in Nation-  
Making*

Our tilt with Spain created the Republic of Cuba as a new nation, and put the Philippines in a position of tutelage, out of which a Philippine Republic will be evolved as soon as popular education and the practice of local self-government can make a stable republic possible. All our relations with Cuba are intended to guard that republic's prosperity, peace, and good relationship among the nations. It will be our policy, in like manner, to aid in the formation of a Philippine republic that can pursue the arts of peace and civilization at home, without fear of aggression from abroad. Cuba needs no national armed marine, except for ordinary coast services of a limited nature; and the Philippine republic, when established, will undoubtedly be protected in its independence not only by our attitude, but by the moral sense of mankind. It has been the policy of the present administration at Washington, following that of Secretary Root and President Roosevelt, to create permanent conditions of peace elsewhere in the West Indies and in Central America, without destroying the real dignity and value that go with national sovereignty. Our work at Panama will contribute to the stability of the South American republics. It is by processes of this kind that the causes of war are gradually removed, and relations of peace come to rest upon stable foundations. Our navy helps to protect this peaceful evolution in the Western hemisphere.





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#### SIGNING THE ARBITRATION TREATIES LAST AUGUST

(Ambassador Bryce, on the left, is signing the treaty between the United States and England, while Secretary Knox, at the right, is signing the treaty between France and the United States. President Taft stands in the center)

*Treaties and  
Their  
Value*

It is conceivable that in this great movement for peace and harmony in the world we might exchange something of the substance of things for confusing and unreal shadows. Our freedom to act is always a force making for order and peace. We would not be thought to oppose the pending treaties for the creation of nominal arbitration machinery as between this country and two of its powerful and permanent friends. But it is well to remember that the peace of the world is not going to be made or unmade by the legal mechanism of arbitration treaties. The peace of the world must rest upon the working out of solutions for troublesome problems of a kind that nations do not arbitrate. The duty of avoiding war and settling differences through diplomacy or arbitration among civilized nations is not increased, to any appreciable extent, by a treaty made in advance which promises to deal with disputes through certain juridical channels. We have already negotiated arbitration treaties with almost every nation in both hemispheres. And these treaties are an admirable expression of our sentiments. But it would be none the less our duty to settle disputes without war, even if we had not previously negotiated any

treaties contemplating arbitration. If conditions should arise impelling nations to take up arms, they would seldom be restrained by arbitration treaties. But everything in the nature of advance preparation for peace has a good tendency, and is therefore to be encouraged.

*The  
New  
Agreements*

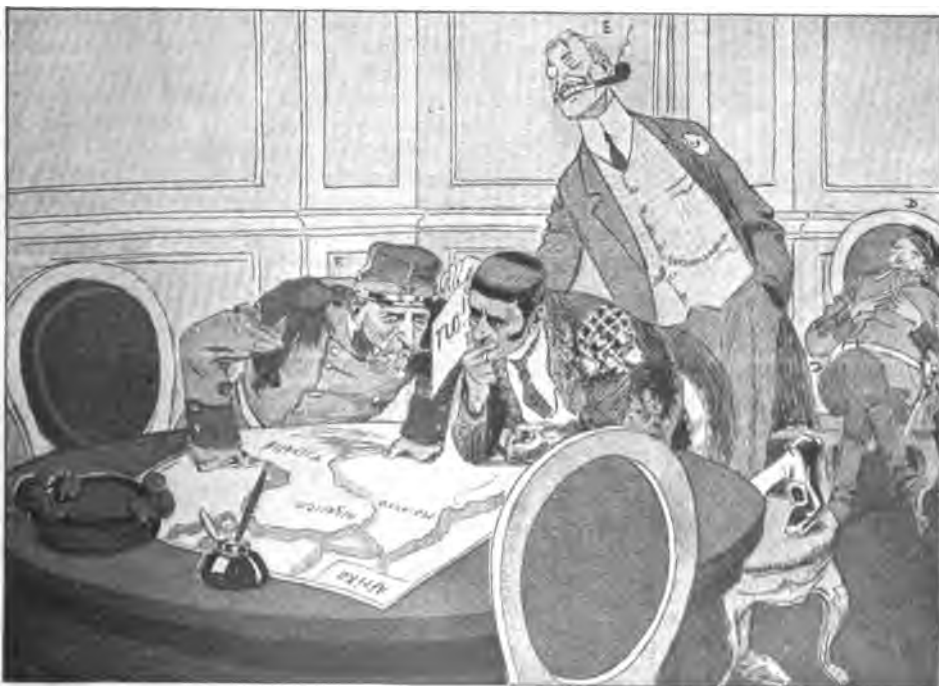
The new treaties have been widely proclaimed throughout the country, yet the public does not give much evidence of knowing what they are about. As matters have stood, without these new treaties, there has been nothing to prevent our submitting to arbitration any question that might arise with any other country. But we could never have sent any question to arbitration except as the President negotiated the arrangement and the Senate concurred. The new treaties do not in the least change those fundamental facts. No dispute will go of itself to an arbitration tribunal. Special arrangements must be made in every case, by negotiation; and at every stage of the negotiation the Senate must concur. Provision is made for a joint commission which may inquire whether a given dispute is "justiciable" in its nature. But the appointment of our half of these commissioners must be made by consent of the Senate; and

even if the entire six commissioners should agree that some question—involving national honor, for example—could properly be submitted to arbitration, it would still be necessary to secure the consent of the Senate to the particular agreement before concrete steps could be taken to proceed with the adjudication. This has been Secretary Knox's understanding of the meaning of the treaties which he himself negotiated. And it became evident last month that this interpretation would be expressly added to the treaties before the Senate finally gave its adherence to them. They should be approved.

*Does England  
Favor  
Arbitration?*

The effect of these treaties could hardly be to increase the probability of our settling our own disputes by arbitration. But it is claimed that they would help the public opinion of the world, and aid in removing distinctions between the kinds of questions hitherto regarded as arbitrable and those other matters pertaining to a nation's honor and its own policy, that have not been regarded as properly referable to a court of arbitration. While, therefore, the treaties as amended by the Senate would seem to be worthy, we must confess to some sympathy with the view that

they are of rather slight importance at this moment when compared with some of the great questions that have been agitating European statesmen. It is fair to suppose that we have not been negotiating these treaties with England and France without meaning that we should be equally ready to negotiate similar ones with all other nations. Undoubtedly, we mean to do our very best to promote the cause of peace throughout the world. But is England equally broad-minded and sincere upon her part? It is alleged in well-informed circles that Italy's sudden ultimatum to Turkey and her invasion of Tripoli for purposes of annexation had been previously submitted, in confidence, to the British Government and had received encouragement. The Turkish Government was ready and anxious to submit every point at issue to a court of arbitration. It was the duty of governments that really believed in arbitration to use their utmost endeavor to prevent the thing that actually took place. But the English Government gave not the faintest sign of desiring to prevent war between Italy and Turkey. It is obviously to the interest of England at all times to settle questions at issue with the United States without recourse to arms. But in the great European game of conquest and colonial



"PEACEFUL MEASURES ONLY" (THE WORDS OF SIR EDWARD GREY)

(However France and Spain may agree over Morocco, it is John Bull who will have the final word—and that, too, with an entirely "unmailed fist")—From *Ull* (Berlin)

empire, is it not England that leads in the methods that set warlike power above tribunals of arbitration?

*War and  
Empire*

It is not that we should attach too much importance to Turkey's intrinsic rights in Tripoli. Such authority had deserved recognition only for the sake of orderly procedure among nations. No nation has inherently any right whatsoever of sovereignty or overlordship over any other nation. But nations having friendly relations have respected each other's colonial dominions, somewhat as neighboring slave-owners, in time past, always respected each other's titles in their human bondsmen. Turkey's claim upon Tripoli was at least as good as England's claim upon certain of her "possessions." The existence of these anomalous relationships always makes dangerously for war. Thus it is to be hoped that the "Barbary states" of North Africa may at some future day be able to set up in business for themselves. For the present, undoubtedly, the people living on the north side of the Mediterranean can do a great deal for those living on the south side of it and on the margins of the Sahara. But Italy, France, and Spain ought to be able to find ways for the promotion of their commercial, industrial, and engineering projects in North Africa without bombarding ancient ports and carrying devastation into the oases of the desert. England's attitude toward these movements has not shown a sufficiently high regard for peace and justice.

*England and  
the Rights  
of Persia*

England's responsibility, furthermore, is unmistakable as regards the situation in Persia. At the very moment when the Persian Government



GETTING TO CLOSE QUARTERS IN PERSIA  
RUSSIA AND BRITAIN (each sitting on his own Persian rug):  
"Don't you dare cross my border"  
From *Ulk* (Berlin)

was making hopeful progress in the direction of modern government and of improved administration, England joined with Russia in the virtual seizure of a nominally independent country, without even a plausible pretext of justice. Persia had a right to expect the commendation of the whole civilized world for her recent steps of progress. Mr. Shuster and his assistants would have paid off foreign loans and protected every just claim. Yet England practically joined in the Russian ultimatum to Persia, and encouraged what was a short but bloody war of infamous conquest, wholly unprovoked. It will end in England's taking her share of Persia as an addition to the British Empire. In this case England was governed by fear lest Russia should take the whole. So she took what she could get.



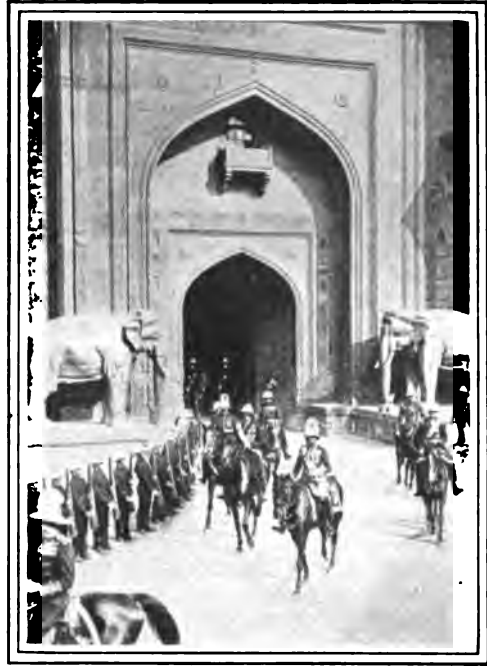
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TURKISH CAVALRY AND MOUNTAIN BATTERY GOING INTO ACTION ON THE  
SANDHILLS OF TRIPOLI

*India as a  
Future  
Sovereignty*

Undoubtedly the English Government confers great benefit, as a rule, upon the regions over which it extends its administrative methods. Last month we published in this REVIEW an excellent article by a native of India, showing the services that England has rendered to that great region of Asia. Since England has established internal peace for two hundred million Asiatic people who must otherwise have been torn by dissension among themselves, it is reasonable to hope that these people, having learned the art of self-government, may in due time take their place as a member of the world's group of great nations, and sit in its larger councils. We have witnessed the coronation of the King of England as Emperor of India in the new capital city of Delhi; but this is not the kind of empire that can be maintained upon any other ground except that of efficient service. England will do herself an injustice in imagining that the future maintenance of the British Empire must depend chiefly upon the rapid building of "Dreadnoughts." If the British Empire should cease to be militant, and should rely upon voluntary and pacific relationships in its inner structure and upon the world's good will in its outer aspects, it would be safe enough. This is the more clearly seen when presented with some analysis.

*The Position  
of  
Canada*

Take, for example, the position of Canada in the empire. The only possible danger that could beset Canada would arise from her becoming militant. As a matter of fact, Canada has the most favorable position of any nation in the world, because she does not need to burden herself with armaments. She has a great domain, access to both oceans, admirable institutions, a prosperous present and a brilliantly hopeful future. She needs no army except for ordinary police services, and no navy at all, in the large sense. She is already, in fact, one of the world's great republics. Under the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and by reason of the ties of close neighborhood, the Government of the United States could never permit a foreign power to attack or invade Canada. For Canada to create an army and navy to be used in helping England to fight Germany over some question of control in Central Africa would be sheer folly, for this would mean the abandonment of Canada's exceptional advantages. Canada, Australia, and South Africa will in due time take their places as independent republics, and they will be quite as valuable to Great



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

ROYALTY PASSING THE GATES OF DELHI, THE  
NEW CAPITAL OF INDIA

Britain in that capacity as they are to-day in their positions of merely nominal dependence. Their voluntary political associations are in any case matters for their own preference; but they should remain non-combatant.

*Colonialism a  
Temporary  
Device*

When it can be clearly seen that colonial empire resting upon armed power is a burden and a delusion, we shall be much nearer the attainment of peace and harmony throughout the world. Nevertheless, a period of tutelage in the colonial form may, in the case of many nations, prove the shortest and best way to the recovery of a desirable future independence. For example, Japan has obliterated Korea as an independent country; but Korea had become in every way incapable. It is likely enough that the Japanese will soon have brought the Koreans out of their miserable condition of economic and political decline, so that a hundred years hence Korea may be able to take her place in the world as a worthy and capable nation.

*China  
and Its  
Independence*

There is naturally great concern among thoughtful people everywhere over the profound political changes that are taking place in China. It has seemed to Americans that the integrity of the Chinese Empire ought to be maintained

while the Chinese themselves are learning to use modern industrial and political appliances. The partition of China has not seemed to hold any very bright promise of well-being. Yet, even if China should for the present be partitioned among European countries, it could only be for comparatively temporary purposes of administration. The Chinese will inhabit China in any case, and from this time forth they will make rapid progress in the knowledge of Western science and modern methods. There could be no continuing overlordship of European powers in China that did not rest upon valuable and efficient services. The time has passed for oppressive forms of colonial dominion. The more highly developed nations must simply be content to aid other communities in attaining strong institutions and ultimate self-direction. China admitted her lack of certain capacities when, years ago, she called in Sir Robert Hart, with his numerous English and other foreign assistants, to administer her customs. But China in the long run will no more need the aid of European administrators than England and France will need Chinese officials.

*Colonies  
and  
Compromises*

It is highly essential, therefore, that Europe should learn the futility of colonial empire at the expense of vast armaments. The British Empire would probably survive upon its intrinsic merits for a good while to come, even if England should build no more warships at all, merely allowing its present navy to decline with the gradual superannuation of the ships. It is plain that rival colonial policies

are the chief dangers that confront the European powers. These policies cannot be immediately reconciled, yet one point of friction after another can be done away with. Thus, doubtless, there is real gain in the fact that France and Germany made their compromise and avoided war over Morocco. The thing to be desired in such cases is that the compromise should be of an enduring nature, and that neither party should feel itself overreached in the bargain. It is now evident that while the Franco-German negotiations were pending there was serious danger, behind the scenes, of a great European war in which England would also have been involved. Disclosures regarding certain secret aspects of those negotiations have caused a reorganization of the French cabinet; but the welfare of everybody demands that the results shall be accepted in good faith. War should be avoided and deferred by every possible means. Meanwhile, dangerous colonial situations should be cleared up by compromises and definite bargains, with the full understanding that many regions now in the dependent or colonial stage are destined, in the course of the present century, to take their places as sovereign states.

*American  
Opinion of  
Russia*

Since it was arranged, last month, that the ratification of the treaties should be debated in open Senate, there will doubtless have been heard a great many speeches, of differing degrees of excellence, upon the present state of the world with particular reference to our own relationships. Some of the newspapers have thought that



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MANCHU TROOPS OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY PASSING THROUGH A VILLAGE ON THE WAY TO BATTLE

the Senate should talk about these arbitration treaties in secret session; but no harm can come from frank and open talk at a time when we have no serious controversies in any quarter. It is possible that some Senators may say uncomplimentary things about Russia. But this can result in no disturbance of such friendly relationships as exist between the governments. Russia is so much occupied with her own internal questions, and with her policies in Mongolia, Persia, and Turkey, that she is not greatly annoyed by criticisms passed upon her conduct in the United States. It has always been Russia's policy to exercise the closest police scrutiny over the movement of her own subjects from one place to another within her domains; and in like manner she has insisted upon controlling, in her own way and at her own pleasure, the entrance and movement of foreigners. This is her undoubted right, and it is not questioned by any other European country.

*The  
Passport  
Question*

Speaking in general terms, and viewed from the standpoint of her own problems and policies, Russia has been exceptionally friendly toward American visitors and travelers. Nor is it true that Russia has to any great extent discriminated against Jews holding American passports. Nearly all such travelers presenting their passports have been admitted. But some have been excluded; and in consequence there has been a growing agitation in this country. It would seem as if the controversy might have been better disposed of by diplomatic negotiation. But since nothing had been accomplished in that way, Congress, with practical unanimity, determined to abrogate the treaty of 1832, which provides, among many other things, for mutual courtesies as respects the treatment of travelers. The administration acquiesced in the position taken by Congress, and the treaty was accordingly abrogated. This means that we have informed Russia of our desire that the treaty shall not be in effect after January 1, 1913. It is to be hoped that, in the meantime, a new treaty can be negotiated that will be satisfactory to both countries. It will be a good while before individual liberty as established among us can prevail in Russia; and it will be well if we are just-minded and considerate enough to look at things exactly as they are. People in this country do not approve of Russia's policy in Persia, nor of her apparent intention to seize Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan. But these things do not directly concern us, and the Russians have

their side of the case as against other grasping empires. There is no reason why we should not be on the best of terms with Russia; and, while standing for the equal treatment of all our citizens as a first consideration, we must also maintain and improve friendly relations and steadily develop our commercial intercourse.

*Congress  
and Tariff  
Revision*

Conditions at Washington are not favorable for the accomplishment of very much legislation. The political motive was never more strongly in evidence throughout the entire personnel of government. The Democrats in the House have decided to take up again their plan of passing a series of tariff bills, revising one schedule at a time. They have determined to begin with the steel schedule, and announcement was made that a chemical schedule would come next. Then will follow a Wool bill, a Cotton bill, and perhaps several others. It cannot be known in advance whether or not the Progressive Republicans in the Senate will unite with the Democrats in passing the tariff bills sent up from the other House. This must depend principally upon the character of the bills themselves. The Republican Progressives stand by the party promises of 1908, and are in favor of very material tariff reductions. But in the face of another Presidential election they may not be able to agree with the Democrats upon the details. The Tariff Board's report upon wool contained a large mass of interesting and useful information about costs at home and abroad. Undoubtedly this information is desirable for purposes of reference.

*What Is  
Most  
Needed*

But the establishment of a revenue system for the government, and the modification of revenue laws, are matters of great public policy which are in no way touched upon by the work of the Tariff Board. A real tariff commission, actually studying fiscal policies and making recommendations,—as in the case of Germany and other countries,—is as different an affair as possible from a mere statistical bureau which employs people to arrange facts and figures relating to costs in a given industry. It is quite possible that if the Underwood committee had been in possession of this wool report last March its bill might have dealt somewhat differently with such a detail, for example, as that of wool "washed and unwashed." But it is not probable that this report could have affected in any way the main question of the average amount of tariff





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**MR. CARNEGIE TESTIFYING LAST MONTH BEFORE THE STANLEY COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON**

(Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who had agreed to appear before the Stanley committee which is investigating the Steel Trust, quite naturally changed his mind and asked to be excused after the Attorney-General began suit against the United States Steel Corporation and named Mr. Carnegie among those who are made defendants in the action. Chairman Stanley insisted, however, and Mr. Carnegie made an entertaining and instructive witness on January 10th, 11th and 12th. Out of the stenographic report of Mr. Carnegie's shrewd and amusing observations a large amount of personal and biographical data can be gleaned by whomsoever may wish to find it; but one must look elsewhere for information on the Steel Trust. Mr. Carnegie holds strongly to the Roosevelt view of the need of bringing corporations under government regulation in order that business may be done in a large way without injury to the ordinary citizen. Mr. Carnegie's testimony in favor of very material reduction in the tariff on steel products will have proved of assistance to the Underwood committee, which is about to pass through the House a bill revising the iron and steel schedule.)

reduction provided for in the measure. The thing needed is an immediate reduction and revision of the tariff, to be followed by a scientific treatment of the whole subject through a real tariff commission whose work would require a number of years for its completion. Such a tariff commission would take up its subject broadly and thoroughly, in some such fashion as the Aldrich commission took up the whole question of currency and banking.

*As to a "Money Trust,"* There is now in the hands of Congress the final recommendations of that Aldrich commission, and the country will have an opportunity to discuss the subject intelligibly from the standpoint of a definite scheme. We shall in due time present the question in every aspect to our readers, but it is enough at this moment to remind them that we are in dire need of monetary and banking reform, and that the Aldrich scheme has on its face a very great deal to commend it. There has been much discussion, during the past month, of the growing control over the country's financial

affairs of a group of bankers and financiers whose headquarters are in the Wall Street district of New York. It has been charged that this situation has developed to the point of constituting a real Money Trust. A prominent member of the Minnesota delegation in Congress, Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh, last month introduced resolutions calling for an investigation of the Money Trust. Mr. Lindbergh is a man of strong convictions and an indefatigable student of economic and financial problems. It was reported in the newspapers that in case of a Congressional investigation the committee in charge would perhaps retain as its counsel Mr. Samuel Untermyer, a well-known New York lawyer who has been expressing himself with no little emphasis upon the concentration of control over banking credit. Mr. Untermyer has disclaimed the idea of a "Money Trust" in any such form that it could be dealt with under the Anti-Trust law. He asserts, however, that there is a close and well-defined understanding among the men who dominate the financial destinies of our country and who wield fabulous power over the fortunes of others.

*Mr. Untermyer's Views* In a recent public address he made the following statement:

The proposed Congressional investigation of the situation that has been misnamed the "Money Trust" is to my mind important as the basis of pointing to legislation affecting the trusts and our monetary system. Congress should know the extent to which the national banks and the trust companies are under the control of these banking firms, the reasons why competition between the great and small bankers is practically non-existent, and the financial system that has brought us to our present plight, with a view of proposing such corrective and preventive measures as the situation may demand.

Mr. Untermyer's address was exceedingly instructive in its outline of the methods by which the great central banks and financial firms in New York control the industrial corporations, railroads, and other great enterprises of the country through their associated underwriting of securities and their handling of deposits and current funds. It was not to attack either the banking institutions or their personnel, but rather to show an inevitable tendency under present conditions, that Mr. Untermyer made this address. In England, France, and Germany there is much concentration of banking and money power, but under a system which gives government its due control and which also protects the credit of the merchant and manufacturer in critical



MR. SAMUEL UNTERMYER OF NEW YORK

times. Our existing system drains the reserves of the smaller independent banks toward the larger centers, and in times of crisis the business community is in danger from failure on the part of the banks to support credit. It would be idle to deny that there is a concentration of banking and financial power, centered in New York, that is intimately related to the chief railroad systems and to many of the largest industrial companies, insurance companies, and other business enterprises. It would not be accurate, however, to assert that such a financial situation is the result of any deliberate scheme or conspiracy.



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HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, OF MINNESOTA  
(Who wishes to investigate the "Money Trust")

*The Commission's Project* The National Monetary Commission's plan provides for the division of the United States into

fifteen districts for banking purposes. In these districts the banks associated together will elect members of the board of directors of a body to be known as the National Reserve Association. It is to be regarded as a co-operative union of all the banks of the country for the sake of holding a portion of the cash reserves of the banks, and for the further object of issuing circulating notes under the regulation of the government. It is to be fiscal agent of the United States Treasury and is to support the credit of the banks and of the nation under all conditions. Care has





Photograph by Moffett, Chicago

FORMER SENATOR ALDRICH, FROM A NEW PHOTOGRAPH

been taken in the bill to prevent the control of the Reserve Association by any one locality or any particular interest. The South and far West are accorded a much larger representation in the board of directors than their present amount of banking capital would secure for them if the distribution had been made on any such basis. The project has, in our judgment, very much to commend it; but the country will naturally expect it to be thoroughly debated, both within Congress and among the people, before it is finally acted upon. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Burton of Ohio, and in the House by Mr. Vreeland of New York. It has not been framed in a partisan spirit, nor in the interest of any locality, nor for the benefit of any group of financiers. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Congress will consider it in a wholly non-partisan spirit. If its discussion were well advanced in this session, it might be reasonable to hope for the passage of the measure in some form in January or February of next year.

*The Economy Commission*

It was intimated, early last month, that Congress might refuse to make appropriation for the continuance of certain commissions appointed by President Taft, notably the one inquiring into statistical facts underlying business questions and the one engaged in working out a scheme for economy and efficiency

in the government service. The kind of information that the Tariff Board has obtained is useful, and it is merely a question of facts whether Congress could obtain it in any better way or at a smaller expenditure. As for the Commission on Economy and Efficiency, it is to be said that the work organized by Dr. Cleveland and aided by various other experts has made a beginning in such an auspicious way that it ought to be continued and encouraged to the utmost. The report upon this work, as transmitted by President Taft to Congress on January 17, speaks for itself. It shows how slovenly and unrelated have been many of the business processes in the government departments where system and method are urgently needed. This work if properly supported can save millions of dollars and procure increased efficiency. The President's message on this subject gives numerous illustrations of the valuable work already accomplished. We publish an article in this number of the REVIEW showing the dangers to which the public archives are exposed in Washington from lack of proper care and absence of a unified system. What this article shows as respects one kind of neglect and mismanagement could easily be shown by Dr. Cleveland's experts as regards many other kinds.

The Postmaster-General came out in an unexpected statement to the press last month, advocating the purchase by the government of the telegraph and telephone systems of the country, to be operated by the Post-Office Department. It is quite true, as Mr. Hitchcock says, that the chief European countries have a government service of posts and telegraphs; and the idea is a very attractive one. Yet it is a question in this country whether it would not be much better to turn the post-office business over to a well-conducted private corporation than to turn the telegraph and telephone services into a government enterprise. The Post-Office Department is a monument of business inefficiency. It would be preposterous to give it large added functions until it has been put into better working order. The joint commission of the two houses that has made the only recent investigation of the Post-Office Department, —a commission consisting of members of both parties and that did its work with great thoroughness,—united in a report showing that no accounts were kept which made it possible to find out the essential things about the business operations of the service.

*A Government Telegraph*

*The  
Vanished  
Deficit*

This great commission united in a recommendation for a thorough business reorganization of the Post-Office Department. No steps have been taken under the present administration to bring about these needed reforms. We are constantly faced with the statement that this administration has done wonderful things in wiping out the Post-Office deficit; but as a matter of fact there has been no deficit for a great many years, except that which has been created by the cost of the rapid extension of the rural free delivery service. The general growth of the patronage of the post-office has for a number of years been gradually wiping out the burden of this new rural service. The income was inevitably destined to catch up with the expenditure at a certain time which could easily have been predicted in advance. It is neither to the credit nor the discredit of the present administration that the receipts of the post-office have increased more rapidly than its expenses.

*What of  
the Weeks-  
Carter Bill?*

It remains true that the Post-Office Department needs, more than any other large enterprise in the United States, to have a thorough overhauling and to be put on a business basis from top to bottom. There is dire need of a director of posts—a permanent official who can perform the functions of a general business manager. It is also necessary to reorganize the business, county by county, throughout the country, in order to unify the system of post-offices and delivery services. It was expected when the Taft administration came in that the Weeks-Carter bill for reforming the post-office in a business sense would be promptly enacted into law. President Roosevelt was in favor of it, and so were Postmasters-General Cortelyou and Meyer. It would be interesting to know precisely how that admirable measure came to be sidetracked. There is a widespread and justifiable demand for a general parcels post, and the beginnings of some such service are likely to be made. If only the Weeks-Carter bill had been passed two or three years ago, so that the post-office could have been put upon a business basis and delivered from political scandals, the taking up of new things like the parcels post would have been more promising. There is no need of finding fault with Mr. Hitchcock personally for conditions which he did not create. Party management and the administration of the post-office business are two functions that cannot be united in one person without disadvantage to the country.

*Politics  
in the  
Press*

While the great game of Presidential politics has been attracting increased attention from day to day in the newspapers, nothing very important of a practical kind has yet happened. Never before in our history have the direct efforts of an administration to procure control of a party convention been so undisguised as within the last few months. It is not wise or desirable that political pressure should be exerted by those high in official place. The answer to this criticism is that the same sort of thing has been done in the past. But if that be true, the practice ought not to be continued. Perhaps, however, if an administration is determined to fight for a second term it is better to demand in an open way the renomination than to use pressure less frankly. It is not going to be an easy year for the Republican party in any case; and if the convention is not clearly representative of the party's wishes and preferences it will face disaster at the polls.

*La Follette  
Before the  
Country*

Whatever prospect of success the movement for Senator La Follette's nomination may have, there can be no doubt as to the impression of courage and vigor that the Wisconsin Senator is producing by his addresses in different parts of the country. On January 7 he returned to Washington after a speaking tour through several of the Middle Western States. It was the Senator's declared plan to continue his speaking tours, visiting New York and New England and going as far west as the Rocky Mountain States. While in his speeches Mr. La Follette has presented his views upon the regulation of trusts and other questions of public policy, he has dwelt even more insistently upon the need of reform in our political life and methods. He speaks always and everywhere for direct nominations as against the old-fashioned system of manipulated caucuses and conventions. He also advocates the direct election of United States Senators, and the initiative, referendum, and recall. Whether or not Mr. La Follette should ever receive a nomination for the Presidency, he promises to remain a very striking and influential figure in our public life.

*Roosevelt  
In the  
Public Eye*

The indications have now become unmistakable that the rank and file of the Republican party desire the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt. This sentiment is manifest in almost every part of the country. It is obvious that Colonel Roosevelt could not be expected to seek the

place. It is equally obvious that the Republican voters should be allowed to express their views, and should be permitted to choose delegates who will properly represent them in the Chicago convention. The control of State delegations through federal patronage will not be so readily condoned this year as it has been at some times in the past. No candidate on the Republican ticket can possibly be elected this year if his nomination is merely due to the control of blocks of delegates holding federal offices in Southern States which never cast electoral votes for Republican candidates. There is no reason whatsoever for asserting that Mr. Roosevelt would decline the nomination if offered to him, nor is there any reason for thinking that those Republicans who wish to support him are acting without due warrant in trying to have delegates sent from their States who would share in their views.

*Democratic Plans* The Democratic National Committee met in Washington on Jackson Day, January 8, to arrange for the Presidential convention. It was decided to hold the convention in the city

of Baltimore on June 25, one week later than the assembling of the Republican convention at Chicago. Mr. William J. Bryan was present in a very influential way. At the Jackson dinner in the evening Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey made one of his captivating speeches and was the lion of the occasion. A petty attempt to arouse Bryan's enmity against Wilson by the publication of a casual remark in a private letter of four or five years ago was without effect. So incessant and unscrupulous are the intrigues of the politicians in both parties that the demand for direct Presidential primaries seems justified as the only way by which a fair expression can be obtained.

*Primaries Ought to be Held* It is a rather curious fact that the chief attempts to create a feud between Governor Wilson and Mr. Bryan have had a Republican origin. Governor Wilson has evidently been the most popular of the Democratic candidates. The Republicans would naturally like to have the Democrats nominate somebody who could be more easily defeated. In like manner, the Democrats have been doing what they could



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MR. BRYAN AND OTHER PROMINENT DEMOCRATS AT WASHINGTON ON JACKSON DAY

to foment discord within the Republican ranks. The noisiest attacks upon Colonel Roosevelt have appeared in newspapers which under no circumstances would be expected to support the Republican ticket. The Democratic leaders are deeply concerned to have Mr. Taft safely renominated. The situation would be an amusing one on both sides, if only the voters had some reasonable opportunity to take part in the selection of candidates. The Democratic politicians as a class are not eager for the nomination of Governor Wilson; but if Presidential primaries were held throughout the country it is quite evident that Woodrow Wilson would have the overwhelming support of the voters, upon the understanding that Mr. Bryan would also favor Wilson. The North Dakota primaries are to be held on March 19; those of Wisconsin come on the second day of April, and Nebraska's date is April 17. Colonel Roosevelt's name is to appear on the Nebraska voting paper, and the same thing will probably be true in other States. The Oregon primary occurs on April 19, and that of New Jersey on May 20. Several other States will undoubtedly have provided for some form of popular expression on Presidential candidates.



SENATOR LA FOLLETTE IN A CHARACTERISTIC ATTITUDE



"THE BOY STOOD ON THE BURNING DECK"

(Appropos of his determination to control the Chicago convention, Mr. Taft is reported to have said, on January 3: "Nothing but death can keep me out of the fight.")

From the Press (New York)

There is some confusion in the public mind on the question of progress and reaction. Some men have a radical way of posturing and making phrases who are quite conservative in principle. There are others whose forms of expression are careful and restrained, but whose thinking is radical almost to the point of revolution. Mr. Underwood is said to be radical as a tariff reformer, but conservative because he does not favor the referendum or the recall. The country has the impression that Woodrow Wilson has veered about from conservatism to radicalism, and that Judson Harmon is a reactionist at heart. What we most need in the Presidential office is firmness, wisdom, dignity, and unselfishness. Every sane and well-instructed American



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WILLIAM J. BRYAN AS HE APPEARED AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

should be at once a progressive and a conservative. A man may hold fast to well-established institutions and at the same time seek to reform abuses and to make laws and governments conform with social changes.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A SNAPSHOT DURING THE MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON JANUARY 8 (James M. Guffey, of Pennsylvania, on the left, and Urey Woodson, of Kentucky, the committee's secretary, on the right)



PARTY SENTIMENT AT THE JACKSON DAY DINNER (The Democratic politicians seem very eager to explain why Roosevelt should not be nominated)

From the *Tribune* (Chicago). Copyright by John T. McCutcheon

*Workmen's  
Compensation  
in Wisconsin*

One of the most notable decisions ever handed down by an American court was given on November 14 last, when the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation law was declared constitutional. From the standpoint of economics alone the decision is memorable; for, in the words of Chief Justice Winslow, it upholds "a legislative attempt to reach within constitutional lines some fair solution of a serious problem which other nations, not restricted by written constitutional inhibitions, have solved, or partially solved, years ago." It abolishes a great mass of personal-injury litigation between employer and servant,—litigation that involved enormous expense with most unsatisfactory results. The New York decision rendering void a similar act aroused much discussion and was generally considered a setback to the cause of industrial justice in America. But the Wisconsin decision furnishes new encouragement to the economist. Unquestionably, the Wisconsin law will serve as a model for other progressive States. Its main feature is, that it gives the employer the opportunity to accept a schedule of compensation offered by the State Industrial Commission and abide by its regulations and decision, or to resort to the courts stripped of his old common-law defense—assumption of risk. That time-worn defense is entirely abrogated by the law. The employer's only escape from damages for injury now lies in his ability to prove that the employee did not exercise ordinary care and that such want contributed directly to the injury. The details of the act have been most carefully worked out, and Wisconsin again demonstrates the value of coöperation between the legislature and the university authorities on labor questions. Meanwhile, an amendment of the New York constitution, which will enable the passing of a compensation law similar to the one that was made void by the Court of Appeals decision in that State, is now under consideration.

*A Great  
Decision*

Judge Winslow has shown in this decision that the law can be a progressive science and that constitutions can be expanded to meet present-day conditions. These words from the decision will go down in history:

When an eighteenth-century constitution forms the charter of liberty of a twentieth-century government, must its general provisions be construed and interpreted by an eighteenth-century mind, surrounded by eighteenth-century conditions and ideals? Clearly not. This were to command the



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN B. WINSLOW OF THE WISCONSIN  
SUPREME COURT

race to halt in its progress to stretch the state upon a veritable bed of Procrustes. Where there is no express command or prohibition, but only general language or policy to be considered, the conditions prevailing at the time of its adoption must have their due weight, but the changed social, economic and governmental condition and ideals of the time, as well as the problems which the changes have produced, must also logically enter into the consideration, and become influential factors in the settlement of problems of construction and interpretation.

Thus, the court goes on record as showing a keen appreciation of the need for a more elastic interpretation of constitutions. The decision, in addition to being a real contribution to the social and economic literature of the day, is a masterpiece of legal literature. Wisconsin may well congratulate herself that she did not lose Chief Justice Winslow at the time when he was threatened with appointment to the nation's highest court.

*Employers'  
Liability*

A matter entirely distinct from the principle involved in workmen's compensation, as interpreted by the Wisconsin courts, is the old question of employers' liability, to which a quickened interest was imparted last month by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, which upheld the constitutionality of the federal law of 1908 in four cases. In one of these cases the court reversed an opinion



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

#### THE EQUITABLE LIFE BUILDING BURNING

(This photograph shows the size of the Equitable Building as compared with the modern skyscrapers)

of the Connecticut Court of Appeals which held that an action to recover under this federal law could not be brought in a State court. Chief Justice (now Governor) Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, was the author of that opinion, and it will be recalled that in the political campaign of 1910 a controversy arose between Judge Baldwin and ex-President Roosevelt concerning the attitude of the courts toward legislation of this character. This, rather than the question of jurisdiction, was the issue at that time. These decisions of the federal Supreme Court embody and declare the principle that a federal statute (if constitutional) must be enforced in a State even when it conflicts with the law of that State. The effect of these decisions (in which the opinions were written by Justice Van Devanter) is to make more certain the obtaining of justice for the poor man as against the wealthy corporation.

#### A National Commission

All this gives point to the work of the national Commission on Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation, consisting of Senator Sutherland of Utah, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, Representative Brantley of Georgia,

Representative Moon of Pennsylvania, President W. C. Brown of the New York Central Railroad, and D. L. Cease, editor of the *Railroad Trainman*. This commission has prepared a bill, having application to railroads and trolley lines, which will shortly be reported to Congress. Extracts from this bill that have thus far been published indicate that under its provisions a fixed per centage of wages will afford the basis of settlement for injuries to all employees. Where death results from any injury the compensation to the employee's family, to be paid for a period of eight years, will vary according to the number and earning capacity of the family. It is also provided that where permanent total disability results from any injury there shall be paid to the injured employee 50 per cent. of his monthly wages for the remainder of his life. Machinery for enforcing the collection of damages is provided by the bill, and provision is made for almost every conceivable form of casualty.

#### The Equitable Building Fire

The home of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York, one of the most famous office buildings in the world, was completely destroyed by fire last month. The darkness of the early morning, the intense cold, and the heavy gale, combined with the inflammable wooden construction of the interior of the building, furnished conditions that challenged the entire fire department of Manhattan. The call even went out for the first time to Brooklyn for assistance. Thirty-six engines were summoned, with trucks, fuel carts and other apparatus. Some thrilling rescues were effected, President Giblin of the Mercantile Safe Deposit Company, being one of those saved from death. Six lives were lost, including that of the veteran fire fighter Chief Walsh. The water thrown on the building quickly froze in the intense cold, converting the walls into a veritable ice palace.

#### A Famous Building

Completed in 1869, the old building with its imposing entrance arch of ornamental bronze grillwork, its many-colored marble columns, and other interior decoration, was still one of the show places of New York. It was eight stories in height and covered an acre of ground. Situated in the heart of the financial district, the building contained the offices of many prominent law firms, banking institutions, trust and safe deposit companies, and within its vaults were deposited a billion dollars' worth of securities and currency. Ad-





Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE ARCHED ENTRANCE OF THE EQUITABLE BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY, WITH ITS HUGE GRILLWORK ENCRUSTED WITH ICE

adjacent to the Equitable Building was the New York Clearing House. In the immediate vicinity, and separated only by the narrow canyon-like streets, were the buildings of many well-known banks and trust companies. The famous law library of the Equitable Building, one of the five best in the city, established by President Hyde for the tenants of the building, was completely destroyed. The building was so closely tied up with the financial and other activities of lower New York that its destruction temporarily disorganized much of the business of the district. New offices and other facilities were quickly established, however, and hundreds of telephones were rigged up in a few hours. The securities and important records in the fireproof vaults remained uninjured, being carted away in vanloads on the day after the fire. Contrary to some impressions, the Equitable was not a fireproof building, and its loss furnishes no test of fireproof construction. The total loss involved is roughly set at about a million dollars. The appraised valuation of the building and the land was \$12,100,000. The building itself was valued at a quarter of a million dollars, but its loss

causes no decrease of the Equitable's assets, as the building was not carried on the books as an 'asset, for the reason that it was old and small compared with present-day skyscrapers, and also because of the great value of the land.

#### January Cold

The first month of 1912 was remarkable for intensely cold weather throughout the country. From certain Weather Bureau stations in the Middle West came reports of as many as ten consecutive days in which the mercury never for an instant rose above zero, while at times it fell as low as fifty degrees below. Such periods of sustained cold are unusual, even in this land of climatic extremes. The weather reports also revealed some curious and unlooked-for contrasts. On January 13, for example, when the thermometer registered forty degrees below zero at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., the temperature of Nome, Alaska, had risen two degrees above the zero mark and experienced no sudden decline. The Weather Bureau rendered valuable service in forecasting the advance and recession of cold waves and in sending timely warnings of severe gales along our coasts.





Mr. Overton Price (Forester)

Dr. George F. Kunz

Mr. Charles M. Dow

## LEADERS IN THE MOVEMENT TO CREATE THE LETCHWORTH PARK ARBORETUM

Elsewhere in this magazine (page 203) appears a well-informed article on the plan and scope of the great arboretum, or tree museum, for which provision was made in the will of the late Dr. William Pryor Letchworth, who for a long term of years rendered distinguished service to the State of New York on its Board of Charities. The author of the article, Mr. Charles M. Dow, was himself in Dr. Letchworth's confidence while the plans for the arboretum were maturing. He is a trustee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and Director of the Letchworth Park, which is now the property of the State of New York under the terms of a munificent gift made by Dr. Letchworth during his lifetime. This society, with a long name but a clearly defined purpose, is custodian of the park under the terms of the grant to the State, and in that capacity has taken the initiative in establishing the arboretum, which will afford an exhibit of growing trees in every species which can exist in our soil and climate,—something never before attempted in this country. Public-spirited citizens of the type represented by Dr. George F. Kunz, president of the society, who has already given years of fruitful service to the public, constitute the society's membership and directorate, and no better proof is needed of the ability and fitness of this organization to direct and maintain a public work of such importance than the society's success in its administration of Watkins Glen,—now

*A Great  
"Tree  
Museum"*



DR. WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH

(Whose generous gift to the State of New York made possible the creation of the arboretum bearing his name)

unhappily ended by the exigencies of spoils politics. It is also fortunate that the technical direction of the arboretum is to be in the hands of so capable a man as Mr. Overton Price.

*The British Parliament*

The most important achievements of the British Parliament which was prorogued on December 16 were the enactments into law of the measure curtailing the powers of the House of Lords and what has come to be known as Lloyd-George's National Insurance bill. The clearest exposition of this almost revolutionary insurance legislation that we have yet seen is contained in the interview given by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Stead and printed on page 194 of this REVIEW. Another important enactment was that limiting the life of future sessions of Parliament to five years, instead of seven, as heretofore. The next session, which begins on the 14th of the present month, will consider a number of almost equally important measures. One is the matter of Home Rule for Ireland, which will be embodied in law some time next month, if nothing meanwhile occurs to disturb the working coalition of the Liberals, the Irish Nationalists, and the Laborites. Another is the bill to extend the suffrage, the main provisions of which we outlined in these pages in January. In the minds of an increasing number of Englishmen the foreign policies of the Liberal government have failed to carry out the traditional attitude of British statesmanship toward alliances and toward weaker nations when oppressed by more powerful ones. We print on page 199 Mr. Stead's characteristic comments on the achievements and shortcomings of the British Foreign Office under Sir Edward Grey.

*Cabinet Crisis in France*

The "examination" of the Franco-German Moroccan treaty last month by the foreign relations committee of the French Senate precipitated a ministerial crisis which resulted in the resignation of the entire Caillaux cabinet on January 10. The crisis, which has been brewing ever since the treaty was signed (on November 4), was due to repeated charges, made in the press and on the floor of both houses of Parliament, that the French Ambassador in Berlin, M. Jules Cambon, did not have a free hand in the negotiations with Germany, and that other negotiations,—of which the foreign office, the President, and the ambassador were ignorant,—were being secretly conducted between the two countries concerning railroad concessions in the Congo, the Cameroons, and Morocco. "In short," says Henri Rochefort, that brilliant radical, reviewing "the Moroccan situation and after" in his journal, the *Intransigeant*,



RAYMOND POINCARÉ, THE NEW FRENCH PREMIER,  
ONE OF THE REPUBLIC'S STRONG MEN

the majority of Frenchmen have excellent reasons for believing that considerations of international finance were permitted to enter to the detriment of the colonial interests, and even of the honor of France, and for this M. Caillaux must be held responsible. . . . To-day France is governed absolutely by financiers. When this is the case a nation is in a precarious position.

Premier Caillaux, before resigning, vigorously denied that any secret negotiations had been conducted with Germany. After some difficulty President Fallières succeeded in persuading M. Raymond Poincaré to form what is regarded as a very strong cabinet. The members are as follows: Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Raymond Poincaré; Minister of Justice, Aristide Briand; Minister of Labor, Léon Bourgeois; Minister of War, Alexandre Millerand; Minister of Marine, Théophile Delcassé; Minister of Finance, L. L. Klotz; Minister of the Interior, Jules Steeg; Minister of Public Works, Jean Dupuy; Minister of Agriculture, Jules Pams; Minister of Colonies, M. Le Brun; Minister of Public Instruction, M. Giusthau; Minister of Commerce, Fernand David. The whole French press welcomes the new ministry as a national combination of leading statesmen, eminently fitted to meet the exigencies of the situation. It is the strongest cabinet France has had in years.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY RECEIVING THE  
HOMAGE OF THEIR INDIAN SUBJECTS AFTER  
THE CORONATION AT DELHI

*The Socialist  
Gain in  
Germany*

The significant fact about the German national elections, the first ballotings of which took place on the twelfth day of last month, is the revelation that close to 32 per cent. of the voters of the empire are Socialists. The total aggregate popular vote of the Socialist party is approximately 4,400,000. The exact figures will be obtainable only after the secondary elections have taken place. These, it was expected, would be held at convenient intervals during late January and early in the present month. In those districts where no candidate polled more than half the votes cast there is a *stichwahl* or second contest within the fortnight following between the two candidates who received the most votes in the first election. In the first ballotings the Socialists gained 28 seats. Sixty-four of that party were elected as compared with thirty at the first ballots in 1907 and fifty-three at the dissolution. The general results showed Conservative, Centre, National-Liberal and Radical losses, with each of these parties contesting a number of seats. The Socialist gains were made at the expense of the Radicals rather than by drawing from the conservative groups.

*The  
Next  
Reichstag*

If it were not for the inequalities of electoral distribution in Germany, the Socialists would undoubtedly dominate the national Parliament. That body, when it meets this month, will certainly be radically altered in political complexion. Germany has not been redistricted since 1871. As the cities, where the strength of the Social Democrats is greatest, have grown immensely in population, and most of the old districts controlled by the Conservatives and Centralists have increased but slightly, the representation of the Social Democrats in the Reichstag is absurdly disproportionate to that of the two parties that formed the government coalition in the last Reichstag. Thus, Berlin, with 493,457 voters, in 1907, has six representatives, while East Prussia, with 402,945, has seventeen. But there will be no readjustment of electoral districts throughout the empire so long as the Kaiser and the Junkerthum can have their way.

*The Partition  
of Asia*

With the annexation of Tripoli by Italy, the partition of Africa by Europe is virtually complete. This fact is too patent and dramatic to escape the moralists and the editorial writers. At the very moment, however, when Africa is being carved up by the white races of Europe, the vaster continent of Asia is being conquered, or dominated, by men of European nations. Yet apparently this fact has not been so clear to the chroniclers of history as it is being made. This is the fifth time in recorded history that the peoples of Europe have attempted to subjugate the peoples of Asia—or, at least, to gain control of Asiatic lands for their own advantage.

*Europe and  
Asia in  
History*

It was to realize a vainglorious dream that Alexander of Macedon set out to conquer Asia. Rome renewed the attempt as part of her steady policy of conquering as much of the world as might be expected to pay. The Crusaders sallied forth to subjugate the most ancient of continents, avowedly to rescue the birthplace of Christianity from the infidel. Equally as potent a moving cause of the Crusades, however, was the desire to establish, among the ruins of the Eastern Empire, principalities and domains for men of title for whom Europe no longer offered any chance for adventure or even maintenance. Then, for 500 years, Europe all but forgot Asia. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Russia and Britain were awakened once more by the



KING-EMPEROR GEORGE AND QUEEN-EMPRESS MARY ON THEIR OFFICIAL THRONES AT THE DELHI DURBAR AFTER THE CORONATION ON DECEMBER 12

eastward urge. The Muscovite empire seized the vast isolated region of North Asia, unbroken from the Urals to the Pacific, while Britain grasped the almost equally vast and isolated peninsula of Hindustan, stretching southward from the Himalayas far into the Indian Ocean.

*The Advance  
of Russia and  
Britain*

Siberia, Russia's Asiatic empire, has grown steadily by the glacier-like movement of Russian trade and diplomacy, ever eastward and southward, while India, Britain's Asiatic domain, has increased with scarcely an interruption, northward, westward, and eastward, until, in the cynical phrase of Russian statecraft, the frontiers are now all but coterminous. To-day they have almost met in the effete land of Omar Khayyam. To-morrow, having advanced over Tibet and Turkestan, they may touch in western China. When these movements first began, neither Russia nor Britain realized just what they were doing. They had no formulated plans. Their adventurers, merchants, emigrants and scheming foreign offices simply went forward to empire building, which—they hoped in some vague sort of way—would be of material advantage.

*The Impelling  
Causes*

The movement, which began in the closing years of the nineteenth century,—when, following the Chino-Japanese war, Russia acquired Port Arthur and its hinterland, and Germany established herself in at Kiaou Chau,—had a clearer and more conscious impelling motive. This motive or cause was twofold, the first factor being the *misere* (the French term is more inclusive than our English word "poverty") under which the ever-increasing masses of Europe are compelled to exist, and

the second the ever-widening search for commercial markets. The first sent forth the bold adventurers and hardy emigrants, who, beginning with Yermak, won Siberia for the Russian crown; and it is still spilling Russia's poverty-ridden children into the vast reaches of the unoccupied Orient. The second, with foreign offices and armies and navies as its missionaries, is now reaching out for the markets of those ancient lands where a majority of the human family still dwell. Markets once secured, the rights of sovereignty are invoked to protect trade, railroads are built and financial institutions established. And this is the whole story of Europe's advance upon Asia, the most dramatic chapters of which are now being unfolded before our eyes.

*Asia in  
1912*

There could be no more impressive demonstration of this advance and conquest than a comparison of the map of Asia two decades ago with that of the continent in this year 1912. Then there were a dozen or more independent or semi-independent nations. To-day, Japan, China, and Siam are the only countries not absolutely dominated from Europe,—although Turkey's capital is, of course, European only in a geographical sense. Moreover, Siam is virtually under French and English suzerainty, and the partition of China by Europe has actually begun. The continent of Asia, as the map-maker of 1912 will show it, is divided, generally speaking, into (1) Russia's possessions and "spheres of influence"; (2) Britain's possessions and sphere; (3) Japan's possessions and the regions in which Japanese influence is predominant; (4) China, the extent and status of which are now hanging in the balance;

(5) the colonies and sphere of France; (6) the three semi-independent countries, all even now ear-marked for European absorption; and (7) the small holdings of Germany and Portugal. The map on the opposite page shows Asia as it is now ruled or at least dominated from Europe.

*The Russian and British Spheres*

In her age-long effort to secure a warm-water port, Russia bestrides Manchuria to which she is about to add vast Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan (for that is what the "independence" of these former Chinese provinces means in its practical results); secures England's consent to absorb northern Persia, and lays elaborate plans for the conquest of Turkey. Germany, by her Bagdad Railway, aims at the control of Anatolia, and at Kiaou Chau secures a dominant position in the Chinese province of Shantung. British India is no longer limited to the peninsula of Hindustan. When George V, King of Great Britain, was crowned Emperor of India at the impressive Durbar held at Delhi in December, he received the fealty of a realm which now includes, besides India proper, Burmah, Baluchistan, Assam and immense regions in the Malay Peninsula. Britain's Asiatic sphere also covers about a third of Persia, a fair-sized corner of Arabia, a recognized "predominance of political interest" in Tibet, and an almost unchallenged commercial supremacy in the vast valley of the Yangste river, besides the island of Hong Kong in the China Sea.

*France's Colonies and Japan's Empire*

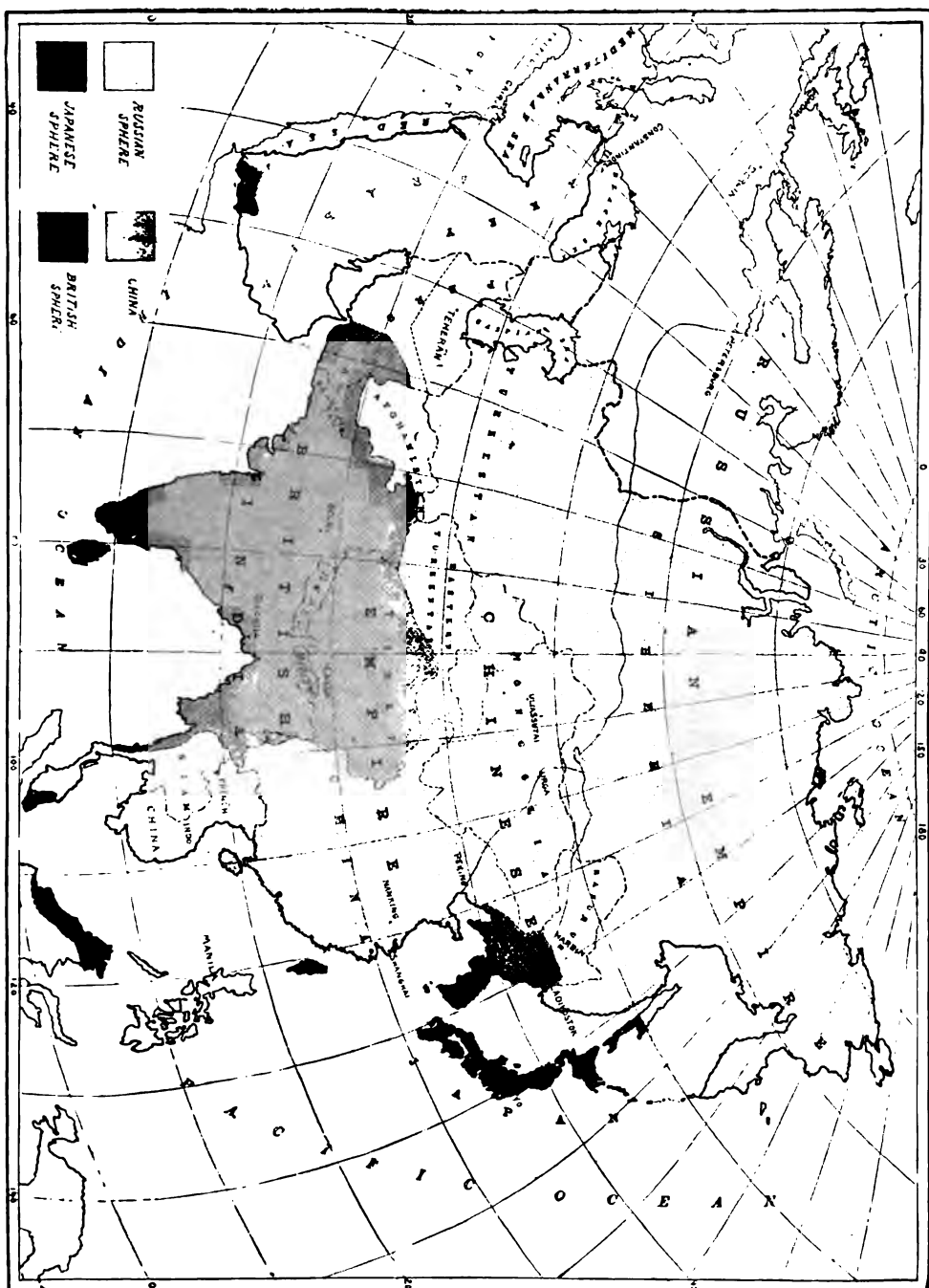
Indo-China is a French colony. Siam and the other quasi-independent Malay States are permeated with French influence, while China's island of Hainan and her fairest provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen are earmarked for France if ever the Middle Kingdom is actually divided up. Japan formally annexed Korea several years ago and it now figures on Japanese maps as the province of Chosen. Besides this the Mikado's empire owns the island of Formosa which she took from China at the close of the war of 1895. Her victory over Russia a decade later made her undisputed mistress of southern Manchuria, through her land leases and railroads, and turned over to her the southern half of the island of Sakhalin (or Karafuto, as the Japanese call it). A British colonial expert has given it as his opinion that if Europe can avoid internal war, she will be mistress of Asia by the year 2000.

*The Prime Situation in Asia*

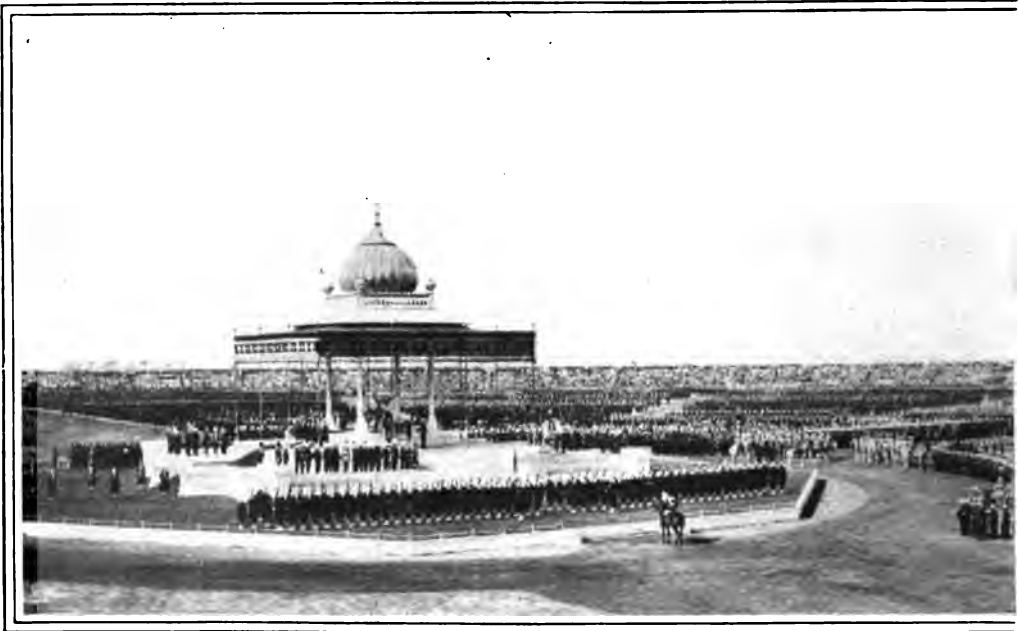
The march of the Russian and British frontiers in Asia has given rise to the most important political situation on that continent. It may be said that all Asiatic politics hinges on this situation. Persian independence is sacrificed to it; the fate of China depends on it primarily and only in a secondary sense upon the attitude of Japan, which, in its turn, is largely conditioned by the activities of the Russian and British foreign offices. The future of Turkey also is bound up with Russian and British expansion in Asia. Indeed, it is Russia's designs in Persia, along her Caucasus border, and toward changing the international status of the Dardanelles that are causing the government at Constantinople more anxiety than the loss of Tripoli to Italy. The first is a question of life or death as a sovereign power, the second means nothing more than a loss of territory and prestige. The Porte is not deceived in this matter.

*Russian Statecraft*

Russia's desire for a port which shall be always free from ice has been one of the historic impelling motives of her eastward march. Scarcely less powerful has been the necessity to divert the attention of her people from their domestic misery and backward condition by a vigorous foreign policy which should also provide adventure as well as offices and spoils for a large class of idle "nobility." The reports of Russian finance ministers usually indicate "revenues in excess of expenditures, even of the estimates." The annual report of Minister Kokovtsev, who is also premier, just issued, shows a surplus of more than \$200,000,000. At the same time, the taxpayers whose earnings go to make up this excess revenue are so poor and have so little reserve capital that as frequently as every second year they are reduced by a single bad harvest to a condition actually desperate. In certain sections of European Russia, owing to generally backward political and social conditions and the lack of modern agricultural methods, famine has become chronic. Hundreds of thousands of peasants are suffering for food and tens of thousands are on the verge of starvation. Government relief measures have largely failed—principally, we learn from reliable sources, because, under bureaucratic management most of the funds appropriated by the imperial authorities for many hungry stomachs never got further than a few greedy palms.



ASIA IN 1912. SHOWING THE POSSESSIONS AND "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE" OF RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN (This map indicates, in a general way, the partition of Asia by Europe. The regions left unshaded and not—as French Indo-China—assigned to any European country, are semi-independent. Afghanistan is either a Russian or a British "sphere"—only London and St. Petersburg know which.)



A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE GREAT CEREMONY OF THE DURBAR AT DELHI. A SCENE IN

*Retaliating  
Against the  
United States*

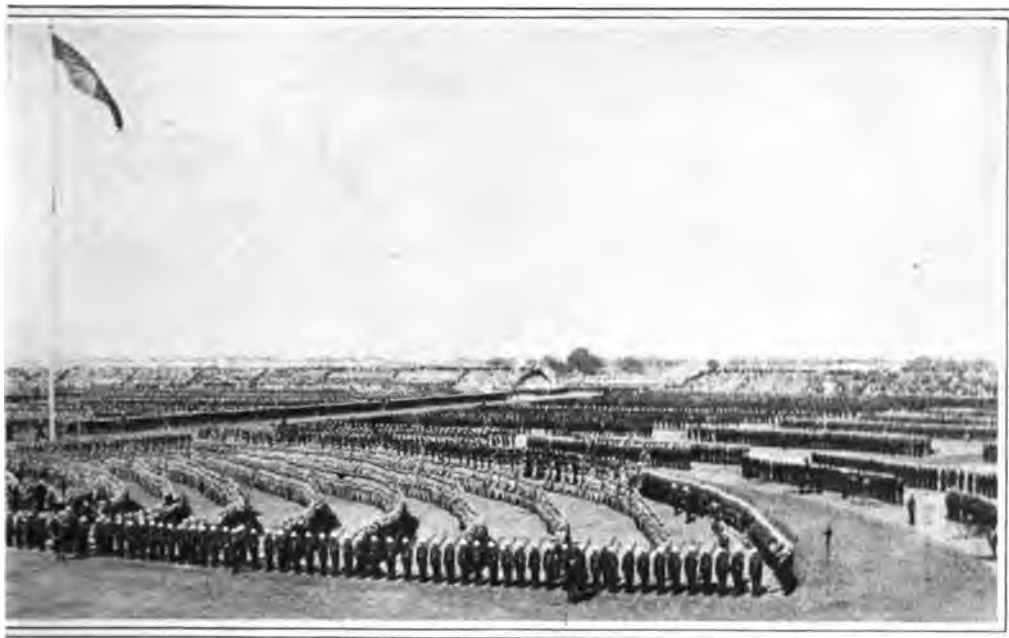
Yet, in the face of this famine and the many other pressing domestic problems, the Russian Duma, last month, devoted a great deal of time and oratory to the consideration of the status of the Jews, as raised by the abrogation of the treaty of 1832. On December 18 President Taft requested Ambassador Bakmetiev to notify his government that the United States had decided to terminate the treaty. On December 19 the Senate unanimously ratified the President's action, embodied in a resolution introduced by Senator Lodge, and the next day the House also concurred. Officially the Russian Government made no complaint. The press of the empire, however, at once became very bitter in its comments, agreeing that, even if a new treaty were concluded, no concessions would be made on the question of admitting Hebrews holding American passports. On December 28 a Nationalist member introduced in the Duma a bill (1) providing for the absolute and complete exclusion from Russia of all American citizens of the Jewish religion, and (2) increasing by 100 per cent. the customs duties on imports from the United States. This increase is to apply to all American products, unless the regular Russian rate is less than the American duty on this product from Russia. In that case a duty equal to the American rate is to be collected.

*Passports and  
the Russian  
Election*

The wording of the bill refers to "those nations which do not enjoy the most-favored nation clause of Russia's treaties of commerce." A declaration accompanying the bill, drawn up by Alexander Gutchkov, the famous Octobrist leader and former president of the Duma, reviews the Jewish-American passport situation from the Russian point of view, and openly shows that the proposed legislation is aimed principally at the United States. The bill would become operative on December 18, 1912. Russia, like ourselves, will hold a national election this year. Of course, normally the Duma does not make foreign policy. It does not even have the deciding voice in the enactment of tariffs. The present Duma, however, is composed mainly of the conservative "Squirearchy," which has more in harmony with the policies of the Czar than most of his own bureaucracy. It is certain that any candidates espousing the Jewish cause will be defeated. It does not seem likely that the negotiation of a new treaty to replace that of 1832 will be possible before the Russian elections.

*Russia  
"Punishing"  
Persia*

Inveighing against the Jews and demanding retaliation against the United States for abrogating the treaty of 1832, is one way of distracting the attention of the Russian masses from the



THE AMPHITHEATRE DURING THE CROWNING OF EMPEROR GEORGE AND EMPRESS MARY

destitution that seems to be their fate. Another is the "glorious forward policy, in defense of Russia's honor and interests," which is the way the jingoistic *Novoye Vremya* refers to the Muscovite "punitive expedition" against Persia. After several bloody battles at Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli, during which the Persian Nationalists displayed unexpected soldierlike qualities, the Russian invading force bore down all resistance, not only that in the field, but also in the Majlis or Parliament. On December 20 the Majlis agreed to the Russian ultimatum of November 29, demanding the dismissal of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General, some of whose acts, though of undoubted benefit to Persia, afforded Russia the pretext for active intervention in Persian affairs. In leaving Teheran, on January 11, to return to this country, Mr. Shuster gave out the following statement to the press:

From a condition of comparative order and security, which prevailed up to last October, Persia has now been thrown by the powers' actions into complete anarchy and disaster. The British Liberal Government's official pronouncement against the Persian Constitution, which five years ago the same government strongly encouraged, has filled the hearts of the most devoted Persians with despair. Without future hope, the Nationalist elements resign the control of the country's fate to agencies which have ever proved themselves willing instruments of foreign encroachment. When the Majlis granted me extraordinary powers last

June I pledged myself loyally to serve that body, which, under the Constitution, represented the entire Persian nation. I have scrupulously kept that pledge, and only by keeping it in full did I obtain the nation's constant moral support, enabling me to resist the open and covert intrigues of successive ministries more or less opposed to financial control and reforms. When the Majlis disappeared, I could but accept the cabinet's termination of my services despite the efforts of Deputies urging me to reject the same on grounds of illegality. The record proves that no step was taken by me except in exact accord with the policy of the representative body which I agreed faithfully to serve.

As to  
Persian  
Independence

Both Russia and Britain have more than once officially disclaimed any intention to seize Persian territory. Both, however, decline to admit that Persia is independent. "A kingdom which is divided into two spheres of foreign influence," says a statement in one of the semi-official Russian journals, "whose right to build railways was for years suspended, and whose finances and foreign policy are in the hands of two guardian empires, can be said to be independent only by a courteous extension of the meaning of the term." This is no doubt true. It is the selfish and unprovoked encroachments of the great European powers upon a weak nation endeavoring to regenerate itself, however, that have justified the condemnation of the world. Russia asserts that Persia is to blame for the disorder.





## THE SHROUD OF PERSIA

(After Heine)

The shuttle flies, the loom is loud,  
 The master his dire weapon waves  
 O'er us, the weakest of his slaves,  
 Who weave our well-loved Persia's shroud.  
 From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

ders and the fighting that have taken place. Persia, being too weak to prove that she is right, must of course be in the wrong. Meanwhile, in spite of the complete submission of the Persian Government to Russia's demands, no Russian troops have been withdrawn from Persian territory.

"President"  
 of  
 China

The unanimous election, at Nanking, on December 29, by the Provisional Assembly, representing the revolted Chinese provinces, of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to be "President of the Provisional Government of the United Provinces of China" was a most important and dramatic event in the history of the Chinese people. The departure of the imperial family from Peking, reported last month, and the agreement wrung from the Manchu princes by the Premier, Yuan Shih-kai, to submit to the vote of a national convention properly chosen the question of China's future form of government, were also of deep significance. Of even more serious import, however, was the breaking away from its Chinese allegiance of

the vast northern province of Mongolia, and the Russian demand that China either reassert her authority at once or recognize Mongolian independence. Such independence the Muscovite government graciously agreed to "protect."

Monarchy  
 or  
 Republic?

Whether under a constitutional monarchy or a republican form of government, the Chinese people are quite capable of taking care of themselves and developing in the arts and methods of civilization and progress. The events of the past half year have abundantly proven this. Even if—as now seems fairly likely—the empire should be divided, a monarchy, under constitutional limitations, remaining in the north, and a republic arising in the south, the country would still remain Chinese and the will of the people, expressed in some modern way, would rule the nation's destinies. Yuan Shih-kai, it is true, is a partisan of the old régime, provided it is made to modernize itself in a measure. Yuan, as the last hope of the Manchu, the sole surviving prop

of the old order, is sketched vividly and sympathetically, yet unsparingly, on another page this month. With all his faults, Yuan is a patriotic Chinese. Dr. Sun, who was formally installed as Provisional President on January 1, is a modern progressive man of unusual ability. If his election is confirmed as permanent President he announces that many reforms will be introduced at once, including the use of the western alphabet, the Gregorian calendar and the metric system. Any form of government under men of this character would mean China for the Chinese with the most modern, progressive administration.

Russia  
and  
Mongolia

The action of Russia in forcing the situation in Mongolia has already resulted in her assumption of a virtual protectorate over that vast region,—almost equal in size to China proper,—and this marks the beginning of the absorption by the European powers of the outlying portions of China. For many years, thanks to the Muscovite methods of "benevolent assimilation," Mongolia has been more Russian than Chinese. A glance at the map will show that one of the first

advantages to Russia from any unrest in China would be in the control of Mongolia. Not only is this province Siberia's next-door neighbor, but it is over this ever-faithful Buddhist stronghold of the north that Russia has been planning for years to construct a railroad connecting the Trans-Siberian system with Peking, thus bringing Europe by three or four days nearer to the Chinese capital than it is at present. Eastern or Chinese Turkestan has been honeycombed by Russian "influences" and "interests" ever since Western, or Russian, Turkestan passed under the scepter of the Bear. Last summer Russian troops seized the Ili valley in Chinese Turkestan and forced China to extend the privileges of Russian



DR. SUN YAT-SEN, PRESIDENT OF THE PROVISIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF CHINA

traders in Mongolia and to permit the establishment of Russian garrisons in the chief towns of Mongolia for the "protection of the consulates." Reports last month, from the reliable correspondent of the London *Times* at Peking, stated that "both Mongolia and Turkestan have passed under Russian influence and will practically become Russian protectorates. Russia will at any time be able to annex them." Meanwhile, Yuan Shih-kai openly charges that it is British financial interests that are preventing a settlement in China, and British Indian regiments, ostensibly to punish the rebellious Abors, and to "see that no untoward circumstances attend the succession in Nepal," are advancing into the territory of Tibet.



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## A CHINESE REBEL GUN ON THE FIRING LINE AT HANKOW

*The  
Meaning  
of It All*

It has been due in very large measure to the Chinese students educated in American and British institutions of learning that the spirit of the Occident has permeated old China, and so largely contributed to bring about the present revolution. We have received a very interesting letter from a clear-headed Chinese student at one of our largest American universities. He maintains that the primary causes of the movement have been the same as those responsible for every revolution recorded in the history of the West: "the failure of government to fulfill certain duties and to grant certain liberties deemed by the masses to be necessary to their happiness; the corruption and abuses of the courts; or a change in the method of thinking on the part of the people." He indicts the Manchu Government on the first three counts, and insists that the Chinese people have radically changed their method of thinking during the past decade. The Manchu rulers not only "realize the inadequacy of their own civilization, but they know that it is not a good policy to enlighten the people." Schools have been ordered established in a series of Imperial edicts, it is true; "but paper is cheap, and so is ink." Schoolhouses there are in China, but they are empty because there are no properly trained teachers and administrators to make use of them.

Railway and telegraph lines,—external and materialized symbols only, but mistaken by the rulers for the essence of Western civilization,—now traverse the most important parts of the country, but they were not primarily for purposes of enlightening and of bettering the condition of the masses, only rather to enable the central government to be more absolute, more despotic, and its power more concentrated at Pekin, in order the

more effectively to oppress and oppose the interests of the people over which it rules.

The present revolution, concludes this Oriental student, is the Chinese version of the Western doctrine of liberty and equality.

*The  
Troubles of  
Turkey* An official note from Russia to Turkey warning the Ottoman Government that "internal developments, of which the powers are cognizant, particularly in Albania," make it "highly advisable" that Turkey come to some

speedy agreement with Italy, came at almost the same time as an official communication from the British Government admonishing the Porte that "if present conditions continue in Macedonia, the intervention of the powers, suspended at the time of the declaration of the Turkish constitution, is likely to be resumed." Almost immediately after the reception of these notes at Constantinople, the cabinet of Said Pasha fell. On another page of this issue we present a summary of the views of the Turkish press on the causes of the fall of the aged Said "Kutshuk" and his ministry, which shows that the foreign problems of Turkey are far more complicated than the conflict with Italy. Meanwhile, the war in Tripoli goes on. The Italians may be said to be "victorious" within the range of their guns on land and sea. The greater portion of their task still remains to be accomplished—the complete conquest of the hinterland, which, in the face of such brave and determined antagonists as the Turks and Arabs, may take years. The powers have already brought pressure to bear upon both combatants to arrange a settlement. Turkey, however, is not yet ready to accept, not even for an indemnity; what Italy insists is her irreducible minimum—the cession of Tripoli.

*The  
Strindberg  
Celebration*

The fame of August Strindberg has been slow in reaching this country, though in Europe he has long been recognized as one of the world's great writers, a dramatist of rarely surpassed talent, and, since the death of Ibsen and Björnson, the foremost living poet of the Scandinavian North. He has just, on January 22, celebrated his sixty-third anniversary—the one that in his mind, as in that of the

ancient Greeks, represents nature's borderline between manhood and old age. His admiring countrymen made a national event of the occasion, presenting him with a fund raised by national subscription and meant to secure his declining years against money cares. At the same time plans were completed for an authoritative edition of his works in more than



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**ENVIR BEY, ONE OF TURKEY'S MOST TRUSTED  
COMMANDERS**

(It was Envir Bey who was the chief mover in the recent revolution that overthrew Abdul Hamid. He is now in Tripoli, having entered, it is believed, incognito, by way of Egypt, endeavoring to organize the Turkish forces against the Italian invaders)



**AUGUST STRINDBERG, THE FOREMOST LIVING POET  
OF THE SCANDINAVIAN NORTH**

(Whose sixty-third birthday, January 22, was made the occasion of a national celebration in Sweden, and observed with enthusiasm by the Swedes in the United States)

fifty volumes, for the rights of which he is to receive 200,000 *kroner*, or about \$55,000. A similar edition in German is already well under way. On this side of the ocean the day was generally observed in places with large populations of Swedish descent, and especially at Chicago, where a splendid performance of Strindberg's greatest historical drama, "Gustavus Vasa," was given. In all, Strindberg has so far produced fifty-five dramatic works, besides a large number of novels, short story collections, autobiographical works, literary and philosophical essays, historical and scientific studies, and so forth. And the end is not yet. Among the Swedes of this country, his great historical work, "The Swedish People," is more read than any other book except the Bible.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 16, 1911, to January 16, 1912)



HON. HENRY F. ASHURST, UNITED STATES  
SENATOR FROM ARIZONA

(As noted in this magazine last month, the voters of Arizona, at an election in December, chose by advisory vote two United States Senators, whom the members of the Legislature were pledged to send to Washington. One of these Senators-elect, the Hon. Henry F. Ashurst, is a native of Nevada, and has lived in Arizona all his adult life. A cowboy and deputy sheriff before he became of age, he early began the study of law, was elected to the Territorial Legislature, and at the age of twenty-four was selected as Speaker of the House. He was afterward chosen to the Territorial Council. He served as district attorney of his county for two terms, and became one of the leaders of the Arizona bar. He is an eloquent and popular speaker, and is known as a radical Democrat in politics. The portrait of Mr. Ashurst's colleague, the Hon. Marcus Smith, appeared in our January number)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 16.—The House passes, without amendment, the Urgency Deficiency bill (\$2,270,000).

December 18.—The Senate is informed by the President that he has denounced the commercial treaty with Russia.

December 19.—In the Senate, the action of President Taft in denouncing the Russian treaty is ratified without a dissenting vote.

December 20.—President Taft's message transmitting the report of the Tariff Board on the wool schedule is received and read in both branches. . . . The House adopts the Senate resolution approving the President's action in denouncing the Russian treaty.

December 21.—The President's message dealing

with departmental and financial affairs is read in both branches.

January 3.—Both branches reassemble after the holiday recess.

January 4.—The Senate begins discussion of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, Mr. Rayner (Dem., Md.) speaking in favor of them and Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) against them.

January 8.—In the Senate, the proposed children's bureau is discussed. . . . The House considers District of Columbia legislation.

January 9.—The report of the National Monetary Commission is received in both branches and referred to committees. . . . In the House, Mr. Hill (Rep., Conn.) reviews the Democratic record at the special session.

January 11.—In the Senate, Mr. Burton (Rep., Ohio) introduces a bill embodying the recommendations of the Monetary Commission.

January 15.—The Senate, by vote of 58 to 8, resolves to consider the arbitration treaties in open session.

January 16.—In the House, a resolution changing the date of inauguration from March 4 to the last Thursday in April is favorably reported from the Judiciary Committee.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

December 21.—Steps are taken by certain Nebraska voters to have the name of Theodore Roosevelt placed on the ballot to be used in the State Presidential primary.

December 22.—The United States Supreme Court revises its rules so as to reduce the cost of litigation.

December 27.—Senator La Follette, speaking at Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio, enunciates the principles of Progressive Republicanism.

December 28.—Senator La Follette addresses large audiences at Toledo and Newark, Ohio.

January 2.—Certain Progressive Democrats in Ohio form a league to fight the Presidential candidacy of Governor Harmon.

January 5.—President Taft appoints Dr. Rupert Blue as Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service.

January 6.—President Taft signs the proclamation admitting New Mexico as the forty-seventh State of the Union.

January 8.—The Democratic National Committee meets at Washington; Mr. W. J. Bryan (a delegate by proxy) and his supporters are defeated on two roll-calls. . . . The National Monetary Commission, after four years of investigation, recommends extensive changes in the financial system, including the establishment of a national reserve association.

January 9.—The Democratic National Committee decides to hold the national convention at Baltimore on June 25; a resolution is adopted permitting of direct primaries wherever feasible and legal. . . . George A. Neeley (Dem.) is elected to

Congress from the Seventh Kansas District, succeeding the late Representative Madison (Rep.). . . . The Wisconsin Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the income tax law passed by the last legislature. . . . Certain decisions of the United States Supreme Court extend the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

January 10.—The Kentucky Legislature elects Ollie M. James (Dem.) United States Senator to succeed Thomas H. Paynter (Dem.), whose term expires in 1913. . . . Andrew Carnegie testifies before the Senate committee investigating the Steel Trust.

January 11.—Robert Bacon resigns as American ambassador to France.

January 15.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Employers' Liability law. . . . W. C. McDonald (Dem.) is inaugurated as Governor of New Mexico.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

December 16.—The British Parliament is prorogued until February 14. . . . The durbār at Delhi, India, comes to an end, and King George starts on a hunting expedition in Nepal.

December 19.—German budget figures show an advance of \$14,500,000, mostly due to increased army expenditures. . . . A plot to assassinate President Madero of Mexico is discovered.

December 20.—The French Chamber of Deputies ratifies, by vote of 393 to 36, the agreement with Germany concerning Morocco.

December 21.—A loan by New York bankers to Nicaragua makes possible the reform of the currency system and the establishment of a \$5,000,000 bank.

December 22.—The members of the Australian coal trust are fined \$2500 each for maintaining high prices.

December 25.—The Persian cabinet notifies W. Morgan Shuster of his dismissal from the office of Treasurer-General; martial law is declared in the capital to prevent popular protest.

December 27.—A bill is introduced in the Russian Duma, providing total exclusion of American Jews.

December 29.—General Pedro Montero is proclaimed President of Ecuador by the army.

December 30.—The Turkish cabinet resigns. . . . The French Parliament modifies the privileges of the Bank of France.

December 31.—King George's list of New Year's honors includes the appointment of Mr. Borden, Canadian Premier, as a Privy Councillor and the conferring of a baronetcy upon H. Rider Haggard. . . . The telephone service of Great Britain passes into the hands of the government.

January 1.—Daniel Howard is inaugurated as President of the republic of Liberia. . . . Several of the interior provinces of Ecuador refuse to recognize the Presidency of General Montero.

January 2.—Judge Juan M. Menocal is appointed Secretary of Justice in the Cuban cabinet.

January 3.—Said Pasha forms a new cabinet at Constantinople and promises the introduction of a bill modifying the Turkish constitution.

January 4.—The Roman Catholic bishops in Portugal proclaim their independence of the government; the Minister of Justice threatens to expel them.



MR. FORREST F. DRYDEN

(Who succeeds his father as president of the Prudential Insurance Company)

January 6.—A statement of British export trade for 1911 shows a total of £454,282,462; the imports amounted to £680,559,175.

January 7.—Elections in 100 of the French Senate districts result in no important change. . . . The Italian treasury shows a surplus for 1911 of \$7,000,000, and for the last twelve years of \$100,000,000. . . . The completion of a new "naval war staff" is announced at London.

January 8.—A conflict is reported between forces representing the new government in Ecuador and the opposition.

January 9.—Justin de Selves resigns as French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Henri Brisson is re-elected president of the Chamber of Deputies. . . . The Norwegian cabinet proposes a large appropriation for naval purposes in anticipation of a future conflict among European powers.

January 10.—The French cabinet under Premier Caillaux resigns after vain attempts at reorganization.

January 11.—W. Morgan Shuster, the deposed American Treasurer-General, leaves Teheran to return to the United States.

January 12.—The results of the first day's balloting in the German Reichstag elections show a net gain for the Socialists of twenty-six seats. . . . The American colleagues of W. Morgan Shuster decline to serve under the new Belgian Treasurer-General of Persia.

January 13.—Raymond Poincaré accepts the premiership of France. . . . A second conflict between the opposing parties in Ecuador is reported.

... The Turkish Chamber of Deputies rejects the government's constitutional amendment measure.

January 14.—Señor Canalejas resigns the premiership of Spain but is urged by the King to reconsider. . . . Premier Poincaré completes the formation of a cabinet in France. . . . The Persian cabinet sends a conciliatory message to F. E. Cairns, Mr. Shuster's temporary successor.

January 16.—The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 440 to 6, expresses confidence in the new Poincaré ministry. . . . The King of Sweden, in an address to the Riksdag, promises a bill insuring full political rights to women.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 16.—The Russian Ambassador at Washington protests against the abrogation of the treaty of 1832 in the manner proposed by the pending resolution in the United States Congress.

December 18.—The commercial treaty between Russia and the United States is denounced by President Taft.

December 20.—Russia intimates to the United States its willingness to negotiate a new commercial treaty. . . . The Franco-German agreement over Morocco is ratified by the French Senate.

December 21.—Serious fighting is reported between natives and the Russian troops in Persia.

December 22.—Persia notifies Russia that she accepts the ultimatum concerning the employment of foreign officials and Mr. Shuster in particular. . . . A bill is introduced in the Russian Duma which would cause a tariff war with the United States.

December 23.—It is announced at St. Petersburg that Russia is according better treatment to German Jews, following a protest.

December 25.—It is reported that more than 500 Persians have been executed by the Russian troops at Resht.

December 28.—Russia forces China to admit that it cannot exercise control over Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan, which have declared their independence; the action is believed to presage annexation of the provinces by Russia.

December 29.—Russian troops occupy the city of Tabriz, Persia, after a nine-days' siege.

December 31.—Great Britain sends troops and a warship into Persian territory to protect its interests.

January 3.—The fourth Central American Conference begins its sessions at Managua, Nicaragua.

January 6.—Four Persian Nationalists are hanged at Tabriz.

January 8.—Russia demands that all Chinese be withdrawn from the seceded portion of Mongolia, and expresses a desire to assist in the internal administration of China.

January 9.—Russian troops begin to clear Mongolia of wandering bands of Chinese. . . . President Taft announces that wood-pulp and paper will not be admitted free of duty into the United States, except from Canada, until the proper courts have passed upon the claims raised by other countries under the favored-nation clauses of their treaties.

January 10.—Russia informs China of its willingness to arbitrate the Mongolian question.

January 12.—Japan declines to assist the Chinese revolutionists in negotiating a loan in China.

January 15.—The United States cruiser *Maryland* is ordered to Guayaquil, Ecuador, to protect American interests.

January 16.—The United States warns Cuba that intervention may again be necessary if the military continue to interfere in political affairs.

#### WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND TURKEY

December 23.—A Turkish hospital ship, alleged to be a transport, is seized by an Italian cruiser in the Red Sea.

December 29.—The Turkish forces are reported to have gained a victory over the Italians after twenty-four hours' fighting, near Tripoli.

December 30.—A British cruiser is sent to eastern Mediterranean waters to assure the neutrality of Egypt.

January 7.—The first important naval engagement of the war occurs in the Red Sea and results in the sinking of seven Turkish gunboats by a squadron of Italian cruisers.

#### THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

December 18.—Representatives of the government and the revolutionists meet in a peace conference at Shanghai. . . . Gen. Tuan-Fang, a former viceroy of Shan-si province, is murdered by one of his soldiers.

December 20.—Tang Shao-yi, the government's representative at the peace conference, states that in his opinion the establishment of a republic will alone satisfy the revolutionists.

December 21.—Yuan Shih-kai, the Premier, declares himself unalterably opposed to the formation of a republic.

December 25.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader, arrives at Shanghai.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A GOVERNMENT WEATHER EXPERT MAKING OBSERVATIONS ON  
PIKE'S PEAK, COLORADO

December 28.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen is elected President of the Chinese republic, at Nanking. . . . The throne assents to the call of a national convention to decide the future form of government.

December 29.—The peace conference at Shanghai decides that a national convention shall determine the form of government, and orders that in the meantime no foreign loan shall be arranged.

December 31.—The revolutionists violate the armistice and attack Hankow.

January 2.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen is inaugurated at Nanking as provisional president of the new republic. . . . It is reported that the Empress Dowager has contributed nearly \$2,000,000 to fight the revolutionists.

January 4.—Yuan Shih-kai, in a letter to President Sun, practically reopens the peace negotiations.

January 6.—The protection of the Chinese Railroad from Peking to the sea (100 miles) is undertaken by the powers.

January 16.—A bomb thrown at Premier Yuan Shih-kai in Peking kills two of his guards.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 16.—Mexico City is shaken by a severe earthquake. . . . A bucket-shop in London, said to enjoy an income of \$100,000 a year, is raided by the police.

December 18.—Receivers are appointed for the Wabash Railroad.

December 23.—The Weavers' Trade Union, of Great Britain, decides to support the threatened strike of the mill operatives in Lancashire. . . . A severe and prolonged earth shock occurs in Nicaragua.

December 25.—A conditional gift of \$500,000 to the Peabody College for Teachers (Nashville) will mark the dissolution of the Peabody Education Fund.

December 27.—The strike of cotton-mill employees in Lancashire, which had been threatened, is actually declared.

December 28.—Following the lead of the Western Union, two other transatlantic cable companies announce important reductions in tolls.

December 30.—The Lancashire cotton mills go on half time, increasing the number of the unemployed to 250,000. . . . The New York Railways Company, to take over the properties of the Metropolitan Street Railway system, is organized with Theodore P. Shonts as president.

January 5.—A basis of agreement is believed to have been reached between the representatives of the cotton-mill strikers and the employers.

January 8.—William J. Bryan and Governor Woodrow Wilson are the principal speakers at a Jackson Day dinner at Washington.

January 9.—Fire destroys the building of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, covering an entire block in New York City, and causes the death of Battalion Chief Walsh and five other persons.

January 10-13.—A wave of severe cold weather covers the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains; at Cook, Minn., the thermometers burst at 56 degrees below zero; New York City records a temperature of 3 degrees below zero for the first time in eight years.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York  
AN ICE-ENCRUSTED FIRE ENGINE AT THE EQUITABLE BUILDING FIRE, NEW YORK

January 11.—The Russian steamer *Russ* founders in the Black Sea with 172 persons on board. . . . Following the decision of the Supreme Court the directors of the Lehigh Valley Railroad take steps to separate the coal business from railroad affairs.

January 12.—A wage reduction necessitated by the shortening of hours of labor for women in Massachusetts results in a strike among the operatives in the cotton mills and factories of Lawrence.

January 13.—The price of coal in England is advanced because of the threatened strike of the miners. . . . A new world's speed record for aeroplanes (88 miles in one hour) is made by Jules Vedrines at Pau, France.

January 16.—Fire destroys more than 5000 buildings in Osaka, Japan, rendering 30,000 persons homeless.

#### OBITUARY

December 16.—Rt. Rev. John Mills Kendrick, Episcopal Bishop of Arizona and New Mexico, 75.

December 17.—J. Percival Pollard, a prominent author and playwright, 42.

December 18.—Edouard Bornet, a noted French botanist, 83.

December 19.—John Bigelow, the venerable author, diplomat and lawyer, 94 (see frontispiece). . . . Jonkeer P. J. van Swinderen, Vice-President of the Council of State of the Netherlands.

December 21.—Martha S. Baker, of Chicago, a celebrated miniature painter. . . . Dr. Joseph E. Janvrin, a noted New York gynecologist, 72. . . . Prof. Odilon-Marc Lannelongue, the distinguished French surgeon, 71. . . . Benjamin F. Jonas, a former United States Senator from Louisiana, 76.

December 22.—Emilio Estrada, President of Ecuador, 64. . . . Rodolphe Radau, the French astronomer, 77. . . . Wright Lorimer, the actor, 37. . . . Mrs. Harriet Hanson Robinson, formerly a well-known author and member of women's clubs, 86.

December 23.—Carl Hoschna, composer of comic operas, 35.

December 24.—Rev. P. R. Law, editor of the *Presbyterian Standard* and a prominent Southern clergyman, 77.

December 25.—Lee L. Tabor, a prominent glove manufacturer of Milwaukee, 43. . . . Mrs. Char-



lotte Coles Jenkins, of New York, noted for her work as a physician among the poor, 82.

December 26.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Libbens Hodges, U. S. A., retired, 64. . . Mrs. Samantha H Merrifield, a noted labor-union advocate and Socialist, 77.

December 28.—Alexander Shaler, Brevet Major-General of Volunteers in the Civil War, 84. . . J. Scott Clark, professor of English language at Northwestern University, 57. . . Sir Francis Campbell, for many years connected with the British Foreign Office, 59.

December 29.—Prof. Walter S. Fortescue, a noted educator and publisher of text-books, 86. . . Major William Gourlay, a prominent secret service official during the Civil War, 71.

December 30.—Judge Elbert Eli Farman, who while consul-general at Cairo, Egypt, secured the obelisk "Cleopatra's Needle" as a gift from the Khedive to New York, 80. . . Rose Eytinge, formerly a prominent emotional actress, 76.

January 1.—Dr. Arthur Vincent Meigs, a widely known Philadelphia physician and writer on medical subjects, 61. . . Rev. Edmund A. Hill, a noted abolitionist and prohibitionist, 88.

January 2.—Alfred Tennyson Dickens, a son of Charles Dickens, and himself a noted lecturer, 66.

January 3.—Rear-Adm. Robley D. Evans, U. S. N., retired, 64 (see page 175). . . Felix S. Dahn, a noted German historian, poet and novelist, 77. . . Edith Crane, a well-known actress, 47.

January 4.—Col. Charles Henry Morgan, formerly Congressman from Missouri, 69. . . Brig. Gen. Joseph M. Califf, believed to have fired the first shot at Gettysburg, 68. . . Judge Seth M. Tucker, formerly a noted Indian fighter, 82. . . Mario Rapisardi, the Italian poet and philosopher.

January 5.—Gen. Francis Tillon Nicholls, a former Governor of Louisiana and afterward Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, 77. . . Captain John Cussons, chief of scouts in the Confederate army. . . Rev. John T. Gracey, Rochester, N. Y., a well-known Methodist clergyman and writer, 80.

January 6.—Samuel Cupples, the noted educational philanthropist of St. Louis, 80.

January 7.—Captain Charles W. Wilson, of Virginia, a well-known Confederate veteran, 73.

January 8.—Richard T. Crane, the prominent ironmaster and foe of higher education, 80. . . Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake, a widely known woman physician of Edinburgh, 72. . . Capt. Horatio McKay, formerly commodore of the Cunard Steamship Line, 76.

January 9.—Capt. Charles Bunker Dahlgren, a veteran of the Civil War and author of many works on naval warfare, 73.

January 10.—Justice Henry B. Coman, of the Supreme Court of New York State, 54. . . Aureliano Beruete, the Spanish painter and art critic.

January 12.—Major-Gen. Sir John Frederick Maurice, one of the ablest of British military writers, 71.

January 14.—Rev. Francis Barber Chetwood, of New Jersey, a well-known writer on religious subjects, 80. . . Dr. William Nelson Clarke, for nearly fifty years professor of theology at Colgate University, 70.

January 16.—Henry Labouchere, the noted British journalist and statesman, 80. . . Joseph M. von Radowitz, formerly German ambassador to Turkey and to Spain, 72. . . Brig.-Gen. William B. Mason, retired, of the New Jersey National Guard, 72.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE FUNERAL OF THE LATE REAR-ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

# CARTOONS OF THE MONTH—CHIEFLY POLITICAL



"YOU ARE GOING ON A LONG, LONG JOURNEY"

(The spirit of Progressiveness, to the politics of the past)

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)

**T**HE cartoons this month are mainly political. Although the presidential year is still young, candidates and parties are already active, and the cartoonists find politics a rich field of inspiration. President Taft is pictured below as a "satisfied tenant of the White House," desiring a renewal of his lease.



A SATISFIED TENANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

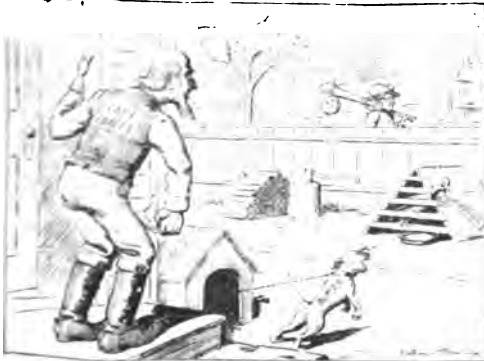


PRESIDENT TAFT BATTLING WITH THE TRUSTS

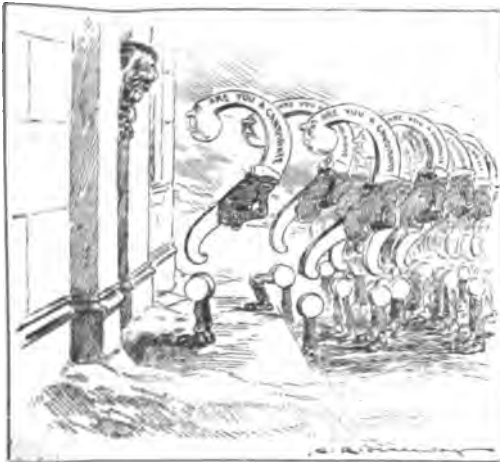
From the *Meddler* (Cincinnati)



**T. R. AS THE CRITIC OF THE ADMINISTRATION**  
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)



**"TAFT FORCES" GETTING NERVOUS ABOUT HIS  
NOMINATION CHICKEN AS ROOSEVELT GOES BY**  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



**CALLERS**  
From the *World* (New York)



**DISTURBING THE MEETING**  
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta)

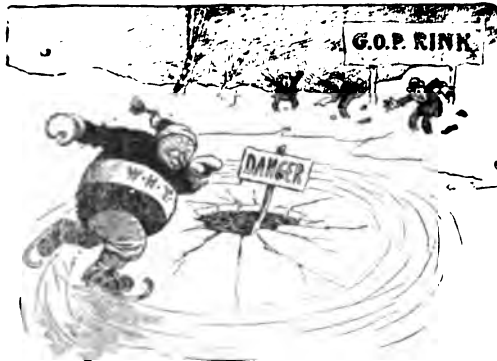
The Roosevelt "boom," however uncertain it may be as to its real strength, is certainly making marked progress in the cartoon world. He is pictured as being besieged with questions as to his probable candidacy, and as slaying rumors that persist in cropping up. The two cartoons at the top of the page refer to Mr. Roosevelt's criticism of the administration policies, and to his expressions regarding the famous "Peace Dinner."



**T. R.: "GREAT SCOTT, WHAT CAN A FELLOW DO?"**  
From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)



THE 1912 FORTUNE TELLER: "GENTLEMEN, BEWARE OF A SHORT, STOUT MAN WITH GLASSES"  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



"NOTHING BUT DEATH CAN STOP ME NOW"  
(Referring to President Taft's declaration that he is in the nomination fight to the finish)  
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



"THE BOY STOOD ON THE BURNING DECK"  
From the *News* (Chicago)



TAFT TO TEDDY: "CAN'T 'OO TALK?"  
From the *Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn)



T. R.: "I AM THE MOST MISREPRESENTED MAN IN AMERICA"  
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)







TAFT: "THAT CHICKEN CERTAINLY HAS A LOT OF NERVE SCRATCHING AROUND IN MY YARD."  
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



LA FOLLETTE AS THE POACHER IN TAFT'S OWN STATE  
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta)

Senator La Follette's trip through certain Western States attracted a great deal of attention, causing considerable concern to the friends of Mr. Taft, especially when the Senator invaded the President's own State of Ohio, "poaching," as it were, on Mr. Taft's preserves. It was even reported that the President would forthwith make another trip to Ohio for the purpose of counteracting the effect of Senator La Follette's speeches.



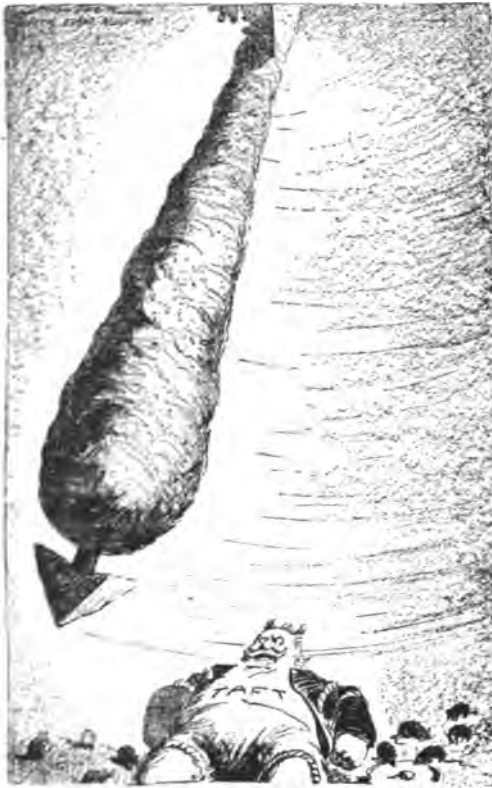
OHIO: "RECKON I'LL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT THAT"  
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



MR. LA FOLLETTE'S STRONGEST CARD—HIS WISCONSIN LEAP YEAR—BUT NO ONE IS RUNNING AWAY FROM NOMINATION PROPOSALS  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



**"THE PIT AND THE PENDULUM"—AFTER POE**  
(Roosevelt's "Big Stick" as the Pendulum and Taft as the victim)  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



**GETTING INSTRUCTIONS FROM FATHER**  
BRYAN (to Miss Democracy): "Now I don't want you  
waiting to that fellow Harmon"  
(Referring to Mr. Bryan's reported opposition to Ohio's  
favorite son)  
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



**WHO WILL MAKE THE CAMPAIGN FLIGHT?—OR, THE WILLING AVIATORS!**  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



**THE BOOMERANG**  
(Referring to the fact that the Tariff Board's report on the  
woolen schedule practically justified the reduction proposed  
in the last session of Congress and vetoed by President  
Taft)  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



**THE KING-EMPEROR**  
(Commemorating the Delhi Durbar, December 12, 1911)  
From *Punch* (London)

On this page *Punch* records the Delhi Durbar; and other cartoons show the Chinese Republic as Liberty's latest offspring, Russia's assimilation of Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan, and the Baroness von Suttner, author of the famous peace volume entitled



**THE LATEST**  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)

"Throw Down Your Arms," as promising Germany and Austria that the peace palace at The Hague, which is being pulled down by their warlike companions, will be built up again.



**THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE**  
**AUSTRIA AND GERMANY** (to Baroness von Suttner, the peace advocate): "Look, Aunt Bertha, those bad boys are knocking down our nice palace."  
**AUNT BERTHA:** "Never mind, children, we'll build it up again."  
From *Die Muskete* (Vienna)



**WHOSE TURN NEXT?—THE FRIGHT OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AT THE IMPENDING RUSSIAN DANGER**  
Five little Chinamen, sitting knee by knee,  
A big bear gobbled two and then there were three.  
From the *Herald* (Montreal)





**TWISTING THE RUSSIAN BEAR'S TAIL**  
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)

Russia has been prominent recently in world affairs, owing to her passport controversy with the United States and her assimilating activities in both Persia and China. The cartoons at the top of this page record the abrogation by the United States of the Russian treaty of 1832, and reflect the senti-



**THE FINGER OF SCORN**  
From the *American* (New York)

ment of civilization in general on the subject of the Russian atrocities in Persia. Although there is undoubtedly a "working agreement" between Great Britain and Russia as to their respective Persian policies, each nevertheless keeps close watch lest the other infringe on its own particular sphere of influence.



**AS BETWEEN FRIENDS**

BRITISH LION TO RUSSIAN BEAR: "If we hadn't such a thorough understanding, I might almost be tempted to ask what you're doing there with our little playfellow."

From *Punch* (London)



**TRIMMED GOOD AND PLENTY**  
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

# AN AMERICAN APOSTLE OF PEACE IN JAPAN

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

I DO not know the Japanese of the phrase, but my ears have often heard it as I have traveled about in the land of the little men with my Quaker friend Bowles. "Get on to the big one" is a free translation of it. Gilbert Bowles is a big man by any measurement, and in inches I should say he is about six feet two, which makes the undersized Japanese stare. Perhaps he is the tallest man in Japan; I dare say he is the gentlest. Nothing seems to disturb his Quaker poise. I was with him in a Tokyo street-car one day when a deft pickpocket tried to go through him. "*Nomba, diska?*" ["What's this? or, 'How about it?'" to translate freely] he remarked, scarcely raising his voice, and the man held up a pair of empty hands. He once arranged an important peace meeting among the foreigners in Karuizawa, and put himself and his carefully prepared address (the real message of the occasion) last on the program. The windy and wordy men ahead of him ("guilty!") took up the entire evening; and the audience never suspected that he had quietly eliminated himself. If that is not a token of size I know nothing about public speakers.

## QUAKER MISSIONARY AND PEACE PROPAGANDIST

True to the traditions of his creed, this missionary—a model missionary, by the way, which is another story—is a valiant warrior in behalf of peace. We are too near his work to appraise it properly, but it may be said conservatively that Gilbert Bowles, of the Philadelphia Friends Mission, Tokyo, is the greatest single factor making for the spirit of international peace in all Japan to-day. Only those who are close to the facts realize the potent force he has been in affecting Japanese opinion; for he is a truly modest man, with considerable skill and practice in evading the limelight.

Japan is a jingoistic and warlike nation. It has always been preëminently military. Unlike China, it has never produced a great philosopher, but it has had many great warriors. The valor and patriotism of its people

are of world-wide repute. This land of fine fighters would seem like stony ground for a peace propaganda. None the less, all close observers know that a great change has come over the spirit of Japan within a decade. There is now a peace party that is not only respectable but powerful as well. The Japan Peace Society is a national force to-day, with many of the best names in the empire on its roll. The explanation is, primarily, Gilbert Bowles and the trend of the time. He and his fellow Quakers established the society, keeping well in the background themselves.

## TWO PEACE SOCIETIES AT WORK IN JAPAN

Then, after this had become an assured success, he launched the American Peace Society in Japan, in which may be found the foremost American business men resident in that land, as well as, naturally, the missionaries. These two organizations have done more to keep the peace, and promote a spirit of good will, between Japan and America than all the warships and honorary commissions put together. They have helped to hold Japan steady during the trying days of the war talk in America, and what Japan endured during this period is creditable to the self-restraint of a proud and confident people. In unsuspected ways, these peace societies have worked in both lands, to allay irritation and stimulate mutual understanding. No diplomat in Tokyo has been busier upon international affairs than this soft-spoken, apparently embarrassed representative of the Society of William Penn. He knows the way to editorial offices; and, what is far more difficult, he knows how to avoid becoming a bore. Behind many of the functions in which American visitors to Japan figure is his soft-stepping activity. Even the American press has unconsciously felt his influence: this article, all unknown to him, is one of the Bowles by-products!

Both nations now fairly well understand that there will be no war between the United States and Japan; and that there never was any adequate reason for all the hysteria



PEACE-MAKING FORCES IN MODERN JAPAN

(In the center is Count Okuma, and at his right is Gilbert Bowles, Quaker missionary and peace propagandist. They are surrounded by a class in sociology in Waseda University)

which brought international relations almost to the breaking point. One line that Gilbert Bowles pursued effectively was to stimulate the thorough investigation of possible reasons for war; he is no blind partisan of a cause, and he must be "shown"; a good college professor was lost when he became a missionary. Like every other newspaper man, I fight shy of the one-ideaed, rose-spectacled reformer, who can see nothing upon the landscape except his own pet reform. Gilbert Bowles is leagues removed from this. He acquired his American common sense upon the Iowa prairies; and I suspect that, if he wanted to, he could tell things about the seamy side of the Japanese that would keep Hobson in lecture material for a decade. But he preserves his wholesome sanity and charity, and in a multiplicity of ways (and ways are not wanting in Japan) he spends his energies in the helping of his adopted neighbors on toward the best of the Western ideals.

We were calling one day upon Count Oku-

ma, the greatest of Japan's Elder Statesmen, one of the makers of New Japan, the founder of Waseda University, the political radical and democrat, the philosopher and historian. As we were leaving (after an interview made tediously long by the Count's poor interpreter, Bowles, who could have done the job better in less than half the time, never once showing a single wiggle of impatience), the Count accompanied us toward his famous garden, where a class in sociology from the university was being photographed on the lawn. The students asked their patron to sit with them. The venerable statesman, who maintains his touch with youth, consented if his guests would keep him company. Thus it comes about that I am able to publish a portrait of the greatest Japanese friend of "Peace on earth, good will to men," of the strong-faced Quaker apostle of peace in Japan, and of a group of the leaders of the Japan of to-morrow, who look to victories in the field of social science and human brotherhood rather than on the field of battle.



## REAR ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS

(August 18, 1846—January 3, 1912)

It would not be easy to find an American who does not regard the record and exploits of the late "Fighting Bob" Evans as putting him in the same general class with Porter, Farragut, Dewey, and the rest of our famous sea fighters. In the attack on Fort Fisher, in 1863, he received severe wounds from which he always suffered. He became known as "Fighting Bob" while at Valparaiso in 1891, when we were at odds with Chile. In the war with Spain he com-

manded the battleship *Iowa* and received the defeated Admiral Cervera after the surrender. He commanded the Atlantic fleet on its memorable tour of the world in 1907-8, showing himself to be not only a gallant fighter and efficient seaman, but an executive officer of unusual ability. "Fighting Bob's" success came from his simple, direct, elemental way of doing things. He was, truly, a man who, as Kipling once put it, "lived more stories than Zogbaum or I could invent."



## PRINCETON'S NEW PRESIDENT

The election of Dr. John Grier Hibben as fourteenth president of Princeton University ended an interregnum of more than a year, Woodrow Wilson having resigned the presidency in the autumn of 1910, while a candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Dr. Hibben, who is a Princeton graduate of the class of 1882, had served for twenty-one years as a member of the university faculty, beginning as an instructor in logic and psychology and five years later becoming Stuart Professor of Logic. He is the author of several treatises on logic and is a popular lecturer on philosophical and scientific thought. His sympathy with and intimate knowledge of Princeton undergraduate life seem to have been among the most effective arguments for his election to the presidency. It is believed that the new president will have the loyal and hearty support of the alumni in his efforts to extend the range of Princeton's influence while maintaining the university's ancient traditions. Dr. Hibben is an ordained Presbyterian clergyman.

# YUAN SHIH-KAI AND THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE MANCHU

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKE

THE Peking of the Manchus is in the twilight. It is not as golden as the "yellow dusk" of the classic poets, something ashen, deathly, sinister, pale, is smothering the glimmers of broken and breaking halos round about the dragon throne. In this sundown hour of the Ta Tsing dynasty, there is one man who is playing the heroic rôle of a Far Eastern Joshua.

Yuan Shih-kai makes a striking figure, all the more because neither the deposed Regent, nor the present Dowager-Empress, nor yet many of the Manchu princes have any unnecessary love, natural or official, for Yuan. He is probably the bitterest foe of the dominant power behind the child Emperor, the Dowager-Empress. He was the man who condemned her to the withering mockery of perpetual widowhood. As if that were not enough, he also robbed her of the very hope of motherhood. For it was this Yuan who completed the work of wrecking the already delicate health of the late Emperor Kuanghsu, her husband, by dooming him to a hades beside which the blackest estate of a Mexican peon is a summer paradise.

It is this unspeakable enemy of the reigning lady who is singled out of some four hundred millions of her subjects to play the desperate game of supporting the toppling Manchu throne. It is remarkable. But more striking still is this fact: Yuan is not a Manchu, but a Han—a real Chinese. Small wonder that the eyes of the world are upon him. And the question of the day seems to be: Who is this man, this solitary Titan?

## YUAN SHIH-KAI THE MAN

Let us trace this singular figure to his cradle town. A tree called *sendan*, said an ancient scholar of China, is fragrant even in the days when it is nothing more than two leaves above the ground.

Yuan was born in the modest town of Chengchau, near Changte-fu, in the Province of Honan. His family was as modest as the town in which it lived. It had no particular distinction, but, at the same time, was well-to-do. In his youth, Yuan was a common,

ordinary, every-day bad boy. He was no scholar; quite the contrary. He drank more than he should; a respect for order did not agree with the warmth of his blood. In short, an altogether promising candidate was he for either an ambitious mandarin or a successful brigand.

At about the age of nineteen, it became clear to him that his native home was not the most comfortable place for him, nor yet the most entertaining. At the time his uncle was Taotai of Tientsin. Yuan succeeded in smuggling himself out of his native town in Honan and making his way to Tientsin to his uncle. The Taotai did not seem any too enthusiastic to see him. He did the young relative a good turn, however. He sent the boy to Wu Chanching, who was then Viceroy of Shantung, with a note in which he begged the viceroy to give the boy the humblest possible task, that of a janitor, or sweeper of the barracks, or any other odd job, as his young relative was very fond of the company of soldiers. Viceroy Wu at one time served under Yuan's uncle; he felt a measure of obligation. He therefore welcomed Yuan into the bosom of his family. He did not make the boy sweep out the barracks of his soldiers. Instead, he treated Yuan precisely as one of his own sons, and gave him equal educational advantages under a private tutor.

Soldiering seemed to have quite captured the young fancy of Yuan—which was something remarkable. In China the profession of a fighting man was, at that time, hardly respectable. Perhaps, it was not so remarkable after all. There are some American boys, it has been said, who dream every night of a hackdriver's whip. At any rate, Yuan was unique in his ambition. Stranger still, he did not get over it for a long time.

When Governor Wu Changching was sent to Korea by Li Hungchang, we find Yuan a petty military officer accompanying his chief. There were more sleepless nights and wakeful days than usual in Korea just then. They were the Augustan age of Korean court intrigues. It was then and there that Yuan showed that the *sendan* tree is fragrant even

in its two-leaved days. There was something remarkable in his genius in sensing out the plots and counter plots of the Korean court. The way the young officer chased through the mazes of Korean politics amazed his chief, Wu. But there was another pair of eyes which watched Yuan much closer than the Chinese Resident Wu himself. Ma Liang was his name. He was one of the many younger lieutenants of Li Hungchang. It was the wily Li who sent this man to assist Governor Wu in his work as the Chinese Resident in Korea. When Ma returned to Tientsin, he spoke to Li Hungchang of the remarkable work of Yuan. After watching the young man's performances for a while, Li Hungchang came to know Yuan better. The famous viceroy saw a good deal in the young man, so much so that Li spoke to Prince Kung about Yuan. That was the first time that Yuan's name was heard at the Peking palace.

Then a little later, Li Hungchang appointed him the Resident Commissioner of Trade in Korea. That was his official title. In fact, he was the Minister Resident wielding all the prerogatives and powers of a minister all the time—and frequently something more, a good deal more. It was he who kidnapped Taiwunkun, the father of the reigning king, carried him out of Korea into Tientsin and kept him there a prisoner as a hostage. Perhaps it is not quite correct to assert that Yuan also sowed

the seeds of the China-Japan War of 1894-5; if he did he certainly was not alone in this. He had more than one able co-worker in the midnight work among his Chinese comrades. But what his chief, Li Hungchang, did to him at the close of the war is a matter of public record, printed plainly even in the school histories. Li dropped Yuan into a temporary obscurity, as though he wanted to show what he thought of his work in Korea, and the bitter fruits it bore to the humiliation of that hot-house paradise of vanity called China.

This would seem to show that Yuan did something more than a mere yeoman's work in bringing about the Chinese disaster in Korea. And there was nothing strange in this or improbable. Neither was he original in this little scheme. He is not the first son of the "blue-clouds climbing" race who looked upon an international war with a pair of eyes not of those of a peace apostle of today. He believed in his native country; its bigness, its history, its capacity—which was altogether patriotic and commendable—especially in backing her against a little "sawed-off" thing like Japan. To him the war did not look like blood; it looked like Jacob's ladder—with no wrestling with a Mighty One in the foreground. All he had to do was to climb it to ambition's heaven. Every prospect pleased him, and he went ahead. After having been dropped into the shade by his chief, he did not remain there long.



THE CHINESE EMPEROR: "Oh, Yuan, my poor rocking-horse!"  
YUAN SHIH KAI: "Let's see if we cannot mend it with this mixture of blood and diplomacy."

From *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

Yuan was happy in his friends. They were among the ablest lieutenants in Li Hungchang's camp. The ablest and most influential man with Li was Sheng Hsuan-huai, the man who later, in 1911, as Minister of Posts and Communications, negotiated the famous "Four-Power Loan," launched the scheme for the nationalization of railways, by far the stronger member of the last cabinet under the Regent Prince Chun, and whom the Peking Government sacrificed to satisfy the Szechuan discontent (all in vain). Sheng talked to his chief, Viceroy Li, about Yuan. Reconciliation was brought about.

Schaller did that, together with Munthe, a Norwegian. These men were the real creators of the force which became famous as the Army of the North. When Yuan took it over, it was composed of about 5000 men, and was under the command of Hu Yunmei. Under Yuan it was gradually increased in number to about 12,500.

#### CLIMBING THE BLUE CLOUDS

From this time on Yuan's rise under Li Hungchang's powerful patronage was phenomenal. What was more significant by



YUAN SHIH-KAI, THE "STRONG MAN" OF CHINA

Li appointed Yuan to superintend the new army. The Chinese-Japanese war had wiped clean the somewhat clouded spectacles of Viceroy Li and in his interest in the new army there was a new meaning.

This, then, was the way Yuan came to take a leading part in the formation of the new army of China. Not that he personally took an active part in drilling the men, in arming them, or in whipping them into an efficient force. He was too much of a Chinese official for that. He could not have done the work if he had wished. He had not the proper qualifications. A German drill master called

far, he proved to be an apt pupil under the wily old viceroy in the ways darker than any poet (except, perhaps those of China) has ever dreamed, and in the tricks that were not at all vain, but profitable. Li Hungchang, in his day, often came into contact with the foreigner. Officially he had to do it, and in the end shrewdly came to see that "foreign barbarians" had their uses, and very pertinent ones for the China of the day.

Yuan went through the same course. Yuan had never been out of China. There are people who speak of his pro-foreign program as something wonderful. But it is not;



**he** really came in contact with foreigners of all nationalities in those history-making days at Tientsin. He came to see the need of many things Occidental, not because of an academic training or of the picturesque interest of a tourist, but through the logic of necessity.

The war with Japan was an object-lesson which he never for one moment forgot. And in the years following the war, we see Yuan in the camp of the progressives. It was then that he shared the confidence of Kang Yuwei and other leaders of the reform movement. At the same time, the fact stood out big enough for Kang Yuwei and his fellow reformers to read. Had they taken the trouble to analyze this dreamer of the Blue Clouds, ever ready to dance to the pipings of opportunity—that it was largely through Prince Ching and Junglu, the favorite nephew of the late Dowager-Empress Tzehsi, that Yuan won the favors of Her Imperial Majesty. But the generous comradeship in the great work of assisting at China's rebirth made Kang Yuwei and his Emperor look upon Yuan through a halo brightly. It is also true that, when the late Empress-Dowager made Junglu Viceroy of Chili province, and generalissimo of the Peiyang army, she at the same time gave the actual command of the armed force to Yuan. And this act proclaimed to every one about Peking that the Empress was at her wonted trick of keeping the balance of power in giving the control of the metropolitan province to her favorite nephew, a pure blood Manchu and purer hearted conservative, and at the same time in supplying his ambition with a brake in the person of progressive Yuan, for without the consent, coöperation, and knowledge of Yuan, Junglu could not use his position and his armed force in over-awing the capital. From such facts as these Kang Yuwei and his Emperor evidently took Yuan at his word.

The awakening came in September, 1898. Emperor Kuanghsu's reform edicts had thrown out of lucrative offices a host of Manchu parasites. The cleaning of this ancient Augean stable brought forth two very excellent fruits. It made for public economy and it resulted in official efficiency.

A dreadful howl from the fat grafters rose to high heaven. The six members of the Board of Rites whom the Emperor had thrown out of jobs for daring to violate His Imperial command in opening a memorial which should have been presented in a sealed envelope, went in a body to the Dowager-Empress at Iho Park and wept real tears at her feet. They

begged Her Majesty to return to power and save the ship of state from "that boy" who was wrecking it.

When Emperor Kuanghsu was told of the activities of his enemies, he saw that the hour for decisive action had struck. He sent for Yuan, who came from Tientsin. The Emperor gave him a personal and private audience. Nothing can indicate the implicit confidence his imperial master reposed in the fidelity and loyalty of Yuan, more touchingly, more eloquently than His Majesty's own action at that fateful audience. He told Yuan to go back to Tientsin, in all haste, dispose of Junglu, the nominal commander-in-chief of the Northern Army and the great favorite of the Dowager-Empress, come to Peking with all his 12,500 men, surround the Iho Park in such an effective manner that no outsider could communicate with the Dowager-Empress without his knowledge and keep her under guard till the Emperor and his fellow reformers should have done with the foundation work of establishing the New China.

Yuan received the imperial command without the slightest sign of protest. He left the imperial presence with the solemn pledge to fulfill it. Then he went straight to Junglu and told him everything, showed him the imperial order. Instead of putting Junglu in chains under lock in the center of picked and trusted guards, he left with him the imperial order. Yuan betrayed the Emperor; he blasphemed the one sacred thing between man and man; violated his master's confidence. Coming as it did, out of a palace, out of that immemorial hot-house of gilded deceit and intrigues, from that catacomb of murdered, mutilated faiths, the Forbidden City of Peking, this mark of imperial confidence ought to have been quite enough to move the heart of a demon or a monster. Not Yuan's, however. Perhaps he was too conscientious a man to carry out a command of the Emperor without first receiving an order from his immediate chief, Junglu. It may be that his nice sense of duty made him think he had no right to obey the Emperor without Junglu's consent.

At any rate, this nice conscientiousness paid Yuan well. The Dowager-Empress rewarded him for this traitorous act with the junior vice-presidency of the Board of Works and in December, 1899, when she was obliged to take away Yuhsien from Shantung viceroyalty because of his friendly attitude toward the so-called "Boxers," she appointed

Yuan in his place as acting Governor of Shantung. In 1900, he was raised to the full dignity of the governor of the province.

#### GAINING THE ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP OF FOREIGNERS

It was his attitude and actions during the "Boxer" days that gained Yuan an international reputation and the friendly esteem of the foreigners both in and out of China. It was he who succeeded in gaining the news of the safety of the legation people at Peking. At the time Peking was absolutely cut off. No one seemed to know what had happened to the foreigners at the capital. Yuan got the news through a secret channel, and transmitted it to Washington through the American consul-general at Shanghai. It was on this information that Secretary Hay and others planned the now famous march of the allies to Peking. Her Majesty the Dowager-Empress was finally won over to the "Boxer" side, but not Yuan. He was for the foreigner, ever against the "Boxers." He went naturally with the winning side.

It was in the early days of the "Boxer" uprising, while he was governor of Shantung province, that Yuan invited a number of "Boxer" leaders to his official yamen, to a banquet. He fed them well at the dinner. Liquor flowed freely and men's tongues were loosened. The "Boxer" leaders were bombastic as only Chinese can be bombastic, over the magic power they claimed for their comrades and themselves. They boasted that neither the swords nor bullets of the foreign barbarians' rifles could touch them.

Yuan inclined his ears to all this "conch-shell blowing" with evident pleasure and at the height of their boasting took them at their word. He requested his guests to step outside and stand in a row so that they could prove this miraculous power. The half-tipsy revelers staggered to their feet and stood against a wall. Yuan called in his soldiers. He told them to load their rifles with ball cartridges and fire at his guests point blank. The result was a bloody one. This massacre of his dinner guests has been commented upon by a large number of foreign writers, including some missionaries, as very clever,—at once dramatic, fair and admirable. It was certainly a star chapter in the book of practical applied logic. There seems to be some question, however, whether this sort of thing should be chronicled in a book of ethics—or even a heathen book of etiquette.

Yuan's willingness to permit Professor C. D. Tenny to establish a public school system in Tientsin while he was the viceroy of the metropolitan province; his work in improving the streets of Tientsin, in lighting them, etc., and his attitude toward Adjutant-General J. M. N. Munthe, the Norwegian instructor and drill master of his new army, won him applause and approval from foreigners. So it came about that, in the days which followed the "Boxer" trouble, foreigners as well as the Peking court began to look upon Yuan as "the strong man" of China.

For a time, it did seem as though there were no clouds on his ever brightening horizon. People spoke of him as Li Hungchang II. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the year 1906, Yuan was much more powerful than the old Viceroy Li ever had been. He was the Viceroy of Chili, head of the Peiyang army and navy administrations, Associate High Commissioner of the Army Reorganization Council, Vice-Commissioner of the Peking Banner Corps Reorganization Bureau, Associate Director of the Tientsin-Chinkiang Railway, and Associate Commissioner of Tariff Revision. He had received the Yellow Riding Jacket in 1902, and the three-eyed peacock's feather in 1907.

#### YUAN'S METHODS OF CLIMBING

Much more interesting than the mere recital of the official positions he held is the study of the "how" and the "why" he attained them. How could he do all this? Why did he succeed? And why has he failed in the end?

Yuan's methods in boosting himself have not been fanciful and poetic. They are as effective as his own make-up. When he saw that a war between China and Japan over Korea would afford him a ready-made elevator, he did not increase his office hours at Seoul to prevent it. It may be that in the eye of his imagination, he did see a hundred thousand men murdering as many others who had never done them harm, or thought a single hard thought against them, who had never even known each other. He might have seen the wreck of fifty thousand young lives clotting alien gutters and whitening with their bones the alien dust under a strange moon. He might have heard the wails of ten thousand widows and the cries of orphans unnumbered. If he saw and heard these things, they do not seem to have made half as much impression upon him as stage blood and stage tears. His eyes were just then too

busily engaged with the sight of the radiant ladder which the war presented to his aspirations, to see anything else.

When he saw that by condemning no less a person than the "Son of Heaven" to a Hades worse than a thousand deaths, he could win the smile of the winning side, he did not hesitate one second. When in 1900 he saw that the foreign powers were bound to come out victors, he invited the Boxer leaders to a dinner, let them brag like the idiots they were, and had them shot down like so many dogs, in the most dramatic and conclusive and effective manner—for the purpose of advertising his own precious friendship for foreigners. When he saw that if the Empress-Dowager Tzehsi died before Emperor Kuanghsu, it was not good for the glory—and incidentally also the health—of a certain very high official dear to him, Yuan—so at least says the rumor in which the people who says the rumor put their trust—made a gift of 33,000 taels to the physician attending the Emperor. It was, of course, a wise and admirable course—perhaps it might have been called murder in self-defense.

#### YUAN'S ONE BLUNDER

How comes it, then, that so clever an artist in the art and science of looking after "Number One" should be found to-day playing the fanciful rôle—for the times have changed since the days of Joshua—of a prophet commanding the declining sun of the Manchu to stand still upon the Far Eastern Gibeon? Yuan himself knows! Perhaps that eternal humorist known among the children of men by the name of Fate knows it better than Yuan himself. We may perhaps be permitted to venture a guess:

When the call came from Peking on the heels of revolutionary successes he accepted it, after due and decorous hesitation, thinking somewhat in this wise: If the Hankow rebels and their revolt turn out to be like a hundred other uprisings which preceded it; if they become, as they are very apt to do, a house divided against itself after a few months of feverish agitation, then Yuan can turn to the Manchu throne and the Regent, Prince Chun (who had given him a little vacation on account of "rheumatism of the leg") and ask politely but firmly to see who happened to be the savior of the Manchu dynasty. He knew that the government forces were superior to the revolutionary ones at Hankow, provided always that government forces had necessary food and ammunition. That,

of course, was simply a question of money. And with his tremendous international reputation, he must have thought it a rather easy matter to float a foreign loan for whatever amount might be needed to carry on the campaign—more especially because the maintenance of the Manchu dynasty was as important to the foreign capital of more than \$725,000,000 already invested in China as it was to himself. But even if an impossibility came true and the rebels succeeded, he would be still safe. He should have it in the hollow of his hands to depose the Manchu ruler, and, deposing him, he could turn to the revolutionary countrymen of his—always remembering that Yuan is a Han, not a Manchu—and politely but firmly request them to notice whose hand it was that pushed off the last of the Manchus from the dragon throne!

And to-day? The premier of the great empire of China is a virtual prisoner in Peking, the target of the bitter hatred and deep suspicions of the present Dowager-Empress and the Manchu princes. His very life is in danger every waking and sleeping moment. He sleeps and eats but little. He goes about unshaved.

Who or what has put him where he is? His own well-nigh miraculous shrewdness, nothing else. Thus the world at large is given a fine chance of seeing what human cunning, and that at its wildest, amounts to in the eternal scheme of things.

What is the meaning of it all? It is an old, old story and simple as a, b, c—the old is passing away and the new is coming into its own. The fall or rise of Yuan Shih-kai or of any other individual means but little. Even the rise or passing away of a nation usually finds its mausoleum within a few pages of history. It is the passing of an ideal that is so pregnant with significance. In China to-day the old ideal of a mandarin—the peerless master of the gentle art of squeeze—the moss-grown ideal of statesmanship represented by Li Hungchang and by his even abler pupil, Yuan, who out-Li-ed Li, is passing away. It means that the ideal of government represented by the Manchu and the Forbidden City is obsolete now; to be labeled quite out of tune with the times, that Yuan Shih-kai or one million Yuan Shih-kais can no longer command the sun of Manchu absolutism to stand still upon the far Eastern hills. The Shanghai Republic and Dr. Sun's Nanking may or may not endure. But that the new China is here,—that much is as apparent as are the heavens and the earth.

# OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN

BY ARTHUR FARWELL



HAMMERSTEIN'S MAGIC HAT IN LONDON  
(Cartoon by Robert Carter in the *Globe*, of New York)

**W**ITHIN the space of the last three years the name of Oscar Hammerstein, whose London Opera House was successfully launched on the 13th of last November, has well-nigh come to be a symbol—the interesting point is to determine of just what—to the American people. It is not the operatic world alone, nor even the much broader musical world by itself, that regards him as a significant personality. Something in the nature of the man, as revealed in his touch upon affairs; something beyond his achievement, intrinsically considered, has lifted him to the rank and distinction of a national figure, albeit now an expatriated one.

There have been successful American operatic impresarios before Mr. Hammerstein, but none within the horizon of American life, it would seem, whose name has stood, as his does, as representative of qualities so peculiarly attractive to Americans of his time. The one who finds the secret of the unique regard in which he is held, and the circumstances which have made his name one to conjure with, is likely to hit upon certain interesting facts with respect to American ideals of the day.

The fact which gives a startling and phenomenal aspect to Mr. Hammerstein's personality is that but a few years since he was a showman in Harlem, quite unknown to fame, while to-day he is the projector, builder, owner, and sole manager of a new and magnificent opera house in London, the brilliant success of which has been one of the sensations of the year. Americans are quick to ask, what manner of man is it who is able to accomplish such a feat?

## NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA ACHIEVEMENTS

Once well in his seven-league boots—or perhaps his famous old-fashioned, flat-rimmed, Parisian top hat is the article of apparel that has worked the magic—Mr. Hammerstein strode rapidly from the one condition to the other, with varying fortune in his different enterprises. In 1893 his theatrical restlessness led him to strike out from his Harlem Opera House and Columbus Theater in Harlem, and to build his first "Manhattan Opera House." This was on Thirty-fourth Street, the same thoroughfare on which his subsequent opera house of the same name was built. It lasted two weeks, and afterward became Koster and Bial's Music Hall. The Olympia, now the New York Theater, was his next venture, and for a period was very successful as a first-class music hall. Three more enterprises now intervened,—the Victoria, the Belasco Theater, and Lew Fields' Theater, the first of which is still under Mr. Hammerstein's management.

Then of a sudden, in December, 1906, New York became aware of the fact that it had a second temple of grand opera, the Manhattan Opera House, built and run by one man on his own capital, in open competition with the venerable Metropolitan Opera House, which was backed by a solid phalanx of millionaires. The incredible initiative and the lively sporting spirit exhibited by Mr. Hammerstein in this David-and-Goliath encounter instantaneously made him a figure in New York life. The aforementioned straight-rimmed silk hat, his five-cent cigar, his substantial physiognomy, became fertile and frequent themes for the cartoonist, and his laconic remarks were current conversational



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OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, THE AMERICAN IMPRESARIO  
WHO HAS WON A GREAT OPERATIC  
TRIUMPH IN LONDON

coin about town. The proverbial green bay tree did not flourish more happily than his Manhattan Opera House. While this was at the height of its career, Mr. Hammerstein, now the "Opera King," erected the \$1,200,000 Philadelphia Opera House, which was opened in November, 1908. In April, 1910, Mr. Hammerstein startled the musical world by selling the Philadelphia Opera House and all his contracts with artists for that and the Manhattan Opera House, as well as all scenery, costumes, etc., to Mr. E. T. Stotesbury of Philadelphia, representing the Metropolitan Opera House in New York and certain interests in Philadelphia. Through this transaction, Mr. Stotesbury became a director in the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago opera companies came into affiliation. Mr. Hammerstein received two million dollars and agreed to withdraw entirely from the local field of grand opera.

#### THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

With the operatic anchor thus weighed, Mr. Hammerstein sailed, quite literally, in

quest of new worlds to conquer, alighting, as it happened in this case, upon the old, where he announced his intention of invading London itself, and giving up-to-date opera under the very shadow of the venerable Covent Garden Opera House. This intention was materialized in the recently opened London Opera House, the building being completed, as is usual with Mr. Hammerstein's opera houses, a few minutes before the raising of the curtain on the first performance.

The British public is an obstinate one, tradition-loving, and not to be taken off its feet by novelties; but the developments have shown that Mr. Hammerstein has been studious of his new public and sagacious in the nature of his appeal, and the London venture, inaugurated under the most brilliant auspices, has gone forward with every evidence and promise of substantial success. The London Opera House was founded on a policy of good operatic presentation, and not upon one of attracting by means of singers of established fame. It has in fact made the fame of its principals, giving Mr. Hammerstein's New York discovery, Orville Harrold, tenor, his first adequate opportunity, and serving as the ladder of fame for Felice Lyne, a young and hitherto unknown soprano, who comes from Kansas City.

#### WHAT MR. HAMMERSTEIN TRIES TO DO

If Mr. Hammerstein has any "rules for success," he has neither preached them nor put them into a book for the edification of ambitious youth. He is not a moralist; neither is he an idealist, otherwise than in his desire to give, not like Barnum, the "greatest show on earth," but the *best* show. He does not unduly affect the artistic ideal, and takes no more pride in giving the best possible opera because it is good art than because it is good business. He is not obsessed with the thought that his reputation as the "Opera King" depends upon putting up a front of pretentious interest in operatic art and keeping business in the background. When his London Opera House was under way, and someone asked him if he was engaging singers for it, he answered, "No, I am engaging bricklayers."

If Mr. Hammerstein has anything that can be regarded as a fundamental principle of success, it is the use of a vast deal of common sense, which quality, we have been assured by an eminent English scholar, though of a different *degree*, is of the same *nature* as genius. Common sense is based upon a



THE LONDON OPERA HOUSE, MR. HAMMERSTEIN'S LATEST VENTURE

knowledge of common humanity. Highly cultivated and artistic humanity is not common, but rare humanity. Such a humanity is highly specialized and diversified, and if too far cut off from contact with the common life of common men, as is apt to be the case, it is animated by very particular and unshared wants, and more especially by untrue and fantastic notions of what men in the mass are. A popular appeal to cultivated men is practically a contradiction in terms. It is the man who sees in cultivated men the common thing, the thing common to all men, who understands the secret of a broad human appeal; that is, an appeal which shall include both men of cultivation and so-called common humanity.

## STILL A SHOWMAN

It may well be thought that Mr. Hammerstein's greatest source of power lies in this, that despite the fact that he is an "Opera King," dealing with society in its most brilliant aspect, he never for an instant forgets that even with these bediamonded box-holders, as well as with lovers of operatic art

for the art's sake, he must still be the showman, as in Harlem in the earlier days. There is no iota of difference in the principle of giving a high-class show to high-ups and a common show to common folk. A show is a show, and people are people, the world over. It is the same thing, in kind, that takes one man into a Harlem vaudeville and another into the Metropolitan Opera. The man who knows this is in a far better way of producing and maintaining successful grand opera than the man who expects to establish it on the basis of a devotion to operatic art. The artistic aspect will take its place in the scheme in due proportion, but if it is permitted to interfere with the broad principles of show-giving, it means certain failure.

Mr. Hammerstein has succeeded by the same law by which the projectors of the New Theater in New York have failed, just as iron floats by the same law by which it sinks—the law of displacement. Shape the very iron which otherwise would sink, into the form of a bowl or the hull of a ship, and it floats. And in the same manner, shape the very substance of art which in an abstract art sense would not be supported by the people,

into a show, conforming it to the laws of show-giving, and there will be no trouble in floating it.

Abraham Lincoln is the foremost American exponent of the principle which has guided Oscar Hammerstein to heights of power. Never to forget that however high one may rise one is still common man, i. e., *homo*, and that one's associates are common men in the same sense (whatever else they may be besides) is to possess the common sense that amounts to genius. One is greatly aided in the exercise of this principle by the happy circumstance of having risen from the people. The man born to riches, culture, and fashion is apt to find it easier to pass through the eye of a needle than to travel that difficult path which leads from such a condition to the understanding of common humanity. To be able to "rise from the people" at all implies the high development of certain individual qualities. In Mr. Hammerstein's case, these present themselves primarily in an extraordinary power and courage of initiative, coupled with an equally remarkable capacity to carry out large enterprises single-handed, at the same time keeping a grip on their every detail. His famous "Board of Managers," consisting entirely of himself, has furnished another theme for the cartoonists.

Not less noteworthy has been his power to perceive and grasp opportunity. This revealed itself strikingly in the establishment of the Manhattan Opera House in New York. For years the Metropolitan Opera House had been the battle-field of the forces of German and Italian opera. So long had these forces waged war in New York, and so long had the attention of the people been directed to that war as the only issue in opera, that the development of a remarkable opera and music-drama in France had been almost wholly overlooked. This latter-day French operatic art was represented neither by "Faust" nor "Carmen," which, with an occasional work by Massenet, were about the only French operas to be heard in New York. Mr. Hammerstein leaped into this breach with Charpentier's "Louise" and Debussy's "Pélleas et Mélisande," which, as the most striking and sensational productions of the new France, attracted national attention to him as a pioneer. To the potency of this action was added the brilliancy of the achievement of Miss Mary Garden in both operas. With other French novelties of opera, notably those of Bruneau and Massenet, and with the alluring vocal presentations of the old Italian

operas by Mme. Tetrassini, not to mention the excellent singing of his corps of artists throughout, including, Bonci, Renaud, Gili- bert, and Dalmores, Mr. Hammerstein's place as a power in opera was assured.

Should one seek to pin down the particular characteristics or methods which have enabled Mr. Hammerstein to command such great financial resources, he will find them distressingly elusive. The indefinable quality of genius enters here. It may be said, however, that he could never have accomplished such a thing in his field, had he lacked the qualities of strong practical common sense, coupled with reliability, initiative, daring, and the power to analyze situations and seize opportunities.

A series of successes such as those which Mr. Hammerstein has achieved would in themselves attract world-wide attention, without any added glamour derived from the personal element. To realize, however, that Mr. Hammerstein adds to his fame as a surpassingly successful man, a personal popularity as wide as two continents, is to gain a truer perspective upon his stature. Time was when ability sufficed to lift one to the highest stations in life. That, however, was in the dark ages that preceded the discovery of "personality." Miss Mary Garden tells us, that at the beginning of her career she was assured that "if she could provide the voice and the personality," there would be no difficulty in having the matters of education and training taken care of. The fundamental requirements to-day are similar for anyone engaging in an enterprise which appeals to the public, from politics to opera-giving. Mr. Hammerstein provided the "voice"—which may stand as a symbol of any primary gift or talent—and the personality.

The American of to-day admires the man who puts the game before the stakes. The true financial sportsman (not the stock-gambler, be it understood) has outclassed the scheming millionaire in the race for personality. The American is a "forty-niner" still, at heart, and Mr. Hammerstein has given him the greatest public exhibition of financial sportsmanship which he has seen in many a day. In a world of financial mystery and intrigue, his bold ventures have stood forth like oases upon a desert. It is small wonder that Oscar Hammerstein is hailed as a man of the time. He performs a service for the people. He fulfills the old American requirement of success. Beyond this, he provides in generous measure that which is peremptorily demanded by the new age—personality.



# MR. PULITZER'S IDEALS FOR THE COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

BY G. W. HOSMER, M.D.

[The late Joseph Pulitzer, prior to the making of his will, had set aside a fund of \$1,000,000 to be given to Columbia University for the establishment of a school for journalism. His will, which bears the date of April 16, 1904, ratifies this gift, together with a second bequest of \$1,000,000 to the university subject to certain conditions. In addition, the will creates certain prizes and scholarships, and names the members of an advisory board to which the direction of the school is to be entrusted. Many features of the project had been discussed by Mr. Pulitzer himself, and by journalists like the late Hammond Lamont of the *New York Evening Post*, but the actual realization of such plans as had been matured was deferred until after the founder's death. Meanwhile, in nearly a score of American universities, courses in journalism, which cover at least a part of the ground, have already been established. The University of Chicago was a pioneer in offering such courses, while at Cornell and Wisconsin similar instruction has been given for several years, and the Universities of Missouri and Washington each maintain a distinct professional school, providing a four years' course in the science and art of newspaper making. In these institutions newspapers are regularly edited and published by the students. In the following article Dr. Hosmer describes from intimate knowledge Mr. Pulitzer's ideals and purpose in creating this unexampled endowment at Columbia for the training of future journalists.—THE EDITOR.]

MR. JOSEPH PULITZER saw clearly and conscientiously the public relationships of the newspaper press and even held that in one aspect of the case the press stood alone. His words were: "It is not too much to say that the press is the only great organized force which is actively and as a body upholding the standard of civic righteousness. The press alone makes the public interests its own."

President Taft has said: "The close relation between journalism and politics and the carrying on of a government, no one who has been in the slightest degree familiar with the cause of popular government can ignore." He said further: "The press is essential to our civilization and plays an unofficial but vital rôle in the affairs of government." By the press Mr. Taft intended the newspaper press. His words parallel an earlier opinion of a famous statesman. Mr. George Canning, Prime Minister of England over eighty years ago, said: "He who, speculating on the British constitution, should omit from his enumeration the mighty power of public opinion, embodied in a free press, which pervades and checks and perhaps in the last resort nearly governs the whole, would give but an imperfect view of the government of England." Here are two interesting opinions—one declaring the vital part of the press in government, the other recognizing that in the last resort it is perhaps the controlling part.

"What is everybody's business," said Mr. Pulitzer, "is nobody's business—except the journalist's. It is his by adoption. But for

his care almost every reform would fall still-born. He holds officials to their duty. He exposes secret schemes of plunder. He promotes every hopeful plan of progress. Without him public opinion would be shapeless and dumb. Our republic and its press will rise or fall together. An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and a mockery." He thus added to the conception of the press as a great moral and intellectual force the conception that it is a disinterested force and is concerned only for the right—as this means for the public welfare.

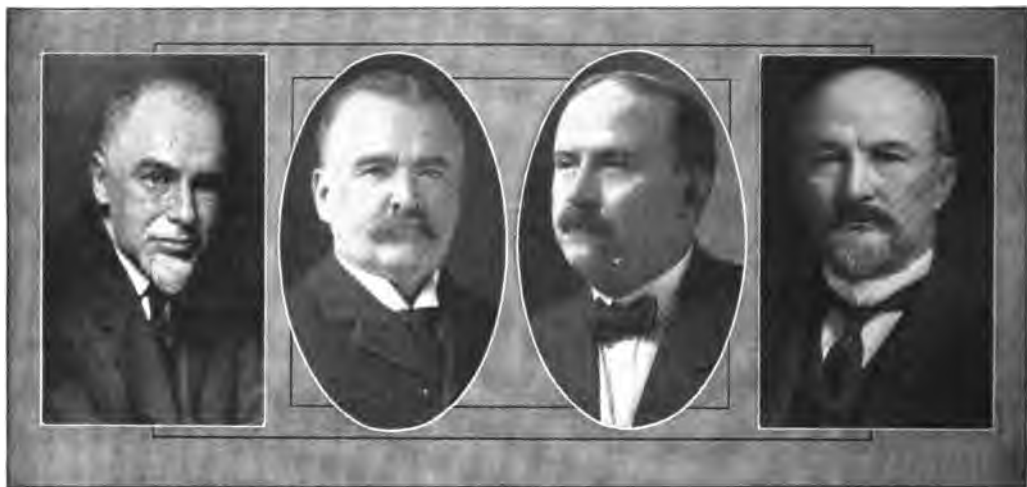
In the development of political history there will thus come forward, as the world has seen, agencies unknown to the constitutional system that may dispute supremacy with the recognized authority—and it is neither new nor strange that with us the newspaper press should assume that character. But the relation of the press to the government, great in influence already, will be greater in the years to come: and because of this fact the state of the press is a public concern. An agency that can be or become thus powerful in the state; that may through concentration of opinion and the development of ideas revolutionize the public policy—to which no extreme effect of influence is impossible—is an agency to be taken into consideration by thoughtful men; and every good citizen may naturally inquire, who and what are the men behind the agency



may wield all this power? Are the men who stand for journalism up to the level of this great responsibility? Mr. Pulitzer had this matter much in mind.

He had had a constant part in newspaper activities during forty-four years. He was a subordinate for thirteen years and a proprietor for thirty-one years. He had had forced upon his attention in all those years the qualities and aptitudes of the newspaper men of his time. He knew their superabundance of natural capacity, their invincible energy, their sagacity, wit, wisdom, humor; their proud spirit and integrity; but he had seen that the working value of all these attributes was everywhere diminished,—

of journalism. In this the proposition was to attain a public advantage by changing the old way of recruiting the newspaper forces—and providing a better way. Here the thought was to open a new opportunity to the young men of the country at the moment when they are looking about with some wonder as to the path by which they may make their way in the world, and to fix their attention at that critical time upon the possibilities of the newspaper craft or profession; to show the advantage of that pursuit, compared with law or medicine, or the engineering occupations; as demanding fewer years of preparation for a start, affording earlier remunerative opportunities, and leading ulti-



MR. E. P. MITCHELL  
(New York Sun)

MR. SAMUEL C. WELLS  
(Philadelphia Press)

MR. GEORGE S. JOHNS  
(St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

MR. C. R. MILLER  
(New York Times)

THE CHIEF EDITORS OF FOUR AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS WHO WILL BE MEMBERS OF THE  
ADVISORY BOARD OF THE COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM IN ACCORD-  
ANCE WITH THE TERMS OF MR. PULITZER'S WILL

sometimes destroyed,— for want of the training that is commonly regarded as a necessary condition of the practice of a profession. From all his experience as a reporter, a correspondent, a working editor, and a proprietor, he was convinced that the world of newspaper men did not stand on such a level as to make improvement impossible. He judged them sometimes for merely technical inadequacy, but oftener with regard to the larger obligations of an organization concerned in a great duty to the public. He thought that Congress, Senates, Legislatures and Courts may be filled with the small tools of political bosses, but the newspapers should be made by bigger men.

So came the thought of reform—and of the method—and the project of the school

mately to a full share in the prizes of life, in personal distinction, fame or fortune, and perhaps by doing this—to recruit the newspaper ranks with men prepared in a larger degree by education for their duties and animated by a high purpose. In every country the hope of the future is in that torrent of early enthusiasm that streams out of the schools on its way to the colleges: the high-minded boys—alert, clear-headed, ardent—who are to be the strong men of the future. The hope was to tap that grand source in favor of journalism, to divide all that vital energy and intelligence with the older professions, that the country might have the benefit of it through the press, and of course to provide a thoroughly sound instruction in all those things involved in journalism that

may be taught in a college—things that are technical as well as things of the larger scale in a well-digested scheme of education. The intention was to make the students thoroughly well-prepared men in every particular that is within the scope of well-planned instruction.

make the great man in any occupation; but they make the way easier for that man who is always exceptional, and they make the average man equal to average occasions; and the average man, as he is always with us, is upon the whole the more important



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(*Brooklyn Eagle*)

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(*Chicago Daily News*)

MR. CHARLES H. TAYLOR  
(*Boston Globe*)

MR. SAMUEL BOWLES  
(*Springfield Republican*)

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD OF THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM NAMED IN  
MR. PULITZER'S WILL

Much clamor of objection was raised against the proposition and the chorus was heard across the continent to the effect that you cannot produce in a school annual crops of great journalists. Nobody, however, had said that that could be done—certainly not Mr. Pulitzer. Professional schools do not

quantity. No school can give a man qualities. Mr. Pulitzer said: "No college can give imagination, initiative, impulse, enthusiasm, a sense of humor or irony. These things must be inborn. But would not such inborn qualities be developed and strengthened in the atmosphere of the proposed college?"

Is the most exacting profession of all, the one that requires the widest and the deepest knowledge, and the firmest foundations of character—to be left entirely to the chances of self education? Is the man who is everybody's critic and teacher the only one who does not need to be taught himself?"

Not much thought was given to this carping spirit. Whether certain things can or cannot be taught must depend upon the ability of the men designated as teachers; and it is for them to elaborate the plan. Perhaps this is a case for the genius that creates. As this function has been put into the hands of the scholastic authorities of a great university, with an advisory board, and as there is a science of pedagogy, all this may well be left with the men who have made the art of teaching the study of their lives.

Mr. Pulitzer contemplated the newspaper as in two parts only. That which dealt with the news was one part, the editorial page the other. All the strictly business aspect he did not consider—not because it was unimportant but because the many centuries of experience have put business principles on an indisputable basis: and they are the same for all occupations,—and have no peculiar relation to any one; and none at all to the conception of the newspaper as he understood it. He said: "News is the life of a paper. Give me a news editor who has been well grounded, who has the foundations of accuracy, love of truth, and an instinct for the public service—and there will be no trouble about his gathering the news. . . . News is the very life of the paper—but what is life without character? Above knowledge, above news, above intelligence, the heart and soul of a paper lie in its moral sense, in its courage, its integrity, its humanity, its sympathy for the oppressed, its independence, its devotion to the public welfare, its anxiety to render public service. To think rightly, to think instantly, to think incessantly, to think intensely, to seize opportunities when others let them go by—this is the secret of success in journalism."

His conception, therefore, involved the points of the well-organized service—the ever vigilant man at the head of it—and character and incorruptible integrity—as the controlling forces. He said: "I ought to confess that the editorial discussion of politics and public questions has ever been the matter of deepest personal interest to me."

And that indeed was his grand ideal of the newspaper press,—the phase in which it

touched public concerns,—its obligation with regard to the national welfare through its influence upon the minds of the people. He held it to be a part of the machinery of a democratic state, "unofficial but vital," as Mr. Taft phrased it. He saw that this relation grew out of the fact that in an age when the obvious impulse is to spread education into every corner of every country, the newspaper is the most prevalent and most potent of all the educational forces—and most helpful, as it rallies the people in support of purity in politics.

He differed entirely with several distinguished men who have recently argued that the editorial page has in recent years lost its influence with the people. He believed that that opinion was derived from the observation of a few notorious cases—where influence was lost because of public contempt.

For the American reader wants to know the reason of things. For him the editor is his "guide, philosopher, and friend," and he stands in a relation to him such as is not experienced by the citizen of any other country. For the American man does not merely want to know the reason from mere curiosity or from the abstract thirst to know; but he must know; it is a "categorical imperative" that he shall know. And why? Because he has to perform a duty to his country, his State, or his city. He has to vote; and he means to vote on the right side if he can find out which it is; and he builds his hope in that particular upon the editor of the newspaper that has gained his confidence.

There was in the proposition of the school always another hope. In all great pursuits there is developed among the men engaged in them the spirit of fellowship. Constrained by this, each man comes to feel that he is part of a whole greater than himself,—a whole that is animated by its own peculiar sense of dignity, probity, honor, its conscious or unconscious code of conduct;—and coerced by this *esprit de corps*—by the commanding sense of his relation to this aggregate will, the smaller motives and impulses of the person are corrected, and the man lives on a higher level. So it is with the army, the navy—with all the great professions. Association makes this change in a man.

If the school shall have the good fortune to associate in common studies an important part of the newspaper men of the future, who from all parts of the country may thus come to know and understand one another, that may be the greatest of its advantages.

# THE COLLEGE AND THE MAN

A LITTLE CHAPTER IN THE WINNING OF THE WEST

BY J. IRVING MANATT

A FEW weeks ago an octogenarian fell on sleep in a little Western college town. He left no fortune in this world's goods, no business in the rating of the street. But for full sixty years he had been a molder of men and a builder of the State. He was just an old-fashioned college professor, and his whole life was the sufficient vindication of the old-fashioned college.

It is as an object lesson that I want to recount in brief the story of Iowa College and its veteran professor, Leonard Fletcher Parker. The commonwealth of Iowa and its first college were alike fortunate in their founders. Indeed, it was largely the same men who founded both; and there was nothing accidental in either foundation. It was a deliberate transplanting of New England ideals and institutions.

Iowa offered new ground and excellent auspices for the New England experiment—I should have said the New England purpose. For, if the charter of the first New England was drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the charter of our New England commonwealth in the West was conceived under the elms of Yale and on Andover Hill. As early as 1837 seven students of the New Haven Divinity School had formed an association "to establish on a firm basis a college for the future State of Iowa"; and five years later they were reinforced by the Andover Band of eleven young men from the class of 1843 with a similar program. Thus three years before Iowa was admitted as a State, she had her learned and godly ministry occupying every point of vantage with their little New England churches and pondering plans for their New England college which actually opened its doors at Davenport before the State was two years old (November, 1848). How much this meant for the nascent commonwealth we may realize when we remember the early culture conditions on the Western frontier—when one great denomination had in that region "two hundred and eighty traveling preachers, and not a single literary man among them." These young men came in the heyday of youth and hope, eager for achievement and armed with the best culture



PROFESSOR LEONARD F. PARKER (1825-1911)  
(A distinguished pioneer in Iowa education)

of the old New England college (Harvard, Yale, Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth); and they had before them, as we now know, an average of more than forty years' service each to be built into the foundations of the fortunate new State. The last pair of them have but recently gone hence after more than sixty years' labor—one of them at one and the same post. It goes without saying that the molding power of such a group of men with a purpose was out of all proportion to the number or their years; and, if we must now seek the real New England not on the Atlantic seaboard, but beyond the Mississippi, it is largely because these men transplanted its ideals and institutions before the foreigner came in to replant its abandoned hills.

And the best of their plantings was the college. As their Iowa was but a fringe of civilization along the Mississippi (the so-called "Blackhawk strip," with its string of

river towns and a few settlements farther back), they must needs plant their college by the river; and there on the bluffs of Davenport, in a not altogether congenial atmosphere, its first ten years' tentative work was done. Meantime, another New England migration had prepared the fit setting and the ideal atmosphere for the college. The town of Grinnell was in a sense founded in New England. J. B. Grinnell, the *oekist-eponymus* of the town, was a Vermonter and a Middlebury graduate and the families that responded to his call came from all parts of New England.

#### NEW ENGLAND TRANSPLANTED

From the first breaking of ground on that high prairie in 1854 to this day, the community has stood for religion, education, and freedom; and if there is one genuine New England town still left us it is Grinnell. It banned the saloon by putting in every title deed a proviso of forfeiture if intoxicating liquors should ever be sold on the premises. It was a city of refuge for the oppressed—even when mobs of Boston merchants were enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law which Moses Stuart on Andover Hill had defended as founded on the bed-rock of Holy Scripture. It built its first church and had its church-bell ringing before half the people had any roof but that of the communal "Long Home" to shelter them. It set aside the proceeds of town lots sold to build a "university"; and, in fact, college walls were rising and on them men, who were building their own houses or breaking prairie for their first crops by day, would lend a hand by night while wife or child carried bricks or held the lantern.

#### A HALF-CENTURY'S ACADEMIC RECORD

So the walls were built, for the people had a mind to work; and it was no mere tale of bricks and mortar. For the man had come to prepare the way for the college. Two years after the settlement of the town, that is, in 1856, Leonard F. Parker and his accomplished wife cast in their lot with the new colony. Both were of New England stock, though graduates of Oberlin; and both possessed with the passion for human service. Young Parker—he was then thirty-one (it is significant how many of our commonwealth builders came in their early thirties) and had already established his reputation as a teacher—was at once placed in charge of the little high school and promptly began fitting pupils for the college that was to be. When Iowa

College removed to Grinnell in 1859 and took over these beginnings of "Grinnell University" (as the sanguine founder had named it), Mr. Parker was made its first principal, and afterwards, when the time was ripe for college work, its first professor; and for fifty-two years, with an interruption of seventeen years as Professor of History in the State University, he sustained that relation to the college. That is an academic record rarely equalled at the East and paralleled at the West only by those of Julian M. Sturtevant, of Illinois College, and James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin, each of whom served his college as teacher, professor, and president through well-nigh two average generations. In each case one man's memory covered substantially the whole history of his institution.

#### A COLLEGE PROFESSOR OF THE OLDEN TIME

But it is the spirit and temper of the man that tells. From the beginning he was our professor radiant. There was in his look something of the solar light. He was always seeking out "lads o' pairs" and setting them on the way to make the most of themselves. One such lad, now about to retire after forty years' service in the college, with an international reputation, writes of him a few days before his death: "He has retained the same radiant look which won my heart the first time I ever saw him. . . . He received me with the same genial courtesy that he did in 1859 when I appeared at his door, a green country boy seeking an education. No man could ever be more courteous than he was to me at that time. He took me into his already overflowing family, boarded and lodged me for a week and went with me to find a permanent home for the winter." How many lads and lasses, too, of those early days could tell the same story? The Parker heart was bigger than the Parker house, and both were always full to overflowing. He not only found us and helped us find ourselves; he followed us like an earthly Providence as we went our ways in the world. One of the least deserving of his pupils can recall hardly a joy or sorrow, hardly a success or defeat, in a long life that failed to win from him the quick word of sympathy or congratulation. It was that all-round humanity, that genius for friendship, that made him an inspiring teacher of youth, and in his old age the comforter to whom the whole community turned in times of trial.

He never suffered from academic anemia. In the early days he taught from eight in the

morning to five in the afternoon five days in the week and rode circuit as County Superintendent of Schools on Saturdays. It was a mystery when he found time to con his classics (he taught every class in Latin and Greek when both languages were required of every class throughout the college course as well as two or three preparatory classes); and yet old students still speak with kindling eye of the charm of his translations. Says the writer already quoted (and his life work has lain quite outside the classics): "How often have I called to mind his rendering of the death scene in *Agricola*. How his rendering of *De Senecula* so stirred my admiration that I called together my neighbors in the country and repeated to them the renderings that I got in the class-room." Could there be a better demonstration of the vitality of the old book and the young teacher! It was before the launching of the "College Fetish" and in the West, at least, the old studies that have enriched the culture of so many generations were not yet on trial for their life; but this old-fashioned professor vindicated them abundantly by the spirit of his teaching. The ancient scriptures as he opened them to us were full of lessons for modern life. Demosthenes' call to patriotism in the heroic Sixties seemed well-nigh as direct as Lincoln's. And when the Professor finally took the field at the head of nearly all the college boys, who were not already veterans, in the Campaign of a Hundred Days, he seemed quite in his element; as he did again when he sat in the Legislature of 1868, as chairman of its Committee on Education, and took an active part in securing the first law establishing the State's power to regulate railway rates.

#### SOMETHING BETTER THAN MONEY-MAKING

Possibly, he might have built up a big business, instead. His biographer tells us that he was left fatherless at four; worked out his own salvation on his mother's little farm in Western New York, with winter teaching for variety; and, entering college at twenty-one with a dollar in his pocket, graduated out of debt with a hundred dollars saved. That youth was proper father of the man who has probably given away more than the sum total of all his little stipends since he took office as principal at \$600 a year. For with all his getting of higher things, he was born with the Yankee genius for getting ahead; and one can only fancy what a big business he could have built up if he had had nothing

better to do. But he never had time to make money. That was but a by-product in a life devoted to human service wherever human need might call; and his endowments at Grinnell have enriched the college less than the devotion and the nobility of character he built into her earliest foundations. No mere man of business in the whole history of the State had his good right to say:

*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

#### THE COLLEGE AND ITS SERVICE

And the college he loved and served—has it justified itself as a business enterprise? In the day of small things, his faith sustained it. When he had laboriously fitted twelve young men for the first Freshman class, he saw three-fourths of them marching off to war—some of them to lay down their lives, none of them ever to take up college work again; but was not that a royal service in the very spirit of his teaching? Other vicissitudes there were, more inscrutable, as when on the eve of commencement in 1882 a furious cyclone swept the visible college from the face of the earth and mowed a wide swath of ruin and death through the town. The college was wiped out, but the work went on; and in eighteen months, thanks to the gifts that poured in from East and West, a far statelier college had risen on the ruins of the old; and to-day that college stands the peer in every essential of Amherst and Williams. It has sent some 1500 graduates into the world's work; and what censor shall discredit the average quality of their service? Among them there may have been a handful of ne'er-do-wells or worse; but the great body of them are men and women of light and leading in their communities, exercising a larger and wholesomer influence in virtue of their college training; and not a few among them occupy places of power at home and abroad and must be reckoned with among the molding forces of the generation. Some of them might have come into their kingdom without the college; but far more of them owe what they are to the door of hope and opportunity the college opened to them. As one of that class, I want to protest against this weighing of the college in the stock-yard scales. The making of men is a legitimate business, and the old-fashioned college with its old-fashioned professors carried it on very well. All honor to the College and the Man that wrought so effectively in-planting the great commonwealth between the great rivers!

# TWO MOULDERS OF MODERN BRITISH POLICY

BY W. T. STEAD

[Two of the most conspicuous personalities in English public life, at the present moment, are the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd-George, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey. In the following pages, Mr. W. T. Stead, whose information regarding the present Liberal Government is especially intimate, gives, first, the substance of an interview with Mr. Lloyd-George, on the morning after his notable exposition of the National Insurance bill; and, second, a brief character sketch of Sir Edward Grey, whose recent deliverances on the subject of England's foreign affairs have interested the whole world.—THE EDITOR.]

## I.—LLOYD-GEORGE AND SOCIAL REFORM: AN INTERVIEW

**I** BREAKFASTED with the Chancellor of the Exchequer at 11 Downing Street, on Thursday morning, December 14, 1911.

I was amazed when I saw him. He has just passed through perhaps one of the most trying ordeals that any British minister has had to pass through. During a long and protracted session he has had to fight his Insurance bill, clause by clause, through the House of Commons. The bill was one of innumerable details, involving the social life of the people at every turn. It was bitterly assailed by the interested classes, each of which fought for its own hand. In addition to his Parliamentary labors he had been continually receiving deputations, interviewing recalcitrants, negotiating difficult points with his adversaries, and defending his policy on the platform. To work sixteen hours a day through the whole of the session which was now closing is a record which Mr. Gladstone's heroic conduct of the Irish Land bill through the House of Commons affords the only parallel. Imagine then my amazement on finding Mr. Lloyd-George, instead of being worn to a shadow, in more robust health than I had ever seen him before. He was in the highest spirits, and instead of losing had put on weight.

### THE MAGNA CHARTA OF THE POOR

"The National Insurance bill," said Mr. Lloyd-George, "is the second great legislative measure by which we have attempted to grapple with what Mr. Carlyle called the 'condition of England' question. For years past statesmen of both parties have recognized the urgent need of dealing with the

amelioration of the condition of the people. There has been a spirit of vague discontent, the national conscience has been stirred from time to time, but hitherto our efforts have been more or less limited to sporadic voluntary efforts, with occasional attempts at legislative action. Pledges were given at election after election, but were never fulfilled. But now, seeing its opportunity at last, the Liberal Government has taken off its coat and is wrestling in grim earnest, and in its shirt-sleeves, so to speak, with the great evils from which the people suffer.

"Our first measure, of course you know, was the Old Age Pensions act, which secures for every necessitous old man and old woman in the three kingdoms on their seventieth birthday a pension of 5s. [\$1.25] a week. At the beginning that measure was regarded with considerable distrust. It seemed too good to be true to many of the old people, who at first would stand outside the post-office hesitating to go in for their 5s., fearing that 'somebody was making fools of them.' It was not until a year had passed that they fully realized the fact, which seemed to them almost a bewildering miracle, that as long as they lived they would receive 5s. a week from the national exchequer without being asked to pay one penny in return. After the first year, however, the popularity and success of that measure was so firmly assured that at the last general election the worst accusation that any one could bring against a candidate was that he was in favor of tampering with that first great article in the Magna Charta of the poor."

"How much does it cost now?" I asked.

"Thirteen millions sterling [\$65,000,000]



From the *Illustrated London News*

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE RECEIVING A DEPUTATION OF WOMEN INTERESTED IN THE INSURANCE BILL

per annum. That was our first contribution toward the solution of the great problem that confronted us. The National Insurance bill is the second."

#### THE COST OF INSURANCE

"How much is that going to cost?" I asked. "The National Insurance bill," said Mr. Lloyd-George, "unlike the Old Age Pensions act, is on a contributory basis. That is to say, whereas the old age pension is paid to any person who arrives at the age of seventy,

without his having made any contribution to the pension fund other than that of having paid rates and taxes during his long life, the Insurance bill is an attempt made by the state to compel workmen and employers to coöperate in a great insurance scheme for the benefit of the workmen. The state simply puts a premium, so to speak, upon the contributions of the employers and employed. That is to say, the workman pays 4d. [8 cents], the workwoman pays 3d. [6 cents], and the state adds 2d. [4 cents]. So far as the workman is concerned he pays 4d. a week and is



which he takes

#### THE MATERNITY BENEFIT

"What are the benefits of these benefits?" Mr. Lloyd-George: "The benefit that can be put in a nutshell. The workingman gets a week and the workingwoman gets a week. In return they are guaranteed the medical attendance when they are laid up. A man gets £1.37 a week for twenty-six weeks when they are off work owing to ill health. If they are men, or £1.37 per week if they are women, and if their malady is permanent and they are permanently incapacitated from earning a living they receive £1.37 a week until they are seventy years of age. Then they will gradually become old age pensioners and draw their £5 a week like other pensioners. In addition to this there is a maternity benefit of £5.50 for women at the time of their greatest need, and special provision is made for the cure of sufferers from consumption. What the bill aims at is to secure medical attendance for every man and woman in the land, to secure that he has a week when he is laid up by consumption, and for half a year, and £5 a week if he is permanently incapacitated."

#### THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONSUMPTION

"We have voted this year £1,500,000 for the beginning of a great campaign against consumption. This great White Plague has never before been grappled with systematically by the nation. We regard this as a campaign that is as much one of national importance as the resistance of a foreign invader. Provision is also made for maintaining these sanatoria, each of which will be a kind of base of operations against tuberculosis, and we are sanguine that before long we shall have done much to abate one of the greatest plagues which destroy the happiness of our physique, and threaten the life of our working population."

"The doctor, sick pay, the maternity benefit, and the campaign against consumption—any three of the four heads of your bill?"

#### WAR AGAINST THE SLUM OWNER

"There are four of the heads, but there are others, and one of the most popular of them, and that which is most frequently overlooked, is the provision which it makes for an organized campaign against slums."

"Possibly you do not put it sufficiently in the limelight," I ventured to remark.

Mr. Lloyd-George replied: "That is not my fault. Public attention has been preoccupied with one sensation after another; outbreaks of foreign war, risks of war nearer home, revolutions in China, etc., etc. There has been an endless succession of exciting incidents to distract public attention; hence the debate upon that provision of the bill which deals with slums failed to attract the attention which it will undoubtedly command. There are no greater contributory causes of ill health than insanitary dwellings. Insanitary dwellings have hitherto defied all the efforts that have been made to deal with them. Housing acts have been passed, stringent regulations have been made, but hitherto all our best endeavors have been baffled by the simple fact that the people who own the slums, the local builder and the owner of small house property, have been able to dominate the local authorities who have been charged with the administration of the sanitary acts. The Medical Officer of Health is employed by the local sanitary authority, and it is sometimes as much as his place is worth to make things unpleasant for the owners of slums who control his salary and are masters of the situation. In my bill for the first time we have a fair chance of laying the axe to the root of this upas tree."

#### THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

"Would you mind explaining," I said, "how the insurance of workingmen against ill health affects the slum-owner?"

"Nothing is more simple. The administration of the act is placed in the hands, primarily, of health committees, which are in future to be known as Insurance Committees, including the representatives of the Friendly Societies and medical men who are charged with the administration of the act and the distribution of the insurance benefits. If, in any area, the percentage of sickness rises above the average, so that the people resident in that area are drawing a disproportionate amount of money in the shape of sick pay, an inquiry will be made into the local circumstances, and should it be found that the excess of demand upon the fund is due to slum property, then the owners of that slum property will be liable under the act for paying the difference of what may be regarded as the average normal charge on the fund, and the excess brought about by the insanitary buildings from which they are drawing revenue."

## HOW IT WILL BE CARRIED OUT

"This is tremendous," I said, "but how on earth did you get that clause through?"

"Get it through?" said Mr. Lloyd-George. "I got it through without a division. It was one of the most interesting debates in the discussion in committee. Sir A. Cripps proposed to strike it out on the ground that it was a monstrous burden upon owners of property. It was asserted that the existing Sanitary and Building acts were quite sufficient, that local authorities had ample powers, and that there was no need for legislation. I was challenged to produce evidence of the existence of the evils which I alleged. I produced and read out to the House a list of local authorities in England and Wales as instances where they had failed to put into execution the powers with which they were vested. I was challenged as to my authority, and replied that the facts were taken from the reports of the Local Government Board. Lord Charles Beresford made one of the best speeches in the discussion. He began: 'What I want to know is this: Does this bill place the owners of slum property under discipline?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Then I am for it,' said Lord Charles Beresford. The result was that Sir A. Cripps withdrew his amendment and the clause passed. Thus we have now a self-acting check upon the existence of slums. Observe how simply and effectively it works. The Insurance Committee, which has to superintend the payment for medical advice and sick pay, finds that, say in Little Peddington, twice as much money is drawn from the funds, in proportion, as from other districts in the neighborhood. This is registered automatically in the shape of charges upon the fund. Now, when this automatic registration of excess reaches a certain point an inquiry may be obtained. After it is proved that the excessive ill health is due to insanitary property the owners of that property have either to put that property in order or pay the excess charge upon the insurance fund due to the condition of houses from which they have been drawing rent."

"A tremendous measure of centralization," I said.

"Yes," said Mr. Lloyd-George; "but the local authorities, left without effective control, have neglected their duty. Take the case of Harrogate, for instance, a fashionable watering place in the North of England, which I publicly pilloried for its neglect in certain instances to enforce the regulations of

the Health Committee. There was a frightful outcry, but I have no doubt that the result will be that Harrogate will set its house in order, and what Harrogate is doing all insanitary places will have to do when the act comes into operation.

"Our scheme is unlike the German scheme as it is based entirely upon the voluntary coöperation of the people. It is a great measure for the promotion of voluntary coöperation. The administration of benefits is left in the hands of the people themselves. Instead of undertaking, as in Germany, the direct administration of the scheme, the responsibility is thrown upon the shoulders of local committees, including representatives of Friendly Societies, upon whose shoulders rests the administration of the act. We found the whole of England covered with a network of Friendly Societies, the majority of which were actuarially insolvent, even upon their own balance sheets. We say to them: 'We will entrust you with the task of administering this act. We will subsidize you to the extent of twopence [4 cents] a week per head on condition that you collect the money from employers and employed, and that in three years you satisfy the state that you are actuarially sound. If we find that this is not the case you will either have to put a voluntary levy upon members in order to make good the deficiency, or your members will not be able to receive full benefits; it will be either increased contributions or diminished benefits.'

"If the act is properly administered, that is to say, if malingering is checked and proper supervision is taken, it ought to be perfectly possible for any Friendly Society to pay the benefits to its contributors. If, however, a society is negligent, then that society must pay the penalty, and its members must either increase their contributions or sacrifice part of the benefits which would otherwise accrue to them. Thus, you see, the scheme is not only one for providing that every working-man may be guaranteed against starvation when he is out of work, but it is a most tremendous engine for developing local responsible administration of the self-helping kind, and at the same time it provides an instrument for the destruction of slums."

## IS THE LAW POPULAR?

"What of the opposition to the bill?"

"The opposition to the scheme proceeds almost entirely from the articulate classes—that is to say, from the people whom you meet at dinner, the people who write in news-

papers, the people who have seats in the House, and, in general, those who have to contribute but who do not draw any benefits. Hence a great outcry, engineered for party purposes or to make a newspaper sensation. But I was very much impressed by the experience of my colleague, Mr. Birrell, the other day. He went down to Manchester and met at dinner the usual people whom a Minister of the Crown would meet at dinner—well-to-do people in good circumstances who looked more or less askance at a measure which placed increased expenditure upon them without any corresponding direct benefit to any one except their employees. He found them tepid in their enthusiasm, to say the least, and if they were not actually hostile they were critical and unsympathetic. After dinner he went down to a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall. The great building was crowded to the ceiling. Mr. Birrell was somewhat depressed and somewhat anxious as to the popularity of the bill, and with some fear and trembling he approached the subject by saying: 'Now we come to Mr. Lloyd-George's Insurance bill!' He was never more impressed in his life than when he found the whole audience spring to its feet and cheer and cheer again. He had never witnessed such a general and prolonged outburst of enthusiasm for any measure. I think you will find it so throughout the country among the people who will benefit. There will, of course, be a great deal of friction, but the people who benefit will soon realize the advantages which the scheme secures for them, and after that you will hear little of unpopularity."

#### THE MISTRESSES' AGITATION

"What about the servant girls' agitation?" said I.

"That was the hollowest bubble that has ever been pricked. I was immensely impressed by the deputation of mistresses and servants which waited upon me on the subject. I have never had a deputation in my life which impressed me more with its directness, its sincerity, and its admirable common sense. There was not a superficial word spoken by any woman there. One lady made a speech of two minutes, in which she went right to the heart of the thing in a manner which commanded my admiration and respect. The servant girls were extraordinarily intelligent, and although some of them came pre-armed against the bill, I had no difficulty whatever, by a course of question and answer, in convincing them that in producing

this measure we were looking after their own interests, and the interest of the servants was to support the bill."

#### NO PASSIVE RESISTANCE POSSIBLE

"Do you think," said I, "that there will be any passive resistance offered to the bill?"

Mr. Lloyd-George smiled. "No, I do not think so. Any employer who refuses to pay his weekly contribution renders himself liable to a civil or criminal process. Moreover, employers will soon realize—as they have realized in Germany—the great advantages that accrue to them from the increased efficiency and contentment of their workmen, and I confidently anticipate that here—as in Germany—the scheme will win their cordial support."

#### THE PENALTY ON SWEATERS

"You have mentioned the limit of £160 [\$800] a year, beyond which benefits do not apply," I said, "and you have special terms, I believe, for people earning very low wages?"

"Yes," said he, "that is a kind of fine, as you might call it, upon those who pay starvation wages. Where the wages are not 9s. [\$2.25] a week the workman pays nothing and the employer pays more. Where the wages are 15s. [\$3.75] and under the employer pays a heavier contribution. This operates against sweating and tends to raise the miserable condition of the very poor."

#### THE RECEPTION OF THE LAW

"Do you expect much hostility to the bill when it comes into operation?"

"No," said he; "what is going to be done is this: all the Friendly Societies are going to conduct a canvass of the country for the purpose of securing the greatest number of members. Each canvasser will become a trained missionary, as it were, who will expound the advantages obtained under the act in order to secure the adhesion of the greatest possible number, for the societies have a natural ambition to do as much business as possible and secure as many members as possible. When the first payments begin it is possible there may be a certain amount of friction, but after the scheme once gets under operation—after two or three years—the same thing will happen with this as with old-age pensions. The people who opposed it will try to hide their record by the vehemence of their support that they would never, never, never, no never!

interfere with the benefits secured for the working classes of this country by the Insurance scheme. You see," said Mr. Lloyd-George, "what Mr. Disraeli said was very true: There are two nations in every country, the rich and the poor. The rich are the articulate class, they command the means of making their complaints audible throughout the world; the poor are condemned to silence. Any measure like this that is introduced provokes the outcry of the articulate. It will be some time before we can ascertain the real sentiment of the people toward the measure, but I have no doubt as to the ultimate result."

#### WHAT IT WILL COST

"In cash," said I. "How does it work out in cash to the national treasury?"

"Old-age pensions, I told you, cost thirteen millions a year. The contribution of the state to the insurance fund, in full operation, which I reckon will be about eighteen years, will amount to about eight millions sterling [\$40,000,000]. That is to say, in our two measures of social reform the state distributes twenty-one millions [\$105,000,000] a year among the poorer classes of the community, which thus develops self-respect and accustoms them to the responsible exercise of civic duties."

"I have not referred to your unemployment scheme," I said.

"That is another branch," said he, "on which a good deal might be said. We have limited it at present to the engineering and building trades, which are subject to fluctuations. We shall see how it works. If it works well there, we may extend it."

"I see complaint is made against you that the introduction of the bill was not preceded by preliminary investigation."

"There could not be a greater mistake," said he. "I have made most exhaustive investigation, and studied the operation of insurance as it exists in Germany."

"What is the difference?" said I.

"The first great difference is that the state in Germany contributes only to the old-age pensions and sick insurance three millions [\$15,000,000] a year. The rest is entirely made up by contributions from the employers and the employed. In Germany, too, the administration is entirely in the hands of the state, and it is cumbersome and costly. What we claim for our scheme is that not a penny of the fund subscribed by the men goes toward paying salaries or expenses of state officials. These charges will be borne by the treasury. The fund will be entirely administered by the workmen themselves. After paying all the benefits I have mentioned, there will still be two millions [\$10,000,000] a year left to supply different benefits to be chosen by the workmen themselves through their societies."

#### STILL THERE'S MORE TO FOLLOW

In conclusion, Mr. Lloyd-George said: "We have at last made a beginning; we have started a campaign against the worst evils to be encountered, and we are going on. The campaign against tuberculosis is only one of a series of campaigns which will be taken up in due succession for the purpose of carrying out a great ideal for the amelioration of the condition of the people of this country."

## II.—SIR EDWARD GREY AND ENGLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

CONCEIVE a schoolmaster addressing a post-humous sermon to an audience composed of children into whom he has just been caning the rudiments of arithmetic or geography, and you will have before you a fair picture of the House of Commons listening to Sir Edward Grey during a debate on foreign affairs.

This description, by the "lobby" correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*, is hardly an exaggeration of the ascendancy of Sir Edward Grey in the present House of Commons. Whether it is deserved or not, this commanding position has been won by

the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It may be that he owes it as much to the ignorance and incompetence of his audience as to his own merits. That is open to discussion. The essential and indisputable fact is that in the House of Commons he is Sir Oracle, and when he speaks no dog dares to bark.

#### THE LORD OF ALL HE SURVEYS

No one probably regarded with more philosophic indifference than himself the

There is no denying the verdict, there is no denying the fact that Sir Edward Grey is in touch with everybody, that he is in touch with their physical and mental life. To begin with, he is in touch with men. No man can avoid contact with the Prime Minister. It has been said that in the Continent save for a visit to Paris, but that is an exaggeration. He is a home politician. That is why he was made Foreign Secretary. He does not matter so much to the world as he surrounded himself with men who are always to be found in touch with the world. He does cultivate the Englishmen who are in touch with the world. But he does not do this. He is of a reserved nature and does not easily reveal his feelings. In the House Sir Edward is a stranger. He is not always—but he is in touch with him. He is in touch with his own business and he will be in touch with yours.

of the world. He embodied a shrewd politician of twenty years ago of the statesman of the school of Pitt and Fox. He was a man who certainly does not represent the world perhaps he more at present than any other office if the world could be taken to the ways of the eighteenth century when it was possible for Englishmen to be Englishmen instead of being, as they are now, English, Americans, Africans, and Malays. He is resisting all temptations to be anything but English. Sir Edward Grey has succeeded in remaining an Englishman of the most insular breed. He is no worlder.

He has generous aspirations, but he is easily daunted in the pursuit of his ideals. He was zealous for the maintenance of the



From the *Illustrated London News*

SIR EDWARD GREY ADDRESSING PARLIAMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION  
ON THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

authority of the treaties of 1856, 1871, and 1878, when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and the Herzegovina without saying "by your leave" to the other signatory powers. But when his attempt to maintain the public law of Europe was thwarted by the German mailed fist he appears to have abandoned the cause of the public law of Europe as hopeless. When Italy followed and worsened the Austrian example by her brigand raid on Tripoli, Sir Edward Grey, like a burnt child who dreads fire, refused, in spite of all expostulations, entreaties, and menaces, to utter even the feeblest whisper of protest against the Italian violation of the treaties governing the Ottoman Empire. In like manner in 1906 Sir Edward Grey was most valorous in his declaration as to his determination to have the question of the limitation of armaments brought forward for serious discussion at the Hague Conference. It was in vain that he was warned that he was running his head against a stone wall; he declared that if the subject was not dealt with the conference would become a farce and the British Government would be the laughing-stock of the world. No sooner, however, did his ambassadors and underlings convince him that Germany would not take part in any such discussion than he made haste to forget all his pledges, and instructed his representatives to confine their efforts to the providing of a first-class funeral for the question of arma-

ments. To mention a third instance, Sir Edward Grey wrote a despatch on the Congo question which gladdened the heart of the Congo Reform Association. No sooner, however, did he discover that there were rocks ahead than he turned in his own tracks with a celerity which made Mr. Morel nearly expire with grief and chagrin.

LORD ROSEBERY'S UNDERSTUDY

Sir Edward Grey began his official career in a bad school. Lord Rosebery selected him as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Gladstone administration of 1892-5. It is not generally known that during Lord Rosebery's tenure of office he brought the country to the very verge of immediate war over a trumpery quarrel with France in Siam, an act of impolicy which even Sir Edward Grey now stigmatizes as a folly and a crime.

HIS MASTERS

It would be a mistake to imagine that Sir Edward Grey has any personal dislike of Germany to-day or had any of France in 1892-5. He is not a man of prejudices, personal or national. He is a cold man, somewhat colorless, and therefore the better able to take on, like a chameleon, the hue of the tree to which he clings. He is fortunately surrounded by

advisers who are sane and sound on the subject of the Russian *entente*. Therefore all the clamor of the Semitic Russophobes, who for the moment are masquerading as Persian sympathizers, leaves him untouched. He is unfortunately served by certain diplomats and bureaucrats who are notoriously dominated by Germanophobia. Hence he became an easy prey to the astute statesmen of Paris, who in the recent crisis made him the willing instrument of their policy.

#### THINGS TO HIS CREDIT

On the whole, Sir Edward Grey may be commended for doing two things which are a set off against many disappointments in other directions. He backed Lord Fisher for all he was worth when Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Winston Churchill were for cutting down the naval estimates. That is the first thing. The second is that he has never wavered for an instant in maintaining intact the Edwardian inheritance of the Anglo-Russian *entente*. He may have risked the peace of Europe by his *entente* with France. He certainly has maintained the peace of Asia by his *entente* with Russia.

Sir Edward Grey is a tall, spare, clean-shaven man, who has the House of Commons manner to perfection. He is a poor speaker on the public platform—lacking magnetism and fire—but in his place in Parliament he is irresistible. Part of the secret of his power is that he is not often in his place in Parliament. He never makes himself too cheap. He delegates as much as possible the answering of questions to his Under-Secretary, and when he does answer interpellations he is sparing of words and still more sparing in the imparting of information. He holds himself aloof from the rank and file. He is not "hail fellow, well met!" with any but his narrow circle of intimates. Lord Haldane worships him as the greatest foreign minister since Pitt, and the *Westminster Gazette* is his faithful, not to say obsequious, organ. Sir Edward Grey himself said, some years ago, that "of all personal considerations there was nothing stronger with him than the desire to work with, coöperate with, and keep in touch with Lord Rosebery." But this desire, like many other aspirations of Sir Edward Grey, has long since ceased to be a governing principle.

#### A POLITICAL WHITE OF SELBORNE

The one thing to which Sir Edward Grey has always been faithful is his love of the

country life. When I first met him, many years ago, I told him I had always heard he might some day be Prime Minister if he were not so passionately devoted to salmon-fishing. To be a second White of Selborne is much more in accordance with his natural sentiments than to be the gramophone of the bureaucracy of the Foreign Office. He is happier in the fields and beside a trout stream than he is in the Foreign Office or in the House of Commons. An enthusiastic naturalist, he probably enjoyed nothing so much of late years as the excursion he took with ex-President Roosevelt into the New Forest for the purpose of observing the birds of that as yet unspoiled region of woodland Britain. He is fond of cricket and an expert player of lawn tennis.

#### HIS VIEWS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

He was devoted to his wife, whose tragically sudden death has not prevented the persistence of her influence over her husband's mind, for he is one of the staunchest advocates of woman suffrage in the cabinet, which is hopelessly divided on the question. In 1892 I asked him, "Are you in favor of woman suffrage and of making the law quite color-blind as to sex, so that women may take any position they are qualified to fill, whether in Church or State?" Sir Edward Grey answered, "Yes," without any qualification. But when it comes to putting this heroic resolution into practice, I confess I have my doubts whether Sir Edward Grey would stand to his guns.

#### THE VICES OF HIS VIRTUES

In conclusion, Sir Edward Grey is an honest man, who, if surrounded by men equally honest in the embassies and in his own department, would probably be the best Foreign Minister available. But, conscious as he is of his own ignorance of foreign nations, and ill informed as he has repeatedly shown himself to be in the vital facts of important questions with which he has to deal, he relies upon his *entourage*, which is anti-Liberal, anti-German, and anti-Democratic. He is sincerely desirous of peace, but too timid to do anything to maintain it, if the doing of it exposes him to the remonstrances of Sir Francis Bertie and the veiled menaces of France. He is incapable of intrigue, but he is liable to be politically blackmailed by those who are unscrupulous enough to take advantage of his weaknesses and his virtues.



SITE OF THE PROPOSED LETCHWORTH PARK ARBORETUM

(About 500 acres of open meadows and fields formerly cultivated, bordered by native or planted forest.)

# A GREAT LIVING TREE MUSEUM

THE LETCHWORTH PARK ARBORETUM

BY CHARLES M. DOW

(Trustee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and Director of Letchworth Park and Arboretum)

THE American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society has now under way, and will soon establish, a great arboretum at Letchworth Park, in New York State. It will be a collection of the valuable timber trees of the world and will be the first of its kind. Needless to say, its contribution to the cause of forest conservation in the United States will be of great economic and scientific value. Those who visit Letchworth Park after its arboretum has been established will see planted singly and in groups specimens of every important tree species with which experiment under local conditions of soil and climate is justified by reasonable promise of success. Visitors will thus have ample opportunity to study the value of trees of many kinds for ornamental planting and for landscape purposes. But the object lesson of enormous economic significance, which will lie spread before their eyes, will be blocks of planted forest, in each of which will have been set out one or more kinds of trees of commercial importance.

In each of these blocks, irregular in form, each an acre or more in area, and set out with due regard for landscape and color effects,

planting will be so close as rapidly to establish forest conditions, so that Letchworth Park will contain in miniature a forest of a richness and variety which can be witnessed nowhere else on the globe. When this experiment is completed, the visitor can pass over winding forest paths, through forest growth in which will mingle the valuable commercial trees of the South, the far West, of Europe, and from little-known quarters of the world, which find at Letchworth Park the climate and soil suited to their needs. Here the visitor will be able to see growing, not singly on a lawn, but planted so as to form an actual forest, trees of whose existence he may not even have known, but whose practical value for forest-planting in the United States may still be exceedingly high.

Thus this arboretum will be of interest not merely to the professional forester, but the land owner who contemplates tree planting will find within it a wonderful field of observation and study in reaching a wise decision in the selection of species and mixtures, for there will be available to him upon an area which can be easily covered in a leisurely afternoon's walk, a sample case, so to speak,



from which to make his selection of species for forest planting upon his own lands.

#### HISTORY OF LETCHWORTH PARK

In 1859 William Pryor Letchworth, a citizen of Buffalo, New York, while in his young manhood and riding on the crest of prosperity, sought a place close to nature where he could withdraw from the cares and distractions of business. After much travel and search, he acquired the property long known as "Glen Iris" at the Upper Falls of the Genesee River near Portage, in the State of New York. Even at that period he realized that the fullness of life is in what one gives rather than what one gets, and it was here, sitting under the rainbow that suggested the name of "Glen Iris," that he found the quiet and repose in which he developed those broad ideas of philanthropy which led him eventually to withdraw from business altogether and devote his life to that noble work for the unfortunate which makes his name one to be revered.

The place Mr. Letchworth chose was not

then in its pristine loveliness, as the lumberman's axe had partially denuded the landscape and left a scar upon the face of Nature which needed the healing art of the physician. He at once set himself to the task of restoration. He removed the débris, reforested the denuded areas, and in other ways restored the natural conditions. But he did more than simply restore, and with singular art and judgment, without violating Nature, he built paths and roads, and bridges and arbors and shelters, so that others might come and freely share the delights of this charming place, and made it one of the great show places of the Empire State. Looking forward, then, to the time when he could turn his perfected gift over to his fellow men for their perpetual enjoyment, he added to his acquisitions until he was the owner of about a thousand acres on either side of the river, embracing the three famous Portage Falls of the Genesee and the wonderful gorge cut by the river.

In these environments, with vivid imagination and intense sympathy, his thoughts pictured the life of the aboriginal owners. Here a race, now nearly extinct, once had lived in undisputed proprietorship. Their life was crude and simple, but it was *human* life and represented the childhood of the race. There were human pathos and poetry in their history, and Dr. Letchworth set about to bring back something to remind the present-day visitor of that period, long gone.

He erected a museum and gathered in it specimens of implements used by the Indians in their daily life. Here, in objects of stone and wood and metal, their history can be traced, from the primitive days before the advent of European civilization, through the pioneer days to their practical retirement from the banks of the Genesee. Here is the original Council House in which the natives held many of their deliberations, and here it will remain for years to come, a reminder of the Long House of the Iroquois and of the development which made them the most remarkable aboriginal people north of the Rio Grande, and here finally he brought for reverent sepulture the remains of Mary Jemison. The last time Dr. Letchworth appeared in public was in September, 1910, at the unveiling of a beautiful bronze statue of the white girl who grew to advanced womanhood, living a life of sacrifice among the Indians.

Soon after his purchase of Glen Iris, Mr. Letchworth erected his mansion on a broad plateau overlooking the Middle Fall and much of the beauty of the place. In this retreat, where his quiet was undisturbed save



ROADWAY TO "GLEN IRIS," THE PARK MANSION



THE LOWER FALLS OF THE UPPER GENESEE, ONE OF THE SCENIC FEATURES  
OF LETCHWORTH PARK

by the sound of flowing waters, the wind in the trees, and the singing of the birds, he lived, not as a hermit, but in full sympathy with the outside world, and made this place the radiant point of his many benefactions. Out of this idealistic home, this artist's, poet's dream, this place of generous welcome, exalted thought and sweet intercourse with friends, this man of mild manners and methods went with determined persistence to the relief of suffering humanity.

#### A PLACE OF RARE SCENIC BEAUTY

Within a distance of three miles, all within the park, the river plunges over three falls which, with their intermediate cascades, have an aggregate descent of 290 feet, and flows through a remarkable gorge with almost vertical sides 350 feet high. The name "Portage" indicates the place of transport where the aborigines and early settlers carried their canoes, bateaux, and goods between the still waters above and below the falls, and in turn has been given by geologists to the group of Upper Devonian strata which have been exposed in such an extraordinary way by the cutting of the stream. The scenery here

is extremely varied and picturesque, with frowning cliffs, dark retreats, shadowy forests, and roaring cataracts, contrasting with the open plateaus, smiling meadows, fruitful orchards and tinkling rivulets. It is a place in which a Thoreau or a Bryant would have taken delight. In water landscape and natural grandeur it is ranked second to Niagara among the beauty spots of our Eastern States. A distinguished botanist, George W. Clinton, a son of former Governor De Witt Clinton, once wrote: "Glen Iris possesses a greater variety of flora than any other equal area in the State of New York."

#### GIFT TO THE STATE OF NEW YORK

In the summer of 1906, feeling the weight of years, Dr. Letchworth invited the counsel of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society as to the final disposition of his property. It was the privilege of the writer of this article to assist in the negotiations which culminated, in 1907, in the gift of this superb property to the State. Dr. Letchworth retained a life tenancy of the estate which was terminated by death on December 1, 1910. A condition of the gift was that the

permanent custody of the property should be with the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. The property is, therefore, now in the care of the custodian society, which, during the months which have since elapsed, has been formulating plans not only for the general treatment of the park, but also for the establishment of an arboretum in line with the general plans discussed with the donor before his death. In connection with this work, the writer has visited the principal arboreta of Europe and the far East.

#### THE DEMAND FOR REFORESTATION

The opportunity presented for this arboretum is a timely one and fits well in the movement for the conservation of our natural resources. It is a case in which the movement for the protection of historic landmarks and beautiful scenery lends itself to distinctly utilitarian ends. During the nine years in which the so-called conservation movement has developed from the germ idea expressed by Theodore Roosevelt before the Society of American Foresters on March 26, 1903, the people of New York State and the nation at large have awakened to the alarming consequences of the almost unrestrained denudation of our forests, and the fact that, unless measures are taken to check it and to promote reforestation, the State is threatened with the complete obliteration of her unprotected forests within a short period. We have the assurance of the Secretary of Agriculture that substantially the same thing can be said of the country at large.

The situation should be, and to the thinking person, is startling. One reason why it has not startled us before is that the disappearance of the forests has been gradual, from generation to generation, and no one generation has seen it all. Another reason is that a very large proportion of our population now resides in cities and takes little cognizance of the changes which have taken place outside of the city walls. If these forests had been destroyed by some great tornado or fire all at once, we should have been more generally impressed with the calamity of the loss; the loss, however, is none the less real because of our gradual awakening to it.

In this loss there has been a concomitant loss in connection with our streams and our climate, for Nature is so intricately organized that she cannot suffer in one direction without being affected in her operations in another. In the removal of the forests the flow of our streams has become spasmodic,

converted into trickling rivulets in one season and destructive torrents in another. These facts give vital importance to the conservation movement, and any agency which tends to help this movement along in a practical way, therefore, is a power for the public welfare, and such an agency will be this arboretum.

#### FUNCTION OF THE ARBORETUM

The principle upon which the Letchworth Park Arboretum is established is that it shall consist of a permanent collection of the various species of the world's timber trees likely to thrive in this northern climate, planted scientifically, to test their value and illustrate the processes of development, so supplying not only knowledge for knowledge's sake, but also knowledge for practical use.

It is intended that the value to the State and the nation of the arboretum will not consist merely in a demonstration, clear to every eye, of the results which may be expected from forest plantations of many different kinds of trees. The possibilities of the arboretum for extending our exact knowledge of tree growth will also be fully developed. In each of these miniature forests systematic and skilled observations and records will be made. The growth of the trees will be measured periodically, their liability to disease will be noted and their capacity for seed bearing, their behavior in pure stands and in mixture, their influence upon the forest floor, and other practical considerations bearing upon their value for commercial tree planting will be carefully observed and recorded. By this means the Letchworth Park Arboretum will aid materially in laying an exact scientific basis for the successful extension of practical forestry in the United States. Every practical step will be taken not only to insure results of the highest scientific value from forest work at Letchworth Park, but also to develop its usefulness as an object lesson to all park visitors. Circulars describing in plain and definite language the experiments in forestry being carried on will be made available for distribution, while labels and placards will facilitate the identification of trees in the arboretum.

The function of the arboretum, therefore, is obvious. In one sense it is a living museum; in another, it is a laboratory; but it is both; out of doors, on a large scale, and the discovery or demonstration of a fact there, made within a small area, is a benefit to the whole of mankind.

The part of the park which will be de-



LAWN IN FRONT OF "GLEN IRIS"

voted to the arboretum consists of about 500 acres, formerly used for agricultural purposes, being well-drained, cultivated open meadows and fields on various levels, bordered by either planted or natural regenerated forests. In the already existing forests demonstrations of economic planting in open spaces will be made and varieties of wild flowers will be sown.

In addition to the topographical conditions, the atmospheric conditions at Letchworth Park are unusually favorable for an arboretum, and it is more favorably located in this respect than the gardens near large cities, which are affected by the city smoke and vapors. Indeed, no arboretum in or near a large manufacturing city can thrive as it should. The nearest large cities to Letchworth Park are Buffalo and Rochester, each about sixty miles away, and Hornell, twenty miles to the south, and the atmospheric conditions are ideal. The elevation above the sea level is about 1300 feet.

Incident to the arboretum will be constructed a fireproof museum, library, and

educational building, equipped with a practical working forest library and planned for a later and larger development.

#### THE MEN IN CHARGE OF THE WORK

The committee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society in charge of the property and its operations are: Prof. L. H. Bailey, Ithaca, N. Y., Dean of the Agricultural College of Cornell University; Hon. Robert L. Fryer, Buffalo, N. Y., financier, former Commissioner of the State Reservation at Niagara; Francis W. Halsey, New York City, historian and author; Wolcott J. Humphrey, Warsaw, N. Y., banker; Hon. Thomas P. Kingsford, Oswego, N. Y., capitalist and Commissioner of the State Reservation at Niagara; Henry Leipziger, Ph.D., LL.D., New York City, Supervisor of Lectures of the Board of Education of the City of New York; Ogden P. Letchworth, Buffalo, N. Y., manufacturer, nephew of William Pryor Letchworth; Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York City, lawyer, former Comptroller of New

York City; Col. Henry W. Sackett, New York City, lawyer, Trustee of Cornell University; Charles D. Vail, L.H.D., Geneva, N. Y., Professor Emeritus of English; together with the writer as chairman, who is also Director of the Park and Arboretum. The president of the society is George F. Kunz, Ph.D., Sc.D., New York City, a man of international reputation and honors as a scientist; the secretary is Edward Hagaman Hall, L.H.D., New York City, historian and antiquarian, who has done and is doing most effective work for the preservation of the Adirondacks.

The society has been fortunate in attracting the interest of Overton W. Price, of Washington, D. C., vice-president of the National Conservation Association, who has been entrusted with the establishment of the arboretum. Mr. Price is one of the best-known living foresters. He is a graduate of the Forest School at Munich, Bavaria, and

his training in forestry was acquired both by study in this country and by nearly three years' work abroad, under the direction of the late Sir Dietrich Brandis, former Inspector-General of the Forests of India. Mr. Price was for ten years Associate Forester of the United States, and has been a great factor in the conservation movement. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, former Chief Forester, has expressed his deep interest in the Letchworth Park Arboretum and his willingness to aid in developing its fullest capacity for public usefulness. Mr. George B. Sudworth, the eminent dendrologist, has generously consented to aid the work by his most helpful counsel.

It is an unusual combination of circumstances which presents this opportunity for developing a beneficent gift in a practical and useful way and which should lead to results of far-reaching importance, not only to the State of New York, but also to the national welfare, extending through the centuries.



ENTRANCE TO WOODLAND DRIVES AND RAMBLES

# THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES: ARE THEY IN PERIL?

BY ROSA PENDLETON CHILES

ONE of the chief functions of any government is to preserve its archives; it is in the business of government for that purpose. Handling the people's affairs, it can only fully protect their interests and its own integrity by carefully guarding its records. Yet the preservation of the government archives has received scant consideration in Congress. In consequence of this neglect many losses have occurred, and the present condition is such that at any time a fire might sweep away papers the loss of which might seriously embarrass the Government. One has but to visit the storehouses of American state papers to discover the deplorable conditions that subject them to loss not only by fire but in many other ways. A general survey will give some idea of what is meant.

The scattered material, without uniform system in arrangement, at once impresses the searcher among government papers. There are more than twenty departments, commissions, and governmental establishments, and these are divided into numerous bureaus and offices, which, in turn, are separated into almost innumerable divisions and branches, and the history of many of them is confusion worse confounded. Departments have been reorganized, bureaus transferred, old bureaus abolished, and duties newly distributed. In some cases the papers dealing with the business of an office are kept together, in others they are distributed among bureaus, divisions, and minor branches, making almost countless file-rooms in which methods of filing and indexing differ wholly.

The bewildering mass of material handled in these diverse ways increases the danger of loss and hampers officials in the expeditious management of the work. In the Treasury Department there are said to be one hundred miles of shelving, and it is estimated that in this department alone there are enough papers to fill the Library of Congress twice. Since 1896, the department has been renting buildings for the storage of its records, which accumulate at the rate of 25,000 cubic feet yearly. The files of the War Department, excellently cared for by the way, occupy nearly a hundred rooms in the State, War and

Navy Building and more than 40,000 square feet of floor space in the Army and Navy Medical Museum, Ford's Theater Building, and two buildings on Seventeenth and G streets. The volume may be judged by the weight. There are said to be more than a thousand tons of the records of the volunteer forces alone. The records of the General Land Office, if placed end to end in a wall six feet high, would reach from Washington to New York.

The Post Office Building, the Pension Office, the Patent Office, and, for that matter, all the government buildings at Washington, contain many tons of material. The storing and filing of so much matter is necessarily a serious problem. Buildings become overcrowded, new ones are rented, attics and basements are filled, and time is lost in finding papers that involve great affairs. In the moving of files from one building to another losses occur, and papers on a single subject are separated. The territorial archives may be taken as an example of this. A portion of these papers is in the State Department, another portion in the Department of the Interior, while a third is believed to have been lost in being moved from one department to the other. The papers of the Indian Office are also believed to have suffered great loss in their transfer from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. Sometimes papers are temporarily transferred for particular purposes from one office to another and never returned. This happened to a considerable mass of material sent from the War Department to the Capitol many years ago. High officials are frequently careless in returning papers and books sent to them from a particular office.

The archive depositories in Washington are numerous and disorganized, and but few, if any, are suitable storage places for the government papers. In some the manuscripts are disintegrating from the effects of heat or moisture. A leak in the roof came near causing the total destruction of certain valuable records in the Navy Department some time ago. They were stored in a closet under the leak, which was not known until the



Alaska, the payment of \$20,000,000 in four warrants of \$5,000,000 each to Spain for the Philippines, and the payment of \$40,000,000 to the French company for their rights in the Panama Canal. As claims against the Government never run out there might be serious embarrassment if any of those papers should be lost.

The archives of the Treasury as a whole involve more than those of any other department because they represent all the financial interests of the Government, and practically all, except the securities, which are in vaults, are in danger.

Take the Secretary's files. They are nearly all, except those of very recent date, stored in the attic of the Treasury Building, stacked on open wooden shelves to the ceiling, covered with dust and subjected in summer to heat that might cause spontaneous combustion. The only way to reach them is by a rickety stairway scarcely two feet wide, and the fire department would never penetrate here to any purpose. There are no windows through which they might come, only small, infrequent skylights. The flare of a match and the whole would probably be gone.

Every cent paid out by the Government through all of its departments and commissions is receipted for in the Treasury. Every voucher for every cent disbursed is under its custody. There are millions of them representing an amount that cannot be estimated, and yet these vouchers are stored in non-fireproof buildings, on wooden shelves, where they may at any time be destroyed. Most of them are in places so dark that an electric lantern has to be used to find them. Some are in damp cellars subject to moisture and mold, some are in attics undergoing dry combustion. Many thousands are in a storage warehouse on E Street, in what are known as the Winder Building, the Union Building, and the Cox Building. The first three purport to be fireproof, but two of them have been in question for some time, and the Cox Building has never pretended to be fireproof. Many of the files of the Auditor for the Treasury Department are twenty feet under ground. A party of New York architects came to Washington a few months ago to improve the Treasury Building and they conceived the idea of utilizing some old coal bins under the grass plot on the north front for archives. Larger excavations were made and the whole fitted with steel shelves at a cost of about \$10,000, and most of the Auditor's papers and some of the Treasurer's were placed here. The records stored here will

undoubtedly suffer from mold in time, even if they are not actually destroyed by water. Steam pipes run through the rooms now, but the writer found them exceedingly damp and cold. Under these conditions the papers furnishing all the protection the Government has against claims of various kinds are kept. Almost every day some claim comes in. Congress, for instance, has passed sixteen remedial measures for old soldiers. Only last year one of these acts placed 200,000 Civil War claims before the Treasury. These all have to be hunted down and the Government's only protection lies in its papers. About a year ago a claim for \$165,000 came in, and it was with difficulty that all the papers bearing upon the case were finally found.

#### THE FIRE PERIL

The files of the Treasury have suffered severely from fire. In 1801 there was some destruction, in 1814 the Register's office lost heavily, and in 1833 the correspondence of the Secretary's office was burned. If a fire should occur now, the loss would be irreparable. The Director of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving gave to a sub-committee of Congress some time ago a hint of what might happen if the building in which his bureau is operated should be destroyed by fire. "I have lain awake at night," he said, "thinking of what terrible disaster would occur if this building should be destroyed by fire. This Government would be practically in a state of bankruptcy, with no postage stamps, internal revenue stamps, money to redeem circulating notes, no national banknotes; and for a long time the national banks could not avail themselves of any increase of circulation. It would take a year to get started up again and engrave the plates and prepare them." Fortunately the director of this bureau is an extraordinarily careful man, but with a less cautious person the disaster of which Director Ralph speaks might easily occur. It is an appalling fact that the Government has no adequate laws in regard to protection against fire, no fire inspection, and no fire insurance; everything depends upon the individual care of the man at the head of a bureau or office.

#### INDIAN TREATIES

In the Indian Office are papers of great historical value,—papers giving an excellent authentic account of Indian life, treaties with the Indians, and autograph letters of nearly



all the Presidents. The writer came across a manuscript restorer putting in shape a report of the Secretary relative to a treaty with the Menomonees in Michigan Territory in 1831. The paper was in bad condition and very friable. This same restorer spent months in reclaiming a more important paper which had been torn into bits by being caught in a drawer. Every time the drawer was opened the manuscript was torn until it was a mass of small pieces. This is what the Government has to pay for its carelessness in preserving valuable documents.

#### RECORDS OF LAND PATENTS

The General Land Office, created in 1812, was at first under the Treasury Department, but in 1849 was transferred to the Interior. All the land patents dating back to 1792 are here,—that is, all that are in existence. In 1814 the military warrants located and patented and the certificates relating to purchased land that had been patented were burned. There are at present 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 files in this office, and the number is rapidly increasing, as may be judged by the fact that last year 72,589 patents were granted. This office has been said to contain the "Domesday Book of the Public Domain of the United States." Supervising, as it does, all the business involved in the surveys, disposition, and patenting of the public lands, and holding the records of title to all of the public domain, it is one of the most important offices under the Government. Its thirteen divisions are at present housed in the old Post Office Building. Nearly all of the basement of this building is given to the storing of old records. Room after room is filled from floor to ceiling, with only space to pass between the stacks of open shelves. It is so dark here that electric-light bulbs have to be carried to every crevice. The rooms are divided by stone walls, but the thousands of records in each would burn if the least carelessness were exercised. The crowding is such that it is well-nigh impossible to afford accommodation for consulting the files. The remaining space will be exhausted in two or three years; then, if no saving provision has been made, the Government will have to rent storage buildings.

#### THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The records of the Geological Survey are in the most perilous state, as the conditions in the building occupied by this bureau are

the worst in Washington. It is not as rich in historical material as some of the other offices of the Government, though there are to be found here original surveys extending back to the time of Lewis and Clark, and non-replaceable records and books that it would be a calamity to lose, but the current material is of immense value. In 1906 Director George Otis Smith made an estimate of the material of his bureau subject to destruction by fire, and this matter, consisting of unpublished manuscripts, base maps, original records, unfinished drawings, indexes, and so forth, exclusive of the library, which in itself is worth commercially a half-million dollars, amounted to \$2,573,300. The value of such material is much greater to-day. There is no Government bureau so greatly in need of better quarters as the Geological Survey. The officials count upon having about three fires a year, nor do they fall far short of their expectation. Their losses have already been considerable, but good fortune has so far saved them from the calamity that is almost bound to come unless they are better provided for soon. Many papers of the Interstate Commerce Commission are stored in the basement of this building.

#### OFFICIALS NOT AT FAULT

It would be impossible in the space of a magazine article to describe the condition of all the valuable papers of the Government, but one can easily imagine what might happen if the papers of the various departments and outside commissions should be destroyed, and it is safe to say that, with the exception of the few cases in which steel shelving and fireproof vaults and safes are provided, all the papers are in danger. Executive officers should not be blamed for this, for as a rule it is their faithfulness and caution that afford the only protection given to the government papers. There is no law and no appropriation covering the need, and, with careless men at the head of the Government, grave disaster might follow. Men vary in a sense of responsibility and it is remarkable that so many have been found to guard as carefully as circumstances admit the valuable papers in their custody. But even the most faithful public servant is limited by the means placed in his hands, and, as a rule, it has been only by careful saving out of lump-sum appropriations that the heads of departments or bureaus have been able to afford even the inadequate protection that is now given to the government records.

#### THE DEMAND FOR A NATIONAL ARCHIVES BUILDING

There are two ways of caring for the public records, both of which seem necessary—the provision of safer quarters for certain bureaus, like the Patent Office and the Geological Survey, most of whose records are needed for constant reference, and the erection of a National Archives Building for the proper and safe storing of the papers that have passed out of current use.

In 1903, after the matter had been agitated a quarter of a century, Congress authorized the purchase of a site for an archives building. The purchase was made, but since that time Congress has authorized the preparation of plans for other buildings on this square, and it is a question whether the remaining space would be sufficient for an adequate building. To meet even the present needs the structure will have to be large, and an archives building should be constructed with space for at least fifty years.

The cost of such a structure is not as great as might be supposed. It is estimated that \$1,000,000 would cover it. The Government now pays a rental for the storage of its archives in Washington of about \$40,000 annually, or 4 per cent. on the cost of a building. This rental is, of course, increasing yearly.

The erection of a National Archives Building is necessary, not only for the preservation of the valuable papers of the Government, but in order that much of the space now given to them may be utilized as offices for the working force of the departments. The crowding at present is such as to cause depreciation in the quantity and quality of the work and to be a menace to the health of the employees.

The American Historical Association has taken great interest in this matter and in February, 1911, memorialized Congress and the President in regard to it. The resolution adopted by the Association and presented as a memorial was as follows:

The American Historical Association, concerned for the preservation of the records of the National Government as muniments of our national advancement and as material which historians must use in order to ascertain the truth, are aware that the records are in many cases now stored where they are in danger of destruction from fire and in places which are not adapted to their preservation and where they are inaccessible for administrative and historical purposes, and knowing that many of the records of the Government have in the past been lost or destroyed because suitable provision for their care and preservation was not made, do respectfully petition the Congress of the United

States to take such steps as may be necessary to erect in the city of Washington a national archive depository, where the records of the Government may be concentrated, properly cared for, and preserved.

The committee in charge of this matter consisted of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, United States Navy, retired, and Prof. John B. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania. All of these gentlemen, as well as Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, in the Library of Congress, and others of prominence, have been active in promoting the idea of an archives building, and it is hoped that their efforts will yet be rewarded. Representative Sheppard, Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds in the House, introduced a bill on the subject last summer, but it will take strong public sentiment to influence Congress, and now that Presidents, heads of departments, and historians have been busy over the matter for thirty-three years, it is time for the country to become more fully aroused than it has been before.

The United States is the only important country in the world that does not properly house its archives and provide trained archivists to look after them. Americans who visit the great Public Record Office in London, the Archives Nationales in Paris, the Royal Archives at The Hague, the Imperial Archives at Vienna, now in the most elaborate records building in the world, the Frari in Venice, the Tuscan Archives in Florence, and the new building under construction in Berlin come home humiliated by our neglect. The authorities in Berlin apologize for the present condition of the German records, but they are in better condition and are better housed than any official archives in Washington. The new building planned at Dresden is said to be the most intelligent effort at construction for archival purposes yet attempted. The perfection of plan is the result of coöperative effort on the part of the state archivist and the state architect, both of whom have expressed willingness to allow us to benefit by their plan and ideas. What will Congress do? Does anybody suppose that one or two million dollars diverted for an archives building from the appropriation of more than \$126,000,000 for the Navy in the last session of the Sixty-first Congress would not have been spent to better purpose? One wonders if even Hobson would say so.

# THE BACKGROUND OF THE OPIUM CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

BY ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

WHO does not know the glory of a poppy-field in flower? But not so many know about a poppy-field at harvest time. And yet, to very practical people, this is its most interesting time. Instead of the brilliant, splashy flowers—red, mauve, pink, and white—the field now exhibits as many pods, each erect on its stem. With a sharp knife the reaper cuts under and into the pod. A milky juice comes out. Then the reaper returns and scrapes the gum from the pods. This is made into opium.

In some parts of China half the acreage has been devoted to cultivating the poppy. This is not surprising, for poppy-growing has been more lucrative than has been any other Chinese crop. It has been lucrative chiefly because of the revenue from its use in smoking and inhaling, and not because of the revenue from its use in medicine.

Opium smoking produces a pleasant temporary illusion, bought at a fearful price, namely, physical, mental, and moral ruin, the impossibility to do any work sanely, the destruction of home life. The confirmed opium smoker has but two alternatives—to go on smoking and have a seeming paradise or to live normally and have misery.

The sunken cheeks and withered skin of many Chinese proclaim that, of all peoples, the Chinese are the most inveterate opium smokers. "Inveterate," indeed, for the evil was not first introduced into China in the nineteenth century, as is sometimes supposed, nor was it first introduced by the British. We hear of opium smoking many centuries ago in China. The evil grew until it involved the physical strength and moral sense of a considerable number of the people. Hence, early in the eighteenth century, a wise emperor, alarmed at the national decadence which must come should opium smoking spread all over the empire, forbade the habit and ordered the closing of the dens where the drug was sold and smoked.

## HOW ENGLAND FORCED THE DRUG ON CHINA

As the years went by, however, the influence of the wise old emperor was seen to be

less than that of another power—the British East India Company, in its desire to sell in China the opium produced in India. The company was successful and the habit of opium smoking in China grew more pronounced than ever.

In 1840 another Chinese emperor made a more determined effort to put down the trade. He gave strict orders and large authority to his imperial commissioner at Canton, the great commercial port of southern China, to stop the importation of the drug. These orders brought the commissioner into conflict with the British traders. When the commissioner destroyed several thousand chests of the drug, the British began what we know as the First Opium War. England won and forced China to sign a treaty by which English traders were paid for all their losses.

In 1857 came the Second Opium War between England and China. It ended in the Treaty of Tientsin, by which the Chinese Government bound itself not to interfere with the introduction of Indian opium in the empire.

## CHINA BECOMES A GREAT PRODUCER OF OPIUM

Before the opium wars the Chinese Government had not countenanced the cultivation of the poppy in China. But now it asked itself whether, after all—since the Chinese seemed determined to smoke opium, anyway—they should pay a large price to the British, operating in India for a commodity which could be produced just as well on Chinese soil and sold at a lower price. Moreover, all the profits from production, manufacture, and distribution would go to the Chinese instead of to foreigners. Hence the imperial government declared that the cultivation of the poppy should be unrestricted, and the Chinese so solidly undertook to raise the crop that until the recent reform edict they grew six-sevenths of all they consumed. This result is the more remarkable when we consider that, during the nineteenth century, the use of opium in China increased by about three-quarters. The habit had indeed grown to be a national evil.

## SUPPRESSION IN THE PHILIPPINES

To the credit of America, the initiative for a final and successful reform came from our people and, in particular, from that protagonist of the Church in the Far East, Charles Henry Brent, Episcopal Bishop of the Philippine Islands. The insular government, as administered by Americans, had always recognized that the opium evil was hampering its efforts. It had not been many years in control before it appointed a commission, with Bishop Brent at the head, to study the course of the opium habit and to suggest methods for its suppression. The commission's recommendations were later embodied in the law of 1907, which immediately reduced opium consumption in the islands and entirely suppressed it, save for certain persistent smugglings, the following year.

## THE EMPRESS DOWAGER'S REMARKABLE ACTION

There were powerful influences at work in China also. One influence was that of the Anti-Opium League, largely composed of missionaries and Chinese Christians; it had been gradually molding general sentiment. Another was the anti-opium agitation in the Philippines, followed by the commission's report, now translated into Chinese, reprinted by the tens of thousands and scattered broadcast over China. A third was a formal memorial to the throne from reformers in seventeen provinces praying for imperial patronage in battling with the evil. These things may have influenced the Empress Dowager—then China's real ruler, the Emperor having been set aside for the time being. But she was probably more influenced by the discovery that this vice, undermining the nation's manliness, counted more than any other cause for China's relative weakness among the powers—indeed, some of the diplomats sent by those powers to China now openly hinted that a main difficulty in entering upon any negotiations with the Chinese Government lay in the fact that some of the government officials were either so addicted to the use of opium or so strongly suspected of it as to check the normal course which negotiations among any civilized nations should take. Here, indeed, was a scornful rebuke.

In addition, the Dowager was keen enough to see that she *might* possibly accomplish a double reform. For if an evil habit be eradicated, some other habit must take its place. What would replace the opium habit?

Alcoholism? Possibly. But why necessarily another evil habit, even if experience shows this to be the general rule? Why not a good habit? Why should not laziness be replaced by industry, weakness by virility, immorality by morality?

Hence, to the delighted surprise of every friend of progress, the Dowager, in 1906, issued an epoch-making edict. As "smokers of opium have wasted their time, neglected their employment, spoiled their constitutions, ruined their households," and, moreover, as "the Court is now ardently determined to make China powerful," the growth, sale, or use of opium must, declared the Dowager, by the end of a decade, completely cease throughout the Empire and, to this end, the opium fields must be reduced by one-tenth every year.

## THE PROHIBITION AND ITS ENFORCEMENT

Of course the Chinese growers, sellers, and users of opium were alike alarmed. At first they refused to believe the edict. When convinced that it was not a bogus document, they pleaded with the local authorities in every province that they might have just one more crop—they had counted on it in arranging their expenses for the year. Then, when pleas of future poverty failed, the growers used that curse of Chinese officialdom everywhere—bribery. But even this failed in a number of instances, it is pleasant to say. Then the growers grew the precious poppy in their back yards and in any other secluded or hidden place. The penalty for growing the poppy was a fine. In addition, in some cases, the government did take possession of the fields, and in a few extreme cases of contumacy even cut off the heads of the offenders.

All persons who used opium were now required to get a license and no others were permitted to buy the drug. But what was of greater moral value, their names were inscribed on a roll which was widely published; moreover, such persons were debarred from all public honors and preferences. Furthermore, the quantity of opium used must needs also be registered.

Nor could any Chinaman do as he had done—smoke opium in the place where it was bought. Result: a marked decrease in the number of opium dens. These were, in many cases, spontaneously abandoned by their owners. In some other cases, the dens were bought by reformers and commercial people, who were now sure of imperial countenance, and the opium utensils burned—certainly an

excellent sign of reform, and as well an advertisement of the commercial succession! For instance, an announcement last April in the *North China Daily News* read as follows:

#### BONFIRE OF OPIUM-SMOKING UTENSILS

The Commercial Bazaar, having taken over the premises of the Nan Zun-sin Opium Palace, number 94 Rue du Consulat, and having purchased the whole of the Furniture, Fixtures, and Opium Smoking Utensils, have decided to destroy the latter, and they will be conveyed to the Chang Su-ho Gardens, Bubbling Well Road, and at four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, the third of May, will be made into a pile and burnt.

The Public are invited to come and witness this Unique Bonfire. The Things will be on exhibit in the Hall, Friday and Saturday.

And the burning actually took place as outlined above.

Nor was this all. The government established two rules regarding its officials. First, those addicted to opium, who did not take measures to free themselves from the habit, were liable, on conviction, to be removed from office. Two princes were so removed. Secondly, new employees in the service were kept four days under constant observation. As during this time a confirmed opium smoker, if deprived of the drug, will be apt to forget himself and betray his craving, the government was, in this way, able to assure itself as to each candidate. All this, of course, did wonders to elevate the tone of Chinese officialdom.

For nearly three centuries the Manchu government has dominated China. In many things it has been inert, purblind, inefficient, corrupt. But in its last days, in respect to the opium evil, it has—though moved by a Chinese, Yuan Shih-kai,—certainly deserved well of posterity. Moreover, its fiat actually commanded the coöperation of a sensible people. A country with such consciousness, so awakened, must ultimately have a great future.

#### ENGLAND'S CONCESSIONS TO THE REFORM

Astonished by the evidence of what China could do, and influenced by Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, the British Government now began to atone for some of its former wrong. In 1907 it agreed with the Chinese Government that imports of opium from India, in harmony with the edict concerning the production and use of opium in China, should be lessened by one-tenth each year until, in 1917, the whole

traffic should be wiped out. This, it is believed, is the first occasion in the history of China's foreign relations when she has had the opportunity of signing a genuinely give-and-take agreement with a foreign power. Thus the event was doubly significant.

China continued to be unexpectedly successful in putting down the opium evil. Hence, convinced of the Peking government's sincerity and ability in the matter, Great Britain, in May, 1911, practically consented to all of China's new demands. The ten-year agreement was modified by a British concession to the effect that, if China continued to extinguish the opium evil at the same rate as at that time, the Indo-Chinese opium traffic would be brought to an end in 1914 instead of 1917. This spurred the Peking government to still more strenuous endeavors, and, incredible as it seems, it has now reduced the production of opium in China by no less than seven-tenths. If, a dozen years ago, one had prophesied such a situation, he would have been set down as a lunatic.

Two results from this reform in China were quickly evident. The first was the transformation of much of the former poppy area into cereal, cotton, rice, and rubber fields. The second was a proportionate advance in the price of opium as the production decreased. At first, indeed, in order to begin the reform by preventing the coolie class from obtaining opium, the government compelled higher prices to be charged. But the reform soon went on gaining strength by its own movement, and began to affect the wealthier classes. The present price of opium would seem to be prohibitory for most people.

To replace China's annual revenue from opium,—about \$30,000,000 a year,—a large consolidated tax was placed on importations of this drug, and a uniform tax levied on native opium. To replace India's revenue,—also about \$30,000,000 a year,—from the production and sale of opium as a state monopoly, taxes were levied on spirits, oil, and tobacco. Speaking of a state monopoly, that would seem to be China's surest way of carrying out her promises as above indicated.

#### ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES

All this time the skirts of the United States Government were by no means clear, despite the fact that, in the Philippines, it, alone of governments, had officially started the general opium reform and that, in 1907, we had invited the interested countries to form an

international commission to see whether the opium trade might not be controlled and the habit eradicated. In this country the evil was primarily due to our large Chinese population, to our intimate commercial relations with the Orient, and to the free importation of opium. Fortunately, in 1909, just before the international commission met at Shanghai, we cleared ourselves to a certain extent. Congress passed a law prohibiting the importation of opium or any of its preparations or derivatives, save for medicinal purposes, under penalty of a fine of not less than fifty or more than five thousand dollars, or imprisonment for any time not exceeding two years, or both. The moral effect of this law has been excellent, despite the facts that the drug is easily smuggled and that the cleverness of the smugglers has severely taxed the ingenuity of our detectives. We have, at all events, made a distinct effort to put our house in order.

#### INTERNATIONAL DELIBERATIONS

In 1909 the international commission met at Shanghai. Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Russia, China, Japan, Siam, Persia, and the United States were represented. Our delegates were Bishop Brent, Dr. Hamilton Wright, of Maine, an eminent expert in tropical diseases and habit-forming drugs, and Dr. Charles D. Tenney, Chinese Secretary of the American Legation at Peking. Preliminary to any action by the powers jointly and severally, the commission's duty was to investigate the facts of the opium trade and the consequences of the opium habit. First of all, in the face of the sneers of journals like the *Hongkong Morning Post*, for instance, the commission recognized the Chinese Government's "unswerving sincerity" in its efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire. As an appropriate corollary, the commission recommended that each government take measures for the suppression of the practice of opium smoking in its own territories and possessions, and to this end urged that the governments examine their own systems of regulation in the light of the experience of others in dealing with the same problem. The commission declared that each country should prevent the shipment of opium to any country which prohibits its entry. The commission also recommended to each government to take drastic measures to control the manufacture, sale, and distribution not only

of opium but of morphine as well. Finally, the commission urged all governments possessing concessions and settlements in China to close the opium dens in these concessions and to apply their home pharmacy laws there.

In whatever concerns a commission of inquiry and recommendation, therefore, it would thus seem as if all scientific, economic, ethical, and political questions were settled. And the commission's resolutions were of real influence. But public opinion remained unsatisfied and justly so. Only international action could satisfy that opinion. An agreement of the powers on such action was necessary. International sanction and effect should be given to as many as possible of the commission's resolutions. Accordingly our own government, which had already distinguished itself in summoning the commission, proposed in 1909 that an international conference should take place at The Hague, that the delegates should have full powers to "conventionalize" the resolutions adopted at Shanghai and their necessary consequences, and that a program similar to the following be a basis for discussion:

1. The advisability of uniform national laws and regulations to control the production, manufacture, and distribution of opium, its derivatives and preparations.
2. The advisability of restricting the number of ports through which opium may be shipped by opium-producing countries.
3. The means to be taken to prevent at the port of departure the shipment of opium, its derivatives and preparations, to countries that prohibit or wish to prohibit or control their entry.
4. The advisability of reciprocal notification of the amount of opium, its derivatives and preparations, shipped from one country to another.
5. Regulation by the Universal Postal Union of the transmission of opium, its derivatives and preparations through the mails.
6. The restriction or control of the cultivation of the poppy so that the production of opium will not be undertaken by countries which at present do not produce it, to compensate for the reduction being made in British India and China.
7. The application of the pharmacy laws of the governments concerned to their subjects in the consular districts, concessions, and settlements in China.
8. The propriety of restudying treaty obligations and international agreements under which the opium traffic is at present conducted.
9. The advisability of uniform provisions of penal laws concerning offenses against any agreements that the powers may make in regard to opium production and traffic.
10. The advisability of uniform marks of identification of packages containing opium in international transit.
11. The advisability of permits to be granted to exporters of opium, its derivatives and preparations.
12. The advisability of reciprocal right of search of vessels suspected of carrying contraband opium

13. The advisability of measures to prevent the unlawful use of a flag by vessels engaged in the opium traffic.

14. The advisability of an international commission to be intrusted with the carrying out of any international agreement concluded.

#### AMERICA'S USE OF HABIT-FORMING DRUGS

If any one thinks that our own country is not now primarily interested in this matter, let him reflect that at present it stands for 500,000 pounds of yearly importation and consumption of opium, its derivatives and preparations. From 50,000 to 70,000 pounds, including opium derivatives and preparations, would suffice for all our medical needs. As to cocaine, we have been importing, manufacturing, and consuming nearly 200,000 ounces a year, though 15,000 would supply every legitimate medical need.

At its present session Congress should pass further legislation in this matter. It should place under federal supervision and control the entire manufacture and distribution of opium, together with its derivatives and preparations. Moreover, it should also place under such control other habit-forming drugs, like cocaine and Indian hemp. While Congress has already been asked to place a prohibitory duty on manufactured cocaine, its salts and derivatives, it should place the manufacture of and the interstate traffic in *all* habit-forming drugs under the supervision of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Only by some such supervision, it seems, would this country maintain its self-respect.

And, if the interstate traffic must be controlled, so should the intrastate traffic. Each State should pass effective laws against the use of habit-forming drugs, and particularly with regard to any instruments, like the hypodermic syringe, used in their injection: the availability of this syringe has doubtless been as large a factor in the widespread abuse of morphine and cocaine as the availability of the drugs themselves.

#### THE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

As to the International Opium Conference, which convened on December 1, 1911, at The Hague, our government has the advantage of having in two of its delegates the same men as at the International Commission at Shanghai, namely, Bishop Brent and Dr. Wright. The third delegate is Mr. Henry J. Finger,

of California. The British delegation also has as its chief the man—Sir Cecil Clementi Smith—who headed the delegation at Shanghai.

The conference opened at The Hague with a good attendance of delegates from the twelve nations represented. The Foreign Minister of the Dutch Cabinet, formerly Minister at Washington, namely, Jonkheer Reneke de Marees Swinderen, delivered a speech of welcome, in which he felicitated the American Republic on initiating the conference, and also the delegates present on the program, based on the resolutions passed by the Shanghai commission. The minister added that the deliberations would cover the questions of morphine and cocaine as well as opium. He hoped that the results of the discussions would be greatly to the benefit of humanity.

It is a satisfaction to report that the subjects presented by our government, as indicated above, have served as the basis for discussion, thus further emphasizing our government's enviable leadership in raising the opium problem from a national to an international plane—the only plane on which it can be effectively treated. Certainly this International Conference will throw light on the problems due to the evils of habit-forming drugs, should awaken a greater desire to combat those evils, and should unite all endeavors into a mighty force.

The conference may have a significance apart from the subjects of its program. It has convened at a time when, as never before, China has been throwing off the shackles of inertness, sloth and blindness which for centuries have kept her fine fiber from development. It is impossible that the Chinese delegates should not reflect this awakening.

And this is not because of the epoch-making revolution now in progress in China. Revolution or no revolution, China has now reached an *evolution* in her international as in her home relations. Up to 1911 she was a signatory to various international treaties and agreements, to which she has been either an unwilling or an unequal party. In December of that year, however, for the first time in her history, she entered an international conference—and with full powers.

Will she use this opportunity to emphasize a position from which she will discuss no subject with other nations save on terms of equality? We shall see.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN CHINA

CHINA hesitated a long time before allowing herself to be persuaded of the wisdom of admitting railways within her territory. At first they were dreaded as an instrument of foreign aggression; now they are recognized as the best of auxiliaries for national defense. At first it was thought that they would involve the country in a heavy financial burden; gradually it dawned upon the mind of a grasping mandarin state that they might be utilized as a source of revenue. It was in 1876 that the Middle Kingdom had its first railroad; in 1886 there had been constructed 370 miles of road; in 1906 the mileage had increased to 2330 miles; and on December 31, 1910, more than 5200 miles



MAP SHOWING THE RAILROADS IN CHINA



had been opened for traffic. The *National Review* (Shanghai) devotes six of its pages (each 13 by 9 inches) to a mere enumeration of Chinese lines in operation, under construction, and surveyed or projected. It divides the railways of China into five systems.

The first, or Northern System, includes the lines extending from Peking toward Mongolia on the northwest and through Manchuria to the northeast. The second division, or Central System, embraces the country lying between the Pei Ho (Peking-Tientsin River) on the north and the Yangtze on the south, and includes the German lines in Shantung, those running to the south, to the great river, and those projected to all points of the compass within that area as bounded by the sea on the west. The third, or Midland Division, is made up of the railways in the Yangtze Valley itself. The fourth, or Southern System, includes the lines centering about Canton-Hongkong and their tributaries in Kwangsi. The fifth, or South-western Division, covers the railways impinging upon the frontiers of China from French Indo-China, Burma and India, together with those in the border provinces.

Regarding the scope and status of these lines the writer in the *National Review* says:

In the Northern system, about two-thirds of the roads operated are Japanese and Russian. The Kalgan-Kweiwating-Suiyuan line, work on which is being rapidly pushed forward, is to be open this spring as far as Tienchen. It is planned to extend the line to Urga and Kiakhta, forming a link between Peking and the Trans-Siberian Railway, *bringing Peking within ten days of Paris.*

In the Central division, the most important work is on those portions of the Shantung system known as the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. The completion of the Northern or German section of 390 miles is expected this spring, and the completion of the Southern or British section is expected about the same time. At present the Hoang Ho, or Yellow River, is being crossed by ferry, and the bridging of this great stream cannot be completed before the end of the present year. The engineering difficulties have been enormous, chiefly in relation to the handling of the flood waters, which, as is well known, have caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands in recent years. The completion of this road will have a marked influence in modifying the disastrous famines which the floods in this portion of China have caused. And when connection has been made with the Shanghai-Nanking Railway at Nanking, *it will be possible to travel by rail from Shanghai to Calais.*

Railway promoters in China have their troubles like those in other countries. Thus the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, one of the best equipped roads in China, cannot pay its way because of discrimination in taxes on goods in transit; and there are rumors that the government is to take over the line and carry it on as a government enterprise. The connection of the Hankow-Canton line with

the Kwongkow road has been opposed by the "gentry," on religious grounds.

The *National Review* undertakes to reply to some of the criticisms of China's railway policy, more particularly with regard to the charge of discrimination against the United States in the matter of orders for locomotives and rolling stock generally. It says:

There has arisen of late a tendency to mere carping which can do no good to China, to those in whose supposed interests the criticisms are made, or to those unseen conspirators who, true to their settled policy, are working behind the scenes and giving their friends and allies a stab in the back. This type of criticism, supported by the publication of private and professional correspondence without the knowledge or sanction of the writers, can only conduce to misconception, to confusion of the issue, and to the unnecessary acerbation of a situation already sufficiently delicate to require the most careful handling.

The chief point of the criticism, which is made largely with the object of irritating United States manufacturers against British in order to preclude the possibility of close and intimate application of joint pressure by United States and British diplomacy on the Eastern Island Empire, is that the great bulk of the orders for railway material, especially locomotives, go to Europe and not to the United States. The reason for this is obvious. The initial impulse in railway construction in China came from British sources. The first lines were British-built. British engineers were employed both as seniors and as juniors, and as the years have gone by the juniors have become seniors on the newer constructions, and in ordering their material they have naturally placed the orders where they have been accustomed to get good value for their money, and where experience has taught them that they will invariably receive the best of treatment. This does not mean that they have experienced bad treatment elsewhere. It is only seldom that they have tried elsewhere, but they are unanimous in declaring that elsewhere they have not been able to get as good material as from the British firms, at the same price.

The fact that to China and to Great Britain, and the European portion of the Continent, the same principles of railway construction and location apply, and that these are "quite different from those principles which apply in countries where everything was until recently in the pioneer stage," accounts largely for the preponderance of railway orders going to Europe; and it is "worse than foolish to attempt to distort inevitable facts into a fixed policy of closing the open door."

That there is no such policy may be seen from the fact that in engaging engineers for the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, the British engineer-in-chief sent to a leading United States firm for one-quarter of his staff, simply and solely as a mark of good will and amicable esteem. Yet there has been no complaint among British engineers that the door in China was being closed to them.

## HOW RUSSIA BEGAN HER "PENETRATION" OF PERSIA

"THE Russian Brigade in Persia" is the title of an article in a French magazine called *Revue du Monde Mussulman*, that has been republished in pamphlet form by Ernest Leroux of Paris. The writer is a Russian by the name of Pavlovitch who has made a special study of his subject, and gives details, some made public now for the first time. He opens by a short sketch of the revolutionary movement that began in 1905 arising out of the discontent of the Persian people under the despotic rule of the Shah, Muzaffer-ed-Din, and the continual humiliation of the country by Russia. The movement propagated itself from town to town, and soon the word constitution, for which an Arabo-Persian equivalent, "machrautiyyat," was invented, became the war cry of a people in revolt and the rallying signal of every Persian patriot. At first the desire for reforms reached only the large cities, especially Teheran, Tabriz, Shiras and Ispahan; but little by little the revolutionary wave carried it into the most distant regions of the country.

At that time the government of the Shah "theoretically disposed of" an army of 150,000 men, comprising 84 battalions of infantry (riyadé); 3 regiments of Cossacks and 125 squadrons of irregular cavalry (Sawar); and 18 regiments of artillery (toupkhané). The infantry regiments were supposed to contain 800 men each, but in reality the army was non-existent, and only the Cossack brigade under a Russian colonel with three officers and five non-commissioned officers, counted for anything. Their pay was extravagant as compared with that of the Persian general nominally commanding it and of his officers and soldiers, being 16,192 tomans (the toman is worth about 87 cents) monthly for the nine Russians against 36,549 tomans for the Persian general and his 269 officers. The total number of Russian officers in the whole Persian army is 28, with 63 non-commissioned officers.

This Cossack brigade was originally formed thirty years ago after the return of the Shah Nasir-ed-Din from his second trip to London in 1878. In order to have a bodyguard for his personal protection, it occurred to him that a force under foreign officers would be safer than one under native command. Intrigues were at once set on foot by the British and Russian legations at Teheran to obtain the concession for its organization by officers of their respective armies, but in the end the Russians won, and in 1879 the Czar obtained a firman from the Shah confiding the formation of his bodyguard to

officers sent from St. Petersburg. The brigade was formed in 1880 of two regiments with a battery of field artillery, the guns of which were a gift of the Russian Government, and the cost of maintenance is a first charge on the revenues of all the custom houses of Northern Persia which are under Russian control.

At the time of the outbreak of the revolution in 1905 the brigade was composed of two cavalry regiments, a battalion of infantry and two field batteries of four guns each, altogether some fifteen hundred men under the command of Colonel V. P. Liakoff of the Russian General Staff. All the Russians continued to receive the pay of their rank in the Russian army from St. Petersburg, and remained at the disposition of the Russian War Office. By its origin and organization, financial, political, and military, and by its privileged position, the brigade may be regarded as the advance guard of the Russian penetration into Persia. After the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908, the brigade was augmented by 250 volunteers, the artillery furnished with quick-fire guns of the French model, and four mitrailleuses.

While there is no doubt that, as M. Pavlovitch says, the brigade is a marvelous instrument of the Russian Government in Persia, the Russian Ambassador at Teheran, M. Hartwig, said in 1908 that Colonel Liakoff was forbidden to mix in politics. In that matter he was under control of the Russian Ambassador. Not long afterward, in 1909, Sir Edward Grey, speaking in the British House of Commons of Colonel Liakoff's action during the *coup d'état*, said that he was convinced that Liakoff did not act on the order of the Russian Government and did not have its approval. It is known now that before undertaking anything, no matter what, Liakoff conferred not only with M. Hartwig but also with a notorious person of the name of S. Chapchal. These two, Hartwig and Chapchal, were the organizers and principal instigators of the *coup d'état* of 1908. Sir Edward Grey's conviction, therefore, was not well founded, as Liakoff's "action" has never been disavowed nor he nor Hartwig censured.

Serge Markovitch Chapchal, a Russian subject, is by all accounts a remarkable person.

He is one of the representatives of the reactionary party in Persia, where he is heartily detested and would long ago have been put out of the way by Persian patriots but that they were unwilling to give the Russians the occasion for sanguinary reprisals. Chapchal studied at the St. Petersburg University and the Faculty of Oriental Sciences, and was named, on the recommendation of the

Russian Government, tutor to the deposed Shah, Mohammed Ali, while he was heir to the throne. When the Prince was at Tabriz, Chapchal acquired an enormous influence over him and practically governed the province of Azerbaidjan; that influence he continued to exercise after Mohammed Ali came to the throne. Chapchal is not a Jew, as has been stated, but is a Karait, one of a people who claim descent from the Khazars, a Turco-Tartar race, and who repudiate their attributed Semitic origin.

On June 2, 1908, a petition to the Shah asked for the expulsion of all the reactionaries, including Chapchal, and was favorably received. All Teheran then gave itself up to rejoicing,—when, as we learn from independent sources, this is what happened:

The same evening Chapchal went to the Cossack brigade barracks and had a long interview with Colonel Liakoff, and the following day, in the morning, the Shah in his carriage, surrounded by the Cossack officers and Liakoff and Chapchal riding on either side of it, drove in haste from the palace to the barracks. Half an hour afterward the whole of the Cossacks turned out with their artillery and with the Shah under escort galloped out to the Royal Gardens outside Teheran. Taken by surprise, the people found themselves threatened by their sovereign and his bodyguard under the two Russians, Liakoff and Chapchal, and practically delivered over to the reactionaries whom the Shah had promised to expel. The bombardment

of the parliament building and other edifices followed on June 23, Teheran became a scene of massacre during which over 2500 persons perished, and was described in enthusiastic letters to the reactionary Russian papers by their correspondents as a victory won by the Russian officers.

That Liakoff acted under secret instructions was proved by letters stolen from him by the celebrated Bulgarian officer Panoff, who was correspondent of the *Reich* at the time, and played a considerable part in the movement for Persian liberation. Although the authenticity of the letters was strenuously denied by the Russian Government, and the *Novi Den* of St. Petersburg was suppressed for publishing a despatch announcing that Liakoff's letters were appearing in certain foreign papers, the whole action of the Russian Government since the *coup d'état* has been convincing proof of its direct complicity in the matter. Panoff was said to have been killed in an attempt to escape from Astrabad, but according to another story he is now a refugee somewhere in the Balkan Peninsula. It is to the credit of twenty-two of the Persian officers of the Cossack brigade that they protested to the parliament against the use that had been made of them against their own countrymen and country.

## CITY MILK SUPPLIES AND PASTEURIZATION

ALTHOUGH there is evidence to show that at least 50,000 years or more have elapsed since man began to use cow's milk for his purposes, the methods of taking and handling the raw material remain primitive to this day. And, although one of the most important and universal articles of food, more particularly in regard to the feeding of infants, little progress has been made in the process of gathering milk and in its treatment before it reaches the consumer, the dairy, or the creamery. Writing on the problem of city milk supplies in the *Popular Science Monthly*, Dr. P. G. Heinemann draws a picture of the conditions at an ordinary farm which, it is to be feared, is only too true in a very large number of cases. He says:

Who has not seen a barn where cows, horses, and pigs are stalled under the same roof? Filth, cobwebs, dust, manure are allowed to accumulate and at long intervals are shoveled to a place, which is not far from the barn, where they dry out and are blown in the form of dust into the barns. Ventilation in the barn is absent, screens to keep out the disease-carrying flies are rare, light is admitted by small windows, and the cows are permitted to rest in their own filth, which covers the hide, dries

and is brushed or shaken into the milk when this is drawn from the udder. The modern cow is covered with filth and the owners ridicule the suggestion that cows deserve more care than horses. The cow, which furnishes the most valuable food for the human race, is thus neglected, while the horse, which is used for work only, is kept in good condition. Even from financial considerations, cows should receive great care.

Further, the conditions of cleanliness of those who attend to the milking is far from satisfactory.

Do they change their clothes for clean ones before milking? Do they wash their hands? Far from it. Any suit of clothes, covered in some cases by dirty overalls, is good enough for tending the cow. The hands are not washed, and just before milking are wetted with milk, water, or even with saliva. Thus the dirt is washed from the udder into the milk. The virus of contagious diseases is sometimes carried from the milker to the milk, and epidemics of serious nature are thus started. Not least in importance is the universal presence of flies in cow barns. . . . Such is the food we consume every day; such is the food which we depend upon for bringing up our babies, if the mother is unable or unwilling to nurse her offspring. . . . The "cowey" taste, sometimes innocently supposed to be characteristic of fresh milk, is due to

nothing but cow manure, which has been suspended and become part of the milk during the process of milking. It has been estimated that the populations of large cities consume hundreds of pounds of cow manure daily with milk.

Dr. Heinemann tells us that fresh clean milk, which contains few bacteria and is safeguarded against their entrance, will not spoil for many weeks; that it decomposes more or less rapidly in proportion to the numbers of bacteria present; and that bacteria enter milk chiefly with dust, dirt, and through the agency of flies. The problem therefore is to prevent bacteria from gaining access to milk. Now, no matter how careful the milker may be, some germs are bound to enter. It is necessary therefore to cool the milk rapidly after milking and to keep it cold until consumed. Market milk contains hundreds of thousands, sometimes even millions, of bacteria per cubic centimeter; and if this is the only milk obtainable it should be pasteurized. Pasteurization consists in heating the milk to 140° Fahr. for thirty minutes, by which means 99 per cent. of all bacteria are destroyed. Alluding to the opposition to

pasteurization, Dr. Heinemann maintains that scientific research has shown that the disadvantages claimed against the process are groundless. Milk that comes from scientifically constructed and conducted dairies does not need pasteurization, certain dairies producing milk containing as few as 1000 bacteria per cubic centimeter.

By extreme care and intelligent supervision such milk is not much more expensive than ordinary market milk; and the outcome of the war waged against poor milk supplies will probably bring such milk within the reach of every one. This milk is known as certified milk because it is certified to by a body of responsible medical men, who employ experts to examine the milk at stated intervals and inspect the dairies, so as to insure safe methods of production.

Certified milk costs more to produce than other milk; but, remembering the fact that a quart of good milk contains as much food, and readily assimilable food, as a pound of beef, the consumer should be willing to pay the careful dairyman for his work and investment. On the whole the solution of the city milk supply problem seems to lie mainly with the consumer.

## REAL MEANING OF THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR

THE meaning to Europe of the war that is now being waged between Italy and Turkey does not depend at all upon whether Italy shall hold Tripoli or whether that province shall continue to remain in the possession of Turkey, observes Czeslaw Jankowski, a Polish writer, in the Warsaw *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated Weekly). The present war is a new episode, a new stage of the so-called "Eastern Question," which is of such importance to Europe, and the development of which had to be curbed in the name of holy peace by all the European powers together.

The attack of Italy on Turkey is an indirect but most recent stage of the contest for Stamboul. We know how long this struggle has lasted—from the very moment when the Turks installed themselves on the magnificent "key" promontory of Europe, after they had routed and obliterated from the face of the earth the mighty power of the Byzantine Cæsars. At first the European powers, even with their united forces, were afraid to drive the Turks back to Asia; later they harassed and pressed them from time to time. But the Turks held their ground stoutly. Even after the blow dealt to the "infidel" power by Sobieski at Vienna, there was charmed away only the menace of a Turkish inundation of central and eastern Europe. The testament—legendary or genuine—of Peter the Great; the Turkish wars of Cath-

arine II; the seizure by Russia of the Crimea; the checking at Sebastopol of the march of Russia upon Stamboul; the bloody contests of relatively fresh date in Shipka Pass and at Plevna; the halting anew of Russia at the gates of Constantinople; the ascent of the powers to the breaking from Turkey, at first of Greece, then of Servia and Bulgaria, and finally of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the dire troubles of the powers with the seething of Albania and Macedonia, as the game is already beginning to be almost the last, or the next to the last shred of Turkish land on the continent of Europe,—all this constitutes an uninterrupted series of slow drivings of the Turk beyond the Bosphorus, to the Arabian deserts whence he came, whence years ago he invaded the territories of the Christian, Aryan peoples of Europe.

To-day there no longer exists—as of old—the question of the manner in which there should be dealt to European Turkey the deadly, final blow. Turkey, notwithstanding her recent Young Turk regeneration, is, at the present moment, already so weak that any one is able to execute the collective sentence of the "concert of the powers." But it is not a question of that.

"What to-day constitutes the kernel and essence of the 'Eastern Question,'" says the writer in the *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, "is: Who is to seize Stamboul after the Turks have been driven out of their capital? Rus-

sia? Austria? England? Germany? There is no lack of claimants."

Albania and Macedonia are, most evidently, being reserved by Austria for herself. When? The day and hour cannot be set. At all events, only after the final driving out of Turkish dominion from Europe. And—after the precipitation of the crescent from the Sublime Porte? Obviously. In that case, however, why should not the capital at Vienna be wound up and removed to Constantinople? But how is Russia to abandon her historic mission, the political injunctions of Peter the Great and Catharine II? Russia, who "has shed her blood for the liberation of the Balkan Slavonians from the Turkish yoke?" What would become—in every case—of the worshipful "political equilibrium" in Europe, which has been guarded like the apple of the eye for so many years? The principle of legitimacy counts no more; that has somehow been mislaid, and, forsooth, gone out of fashion. But—equilibrium! equilibrium! Certainly, the Vienna, Paris, and Berlin Congresses did not build their "eternal" works on the basis of equilibrium in order suddenly to permit a more adventurous and clever conqueror to rove at large. . . . The liquidation of the "Eastern Question" had been deferred, put off to the future,—and this frequently with much pains and trouble. The maintaining at any cost of the status quo—precious for "the peace of Europe"—on the Balkan Peninsula had become a diplomatic tradition. And, lo! we have the sudden roar of the Italian guns at Prevesa. Who knows whether it has not given the signal for the starting of the general and final liquidation of a business so "ripe" that with this liquidation even Metternich himself would not have been able to delay any longer?

There is also another important fact which cannot be overlooked, observes the Polish writer from whom we are quoting. Italy has pushed a step farther the seizure of the continent of Africa by Europe.

Everything "fundamental" that could be said against the invasion by the "white" race of the maternal, immemorial territories of the "black" race, will not endure in the face of the natural, elemental force as well as in the face of the inevitable evolution of this process. Years ago it was Algeria; then Egypt; then the conquest of Congo by Belgium; then the establishing of the English "influences" in South Africa; then the effecting by Germany of the so-called "pacific penetration" from the east coast to the interior of Central Africa; finally, of most recent date, the conquest of Morocco,—all these are successive stages of the process that is working out slowly, but with the precision and fixedness of the movement of the sun from east to west. This is the march of civilization and culture toward the tropical regions. That in the van, alas! there fly shrapnel shells; that in the van there flashes the sword; that in the van there frequently rides rapine most hideous,—for this, let us condemn human nature. But to throw ourselves athwart the path of the idea itself; to dream of restraining this march—would imply the same as to wish to restrain progress, civilization, culture, all spiritual improvement, which knows no obstacles and no interruption.

## The Growth of Italian Imperialism

The war which Italy is now waging against Turkey is undoubtedly an indication of the kingdom's wonderful progress during the last fifteen years. In 1895 new Italy met with disaster at Adua, where her dream of colonial expansion seemed to be shattered; in 1911 an army of 50,000 men is sent to Tripoli, with as many more ready to go at a moment's notice. And yet, while the present expedition is really colossal as compared with the previous one to Abyssinia, the Italian Government states that the surplus from the budget of the last few years alone will be sufficient to carry on the war for at least one year.

The entire country is again united and urged by the same *elan* that marked the glorious days of the Risorgimento, and everywhere is shown an outburst of enthusiasm that bespeaks Italy's determination to assert her prestige among European nations. There can be no doubt, says Mr. Grosjean in his article on "Italian Imperialism" which recently appeared in the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, that Italy has regained a virile ambition of being strong, powerful, prosperous through war and conquest. The once boisterous opposition of the Socialists is now almost silent, while the imperialistic ideas of writers like Corradini, de Frenzi, Sighele, find universal favor. They are voiced by the influential press of the nation like the *Giornale d'Italia*, the *Stampa*, *La Grande Italia*, *Il Carroccio*, *L'Italia all' Estero*; *La Rivista di Roma*; *La Preparazione*.

The idea of Roman greatness obsesses modern Italy, and the eyes of the nation are fixed on the territories where Austria rules. In the large cities of Italy the leader of freemasonry, Mr. Lemmi, voices the sentiment of all Italians when he says in public gatherings that the Italian flag will some day float wherever the Italian language is spoken. The Adriatic sea is not large enough for the commercial vitality of two rival nations, and therefore the Latin provinces of Austria along the Adriatic coast must return to the common fold.

The text-books used in the public schools of Italy convey this imperialistic message to the younger generation. It is especially in manuals of geography that national pretensions are affirmed. Not a single one of such texts, writes Mr. Grosjean, accepts the present boundaries of Italy as final. Professor Bini in his "Lessons in Geography" states that Corsica and Malta are Italian territories

under foreign rule, and later the same statement is made with reference to the Swiss Canton Ticino, and the Austrian Tyrol Gorizia, Trieste, Istria, Fiume and Pola.

Is this mere speculation? asks Mr. Grosjean, and his answer is, *no*. The modern Italian is much less a dreamer than he is commonly supposed to be. He is positive, realistic, calculating; his self-reliance is such that no ambition, however high, discourages; he relies upon his ability and his patience, and above all upon his traditional skill in the *combinazione*. The political influence of modern Italy in the concert of nations is to-day considerable, and her diplomacy skillful, diligent, watchful, exempt from prejudice, gifted with a wonderful *savoir faire*. The nation realizes that the present war with Turkey is a test on which much of her future will depend, and the country is a unit in support of the government's policy of aggression. In conclusion, Mr. Grosjean says that it would be a fatal mistake for any other nation to underestimate the importance of the imperialistic aspirations of modern Italy.



ITALIAN SOLDIERS INSTALLING TELEPHONE SERVICE IN TRIPOLI

## AMERICA'S PART IN POTATO CULTURE

THE humble potato is about the last object with which one would associate romance; and yet its history is a romantic one, from its discovery by explorers from the Old World right down to the present day. It is now generally accepted that the potato came originally from western South America. After having been taken to Europe and cultivated there, it found its way once more across the ocean, and to-day along the east coast of South America it is considered "a European vegetable and is cultivated only by those whose experiences are derived from the Old World." As is pointed out by Mr. Albert Hale in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, "what is really meant by the word potato is the plant and tuber vulgarly called the Irish or white potato, although it has no more relation to the Emerald Isle than that the good people there are very fond of it." The "sweet" potato has no right whatever to the title. To quote Mr. Hale:

The food potato of commerce made its way from its prehistoric home in the Andes to North America and via Europe to the eastern shores of South America. How it came to do this is a curious story. Traditions and rumors do not all agree as to whom the honor belongs of having carried the vegetable itself across the Atlantic; it is not improbable that Pizarro presented specimens to his sovereign, as

curiosities of American life. . . . One good authority says that the first potatoes were taken in 1565 by John Hawkins from Sante Fe in South America to Ireland; that shortly afterwards, in 1580, the naturalist Cardanus introduced them into Italy, and actually grew them in 1588. Clusius, the director of the royal gardens in Vienna in 1588 received two tubers from Philippe de Sivry of Belgium, who knew the potato under the name of "taratoufli," but these probably came from Italy after having been grown in Spain. Great credit belongs also to Sir Francis Drake, who learned of the potato about 1578, either in Peru itself or in some near-by island. He took specimens back with him, stopping first in Virginia, where he helped to plant them in 1585. In 1586 he arrived in England, carrying potatoes among his treasures; and thus arose the story that potatoes came from North America. . . . It is an accepted statement that Sir Walter Raleigh was responsible for their use in Ireland, because he gave several to the grandfather of Sir Robert Southwell, who, to check the famine spreading in that island after the disastrous failure of the grain crop, cultivated them at once there and popularized their use to his eternal credit. . . . In France it was a rare but prized vegetable in 1616; in Germany it was recognized in 1650; and, from that time on, Europe, as well as other parts of the Old World, gradually accepted it as an addition to the food supply of all peoples.

It is curious to note that "the Puritans condemned its use because no mention of the potato was to be found in the Bible."



MODERN CULTIVATION OF THE POTATO IN LATIN AMERICA

(The old and simple way of cultivating potatoes is slowly disappearing. In highly productive areas the machine for both planting and gathering displaces hand labor. In Latin America the same rule is observed, and the latest mechanical contrivances for expediting work is eagerly adopted on the modern hacienda)

To-day the total production of potatoes for one year is about 5,500,000,000 bushels. Of this output the United States grows slightly less than one-sixteenth; Germany more than one-fourth; not quite one-eighth comes from Russia; about one-ninth from France; and

California has a potato "king," a hard-working Japanese, who within the past 20 years has studied the business on modern lines, and has now over 4000 acres. The well-known horticulturist, Mr. Luther Burbank, has succeeded in producing a "seedless" potato.

about one-sixteenth from Poland. In the United States almost one-third of the crop is grown in the North Atlantic States; the North Central States east of the Mississippi are second; the Central States west of the Mississippi come next; and the Far-Western States are fourth. In acreage, of the principal areas under potato cultivation

New York	has about	438,000	acres
Michigan	"	335,000	"
Pennsylvania	"	320,000	"
Wisconsin	"	320,000	"

In yield, the State of Maine heads the list with 220 bushels (60 lbs.), while North Dakota has only 41 bushels to the acre. Cali-

## A VISIT TO ELLEN KEY

AT Alvastra in southern Sweden, a day's journey from Stockholm, Ellen Key, teacher, lecturer, world-famous reformer, and author of the widely read "The Century of the Child," has during the past summer realized the dream of her busy work-life—a home of her own in the country. In the *Woman's World*, Mr. William Johnston describes a visit to this remarkable woman, and the remarkable house that she herself planned beside Lake Vettern. Sitting on her pergola in the moonlight, Ellen Key, "in the best of English," told her life story, of her work in the schools, her lectures, her travels, of her writing, and of the joy that came into her heart when the success of her books had made it possible for her to build this house of her own. Her interviewer writes of his visit the next day:

As you enter the great wide hall a bold motto on the white wall confronts you.

*Memento vivere!*—Remember to live.

How typical of Ellen Key," you say to yourself as you look about at the other walls of the hall. For one of the side-walls above a large map of Lake Vettern is painted the sentence from one

of the Finnish poets, Runeberg, that gave Ellen Key the name "Strand" for her home, "*Der lifvets haf oss gett en strand*"—Where the sea of life has given us a shore.

To the left as you enter are two great rooms that take the entire width of the building, the dining-room and library, connected by a graceful arch. In the dining-room on an old mahogany table, in the loveliest of old blue china, stand some of Ellen Key's own cherries, fresh picked for her visitors.

In the library, the books for which are still unpacked, on an old desk of quaint carving, with two huge pens of peacock quills beside it, stands open a leather-bound parchment guest book, in which, though it has been opened only a month or two, are already written some of the greatest names of Sweden and Germany, names of savants and princes who have journeyed to Alvastra to talk with Ellen Key.

On the right of the great hall is a circular staircase, designed by Ellen Key herself, enclosed in a carved shaft. Beyond this are the kitchen and pantry where the little gray lady proudly exhibits the cherries that she is preparing for canning.

Upstairs she takes new delight in showing the pretty gable rooms designed for guests, each of them, even the bath-room, with some mystic symbol painted on its door.

"And here," she cries, "is an invention of my own of which I am exceedingly proud."

As she speaks she grasps a knob, and behold, a panel in the hall lets down on hinges, making a bed.



"You see," she explains, "many of my boy friends are fond of making walking tours with this as their destination. Sometimes more of them come here than I have room for. I devised these couches for the overflow."

Approaching Ellen Key's own room the hall is lined with shelves, above which are reproductions of some of the world's best paintings.

"This," the hostess explains, "is a lending library for the young people of the neighborhood. When they come here to talk with me I want them not only to have the books they ought to read, but I want them to be inspired by these beautiful pictures."

Her own apartments are furnished with monastic simplicity. In one corner, near a simple narrow white cot, are gathered relics from her childhood home—the cradle she slept in, a chair her father made, a portrait or two of some of her ancestors, a book-case bought with the first money she ever had.

Ellen Key has planned a novel and useful future for her home. A little Swedish laundress, now settled in America, gave her the idea.

"It was seventeen years ago. Said she to me, 'Rich people think that we poor people envy them their wealth. It is not so. What we do envy is their culture and their opportunities for culture. We, too, would like to have the leisure and the opportunity to see the beautiful pictures and statues, to read books, to travel. It is their culture we envy.'

"As a result of that talk I started in Stockholm what we call social evenings. I got women of



ELLEN KEY AND HER CONSTANT COMPANION, "WILD"



WILLIAM JOHNSTON, AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST WHO PAID A VISIT TO ELLEN KEY AT HER HOME IN SWEDEN

culture to come and talk to the women who work, to tell them of the beautiful things that the working-women had had no opportunity to see. Those social evenings, started seventeen years ago in Stockholm, are still kept up. It was from those evenings that I learned much about the poor women who have to work long for the better things of life.

"So when I am gone this house is to be theirs. In my testament I have left it to a self-perpetuating committee of five. Each year from April to October they are to ask four working-women at a time to come here for a month 'as the guests of Ellen Key.' The house, the pictures, the piano, the books, the baths, the servants, everything here will be at their disposal. They will be my guests, only the hostess will be absent. Never more than four are to be invited at one time. There must be nothing of the barracks about it. I want them to feel that they are my guests—real guests. I have made only one restriction. They must be working-women with enough culture to appreciate the treasures I have gathered here."/>

Wondering that into her spinsterhood should have come such an intimate knowledge of child life, her visitor asked her how it had come about. The reply was:

"I have been much with children, though it was never given to me to have children of my own. As a girl of course I dreamed, as all girls do, of some day having a home of my own, a husband, and children, but I have never had love, nor children, nor family—" There was a pause infinitely



pathetic in its unspoken life-loneliness before she ended stoically:

"It was not so.

"In the schools, in my work, in my travels, I have met and known many children. How my heart ached for some of them. Parents so little understand their children. Anger, impatience, punishment, heedlessness, so many faults of the parents distort the lives of children and prevent their mental growth.

"It is the parents who must be educated far more than the children. Yet under present conditions it is almost impossible. Few persons as yet realize what an important duty for the community a woman is performing when she is bearing children. Girls enter the marriage relation with no training for motherhood. Every girl ought to have at least a year of training in home-making, domestic science, care of children. It should be compulsory for every girl, no matter what her position in life.

"Under the present economic conditions, where women are compelled to work outside their homes, it is essential that the community should provide for them while they are rendering it service in bearing children. I am writing an article on this subject at the present time."

Together with Mr. Johnston's article is printed, over the signature of Ellen Key, the following:

#### A WORD TO THE WOMEN OF THE NEW WORLD

First of all, the women of America must see clearly that their development depends on changing the social conditions and that the first question for women is, not to live isolated in their own small sphere of work or play, or loss or gain, but to participate in the great question of our time:

How to change the conditions of life, now quite untenable and unworthy, for the great part of the working women?

This is only to be done by such a change in the conditions of work that young women and young men shall be paid for their work at such a rate that they may be able to marry and to be the mother and father of three or four children.

Motherhood must be considered as the great work by women for the community. The community must pay every mother for that work, but the community must also have a certain control over that work and require certain qualifications for it.

As every young man in Europe has a year of military service, so every girl should have a year, at least, of training for motherhood, in domestic science, in home-making and the care of children.

I do not think, however, that the better conditions for marrying or the better regulating of education will be attained before the women get votes.

## A SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE CONGRESS

ONE of the first results—and perhaps not the least important—of the Universal Races Congress held in London last July, is the movement now going on in South Africa among the various native races for a permanent congress, through which to express their views as to the political and economic measures that may be passed in the parliament of the South African Union affecting their interests. The matter is all the more pressing because of the racial questions involved, notably the relations between the men and women of the white and black, or colored, races, and the crimes arising out of them. In regard to the latter, the South African Natives' Association of Rhodesia calls for the trial of such cases by a tribunal of judges, instead of before a jury, so unequal has been the justice administered in jury trials. Among the leading advocates in the native press of South Africa of the establishment of a permanent South African Native Congress is the *Naledi ea Lesotho*, or Star of Basutoland. In a recent number there was published a circular, which was being distributed over South Africa, inviting native leaders and chiefs to coöperate in promoting it for the protection and progress of the native races, and to aid the Union government in its dealings with them.

What is chiefly aimed at in the beginning is to convince the Government of the necessity for a uniform policy toward the natives instead of distinctions as at present, also to create bonds of a common interest among the seven or more millions of the various colored races between the Zambesi and Cape Town. The final section of the program issued with the call for the constitution of the congress deals merely with the rules and organization of the Union, but the second section is of particular interest as showing what is in the mind of its promoters. The first business proposed for consideration is a vote of confidence in "The Right Honorable General Louis Botha, P.C.," the Premier of the South African Union; the next a vote on the Secretary for Native Affairs in his cabinet, and one on the native senators. For discussion the subjects are Native Customs and Uses; Native Marriages and Divorce; Native Beer, Is It a National Beverage? Native Schools and Churches; The Black Peril and the White Peril; Native Lands and Estates; Native Courts, Civil and Criminal; and lastly, Native Labor. The inclusion of native beer among the subjects to be discussed seems singular, but it is to be explained by the fact that "Kaffir beer" is a domestic production made in the native dwellings, of

low alcoholic strength, and considered preferable to the poisonous spirits known as "Cape smoke," therefore not justly an object of taxation. The last item, Labor, on the program, is perhaps the most important of all, for with it is connected the prosperity of the gold-mining interest, a prosperity which may be said to depend in a great measure on the

sacrifice of the physical and moral welfare of the native races employed in it. For this, as well as the other reasons following from it, the discussions at the first native congress of South Africa will be of special interest; also because of the measure it will give of the capacity of the natives of South Africa to deal with their own interests.

## GERMAN SEA POWER: ITS PAST AND FUTURE

AN entire number of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipsic and Berlin) is given up to a description of the German *Kriegsmarine*, and a glorification of its achievements.

The Geheimer Admiralitäts Rat, P. Koch, writes of the Prince Adalbert of Prussia who established the German fleet and founded the harbors of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven—the strongest strategic points of the navy "which even the mightiest foe will three times hesitate before attacking." The Herr Admiralitäts Rat quotes Prince Adalbert's memorandum to the King of Prussia as the first to draw the attention of the German people to the fact that, without a powerful fleet, for no nation can there be a high place in international councils. It may be recalled that Prince Adalbert was the hero of the battle between the flagship *Grille* and the Danish frigate *Tordenskjold* in the war against Denmark in 1864.

Count E. von Reventlow, in his study of the development of German sea power, says that the Franco-Prussian war found the German navy utterly unprepared. The fleet consisted of three great ironclads, two smaller ones, and a limited number of unarmored ships. At the last moment the three great ironclads had suffered injuries which very considerably lowered their fighting capability. The French fleet had fifty-five ironclads and two hundred and eighty-four unarmored steamships. The result of the war is remembered for the strict adhesion of the German navy to defensive tactics and the checking by the German land successes of the projected aggressions of the French fleet in the North and the Baltic seas. In the minor actions, such as the fight of the *Meteor*, the German officers and seamen distinguished themselves, but could not prevent a decided decline of esteem for the navy in public opinion after the war, due to the passive and defensive sea policy necessarily followed. Count Reventlow sketches the fleet laws of Rear Admiral von Tirpitz in 1898 and

1900, which fix the strength of the navy at thirty-eight battleships, twenty cruisers of the first class and thirty-eight of the smaller class. To this may be added the 144 torpedo boats approved by the Reichstag.

Times change, however, and it would be rash to infer that the German fleet is fixed forever. To-day even, the international situation is not so favorable as it was eleven years ago, when the marine law was first passed. Now everything is different. Great Britain's relations with France have become so friendly that the former holds a small fleet of the old liners in the Mediterranean. The latest events have shown too clearly that Germany, in the event of war with England, must also reckon with France as an adversary. Existing agreements allow England in that event to bring her entire superior forces to bear against Germany. Great Britain has withdrawn her fleet from the East Asiatic waters since the Russo-Japanese war, has moved extraordinarily closer to the United States, and now the whole organization of the British move tends to concentration in the North Sea and in perpetual readiness for attack on the German coast.



PRINCE ADALBERT OF PRUSSIA  
(Founder of the German Navy)



ADMIRAL VON KOESTER  
(President of the German Navy League)

How much longer will the present marine standard be adequate? One thing is sure, the demand for a great navy will remain of paramount importance to the German people.

Geheimrat Professor Adolph Wagner in his defense of the heavy army and navy budget from an economic standpoint, maintains that such outlays are absolute political, social and civic necessities. He says:

We must consider our free communication with the outside world as of first importance in view of our limited area, its position in the center of Europe, our increase of population, and the necessity for the importation of foreign material to complete our food supplies. This share in world commerce can only be attained to-day for us by sea power. Certainly our commerce, our industrial and capitalist classes would suffer greatly if the English should, for instance, blockade the mouths of our rivers and hinder our egress and ingress; but the laboring classes would surely suffer most. In the distribution of taxes, of course, the more well-to-do should properly bear the greater burden. In this, England sets us a good example. That statesman is a traitor to his people who represents as imperatively necessary a naval budget which is an arbitrary measure of the rulers and the property owners. He should explain that such state necessities have as driving a force as those of Nature. Of these state necessities none is more economically justified than the outlay for army and navy.

Captain Röper, retired, gives the history of the "Deutsche Flottenverein," or Navy League, that has played such a prominent rôle in shaping popular opinion since 1898. Under the chairmanship of the Prince zu Wied, then president of the Upper House of the Prussian Chamber, the aims of the Navy

League were defined as "the creation of a strong German fleet for the defense of Germany's coast against invasion, for the preservation of Germany's place among the world-powers, and the safeguarding of the general interests both commercial and personal of German subjects beyond the seas."

The league's success was prodigious. The membership soon passed the hundred thousand mark, and the allied princes of the German reigning houses undertook the protectorate either personally or through some member of their family. His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, by permission of the Emperor, assumed the patronage of the league. Its task was the explanation and the popularization of the law for the increase of the warships of 1900, as well as the founding and support of seamen's homes, seamen's havens in foreign ports, seamen's convalescent homes in Kleim Machnow, and scholarships for naval recruits. The latest project is the completion of a special Navy League Home for Disabled and Aged Seamen, in addition to the aid distributed to Chinese and Southwest African marine troop veterans. The league is under the active control of Grand Admiral von Koester, the reorganizer of the German fleet. The membership roll is now over a million, divided into fifty-three provincial branches.



ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ  
(Imperial Secretary of the German Admiralty)

## THE CHANGING IDEALS OF THE MODERN GERMAN WOMAN

**I**N discussing ways and ideas that might bridge the gulf between the classic German ideal of woman and the modern intellectual one, Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, writing in the *Gartenlaube* (Leipsic), speaks of Caroline von Humboldt as a type of the classic ideal—that of a personality seeking power and happiness “by way of the heart, not the head, in the home, not in the servitude of a public calling.”

To-day hundreds and thousands of German men and women, says Dr. Bäumer, still cherish this picture of their mother or of a woman from an earlier generation as a criterion by which they are accustomed to measure all feminine beauty and usefulness, charm and worth.

They regard the views of those who require new and different qualities from women as a profanation of this older ideal. Often the most chivalric respect in man for woman and the most self-sacrificing ardor of women are thus ranked in opposition to modern feminism, which in reality is far from depreciating the feminine virtues of other days. On the contrary, the reason we revere the women of earlier times is for their strength to express and fulfill the spirit and requirement of their day. It must never be forgotten how delicate an understanding for woman's nature and how great encouragement for them lay in the classic ideal of the woman whose mind is bent on inner contemplation and nourished by feeling and worship of beauty. That ideal was best expressed in the proud question of Schiller: “Can one be intended to forget one's own nature in the pursuit of any goal whatsoever?”

But that view of life which cultivated personality as its chief end has been shattered by life itself.

Side by side with individualism the social idea has slowly developed. The classic ideal was based on the supposition that every one led a retired and private life. But now no one can escape the question of her conscience awakened to public duty: Is it right that you, as a member of a privileged class, should monopolize the treasures of culture while millions are condemned to an empty, dull life taken up with mechanical labor? So in the feminism movement itself we see two currents, the ideal of personality together with interest in public affairs and a realization of citizenship and its responsibilities. But in many women of our day we perceive the danger of neglecting not only the culture of their personality but of their family in their zeal for social work. And these weaker vessels apparently point the moral preached by them who believe that woman loses the best of her nature in public effort. But the great task set by the modern ideal is for a woman not to forget others while growing herself intellectually, morally, and artistically. For in public life as well a woman

can achieve great results only when she is a thoroughly cultivated, developed personality. The modern woman has to avoid through this very quest of strong personality the perils of the coarsening and, one might almost say, of the brutalizing influences of public life. We must therefore respect the sincerity and conscientiousness of those women who hesitate to enter public life because they do not feel strong enough to reconcile the two ideals without undue sacrifice of their family and inner culture. But we cannot regard them as personifications of the modern ideal of woman. The new woman must unite the social and the personal ideal in equal measure in her daily life.

Even to-day, concludes Dr. Bäumer, we can safely predict that woman will show herself equal to this twofold demand.

We see in the women's public meetings how genuine interest is aroused by these generally dry but important discussions, and how objectively women already handle the themes. And we see very plainly in the way that women carry out the practical social work that they do not lose their main-springs of strength—their warm interest for the weak and needy that is bound up with their maternal instinct; the delicate feeling for individual worth that they must always show in the rearing of their own children, and the sensitiveness to differentiation in character for which there is such an especial demand in public life.

### Woman and the German Elections

An impassioned article in which the wrongs of the people—the high cost of living, the ever-threatening danger of war, etc.—are laid at the door of the existing capitalist order, appears in a recent issue of the *Gleichheit* (Stuttgart), an organ of working-women, from the pen of Louise Sietz. Her stirring appeal, as it may be termed, is occasioned by the German general elections.

After a vigorous denunciation of the existing economic order, this German woman says:

Throughout the Empire women are stubbornly denied political rights, which are indispensable weapons for them in a political contest. In the largest of the federal States, Prussia, and in a number of the minor ones, the men, too, are degraded to the position of political helots by the denial of a democratic franchise. In short, there is reaction all along the line! Reaction, in order to perpetuate and intensify the exploitation of the masses; reaction, in order to uphold the capitalist system, which has long since fallen into a hopeless confusion and has led to a condition of things in which the producing forces have again and again revolted against the confining bonds of the existing system of property, against the private ownership of the means of production; to a condition in which society is threatened with suffocating in its

riches, while the toiling masses, who have produced this wealth, live in penury and want.

The article closes with a special appeal to women to do their utmost to influence the outcome of the elections, by speech, circulation of pamphlets, etc. "Should they meet

with the contumely of fools and the thoughtless, the consciousness of aiding in a good cause, of fighting for the liberation of mankind, will be a sustaining force. And a grand victory will be the reward if all will but put forth their full strength."

## THE NEW ICELAND

"VISIONS of a rosy future for Iceland are to-day making life sweeter for the sturdy, self-reliant sons and daughters of that far-Northern island, and proving to the world that Iceland, too, is marching in step with human progress." With this optimistic paragraph Prof. Jerome Hall Raymond closes an exceptionally comprehensive and informing article on the lone island in the North Atlantic, contributed by him to the *Twentieth Century*. Although Iceland had been visited by certain Norsemen in 874, one of whom, Flóki Vilgertharson, gave it its present name, it was not till nearly sixty years later that it possessed a constitution and a code of laws. In the article under notice we read:

For four centuries [following 874] Iceland was an independent republic; and it is to these first four centuries that the Icelanders look back as their Golden Age. It was then that their great poets and historians flourished. It was then that their heroes and lawgivers wrought their mighty deeds, and their discoverers found America. . . . In 1264, Iceland voluntarily placed itself under the rule of Norway, and when, in 1380, Norway passed to Denmark, Iceland passed with it, and has ever since remained a Danish possession. It is to-day, in the formal phraseology of law, "an inseparable part of Denmark, with special rights."

The Icelandic Parliament is called the "Althing." It met for nearly 900 years on the famous plain of Thingvellir, about thirty miles from Reykjavik. One by one the Althing lost its legislative functions, until the year 1800, when the Danish Parliament abolished it altogether. Professor Raymond draws a parallel between Iceland and Ireland in the political history of the two countries. "Icelanders, like Irishmen," he says, "look back to that abolition as the lowest depth of their national humiliation." In 1845 its Parliament was restored to Iceland; but its functions were advisory only; it had no power to make laws; its lawmaking was done for it by the Danish Parliament at Copenhagen. Hence arose continual efforts to obtain "Home Rule for Iceland." The prime leader in this movement was Jon Sigurdsson, who died in 1879, and who for the last 23

years of his life was president of the Althing. His efforts were crowned with success in 1874; but laws passed in Iceland were still subject to the royal veto in Denmark. In 1904 the Icelanders gained an Icelandic Parliament in place of the Governor who had ruled over them, and although the King of Denmark still has the nominal right to veto Icelandic laws, he has never exercised it. The executive head of the Parliament was formerly a Minister, appointed by the King, but responsible to the Icelandic Parliament; and he appointed six royal members of the Upper House. In 1911 the Icelanders secured the abolition of the royal prerogative of appointing the six senators, and a further amendment of the Constitution enfranchising women and "servants."

Women are active in municipal government in Iceland. In the town council of Reykjavik, the capital, there are three women members out of a total membership of fifteen. The term "servant" has a special meaning in Iceland.

It applies to all persons, men or women, who work for others under yearly contracts; and such persons constitute a very large proportion of the population—probably one-half. With the spread of education and enlightenment, the servants of Iceland gradually became more and more unwilling to be excluded from political life. Many of them emigrated to America; many others migrated to towns and thus endeavored to escape from their class. So there came to be a "servant problem" even in Iceland. It became increasingly difficult to get good servants on the farms; and still greater difficulties in this respect loomed in the future.

Hence the dominant political party included "servant suffrage" in their program and with successful results at the elections.

A standing tribute to the activity of women in local politics is the establishment of an artificial gas plant in Reykjavik. Fuel is so scarce and imported coal so expensive that peat is cut and used. There is no timber; and "many an Icelander has lived and died without ever seeing a tree." Thus

it is one manifestation of the awakening of Iceland that the women of Reykjavik have at last secured

the establishment of a gas plant, and are now able to cook the family food and light their homes with gas. This one improvement has made life in Reykjavik much easier and more worth while; and the complaint of the few male objectors that "the women are to blame for it" has been considered a testimony to the value of women's activity in politics.

With a new political life has come industrial development. Until recent years her wool was exported as raw material to England, or woven by hand into coarse homespun at the farmhouses. Now there are on the island three woolen mills fitted with the most modern machinery from Germany; and "the cloth manufactured in these Icelandic mills is as good and as beautiful as that produced in any other mills in the world." Educationally, too, the island is awakening. The new University of Iceland, which began giving instruction on October 1, 1911, though small at present, bears large hopes of usefulness in the future. There are other signs of the new birth.

A splendid new National Library has been established at Reykjavik; telephone lines are being extended into many of the remote parts of the island; excellent roads and bridges are being built; agricultural experiments are being made . . . prospectors are exploring the mountains and plains in search of mineral treasures; water systems and sewer systems are being introduced in Reykjavik; and one even hears talk of harnessing some of the magnificent waterfalls to produce electric light and power with which to operate proposed new mills and even railways.



BJÖRN JONSSON

(Minister for Iceland nominated by the King of Denmark)

As in many similar instances, these hopes will not be realized immediately; for Iceland needs capital to materialize her dreams.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION TO-DAY: A GERMAN VIEW

**T**HE close of the Franco-German conferences concerning Morocco marked an important milestone in international politics. Herr Paul Nathan in the *Hilfe* (Berlin) shares the doubt felt by so many Germans as to whether any real advantage was gained by their country in the negotiations. Herr Nathan traces the history of the Moroccan question from the open defeat of German aspirations at Algeiras.

Nothing is more seductive than the following up of a hidden purpose after a first success. In politics it is exactly this principle that produced after our enemies' triumph at Algeiras that grave crisis of the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

Austria-Hungary was placed seemingly on the defensive, and the ridiculous question of an international sanction of Bosnia's and Herzegovina's annexation was raised, although both provinces

had actually been held in undisputed sway for a generation by Austria-Hungary. The real aim, however, was to stir up strife between Germany and the Hapsburg monarchy on one hand and to draw Turkey into the quarrel while still further alienating Italy from the Triple Alliance. The moment was a dangerous one for Germany. Had we shown weakness then, Vienna would have thought us worthless as an ally. But Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter steered us noiselessly and safely through the narrow strait. And St. Petersburg first of all, and then Paris and London, were informed of our determination to stand by Austria-Hungary regardless of consequences. So our firm handling of this snare destroyed any hope of proving in Vienna and Rome the worthlessness of Germany's friendship.

That France and Russia were fellows in this policy was not surprising. France believes she cannot offend Russia for fear of a German attack, as well as for the support of her Alsatian claims, and Russia is dependent on France as her willing banker, who after hundreds of millions in loans is ever ready to renew and begin again. Mor-



THE KAISER AS THE NAPOLEON OF PEACE  
(After Grand-Carteret)  
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

...was the fact that England took a part as in Algieras. In Algieras Egypt, the *Anglo-Turkish*, was at stake, but the slight advantage of injuring Germany at Constantinople and making the Triple Alliance was enticing enough to produce very serious moves from London. The *French* controversy did not go beyond a violent diplomatic campaign, and was settled by Germany's evident readiness to go to extremes to aid

A new crisis arose, and it is interesting that each succeeding one became more ominous, when the French took seriously in hand the general occupation of Morocco. France had obtained England's sanction to her Moroccan policy by the ceding of claims to Egypt, and Italy was appeased, it afterward turned out, by a wave of the hand toward Tripoli. To Germany's commercial losses, moreover, was to be added a heavy loss of prestige in Europe. If Germany had acquiesced in this arrangement, it would inevitably have resulted in the grouping of the powers of second rank around the *Triple Entente*, and even the greater nations would have regarded Germany's alliance as a doubtful benefit.

There were only two possible directions for a German policy. We could have tried to force

France to retreat in Morocco. It was highly probable that France would not give up her booty without a fight. But if France tried to avoid war, she could easily have proven that the retreat of French troops from Fez would have provoked a state of anarchy. The German policy would have evoked a storm of protest in Europe, and European public opinion would have issued a permit to France to enter Fez and bring about peace in Morocco. We should have had to carry on a war absolutely unpopular in Germany with France, and, of course, France not alone. So France had to be mildly pressed, not to keep the Treaty of Algieras, but to make a new treaty less humiliating for us. This pressure had to be brought to bear in such a way as not to entangle us at once beyond possibility of retreat. The sending of the *Panther* to Agadir was understood in Paris as we meant it, and had the desired effect. France was no longer ready for conference in theory only, but she consented to confer. The result of these conferences was the pledge of our commercial future in Morocco, and the irony of fate decreed that this advantage should also fall to England, who had done not a little to impede the Franco-German agreement. We received also parts of the French Congo of doubtful value—notes on the far-off inner African development. Was there more to be got? Who can assert it in view of the fact that it was clear for the shortest-sighted that England had openly taken sides against Germany? In other words, the isolation

policy had again called up a crisis, and this policy failed only because the Paris cabinet were wise and prudent enough to refrain from the last consequences in view of the aversion of many influential Frenchmen of radical views to a war. That France wished to cede us as little as possible was natural enough. Russia was reserved and neutral notwithstanding the alliance with France.

But England! Sir Edward Grey's meddling rôle in the conferences was a perpetual endeavor to injure Germany. General French's inspection of the French troops on our frontiers, the attitude of the most influential English newspapers, Lloyd-George's speech in France and the display of the English fleet in readiness for war were all fire-sparks to light up the French chauvinistic gunpowder reserve. We have striven long enough in Germany against the inclination to take seriously Germany's enemies in England. We are forced, however, by the thread of policy that spans from Algieras over the Bosnia-Herzegovina incident to the later Moroccan crisis, to take their influence in England very seriously indeed. This diplomatic enmity has brought very real sacrifices. Tripoli was certainly not willingly given up to Italy, or Morocco to France. And to link Russia to England, half of Persia was sacrificed. The present English policy is not a sudden or capricious one. It is based on the unhappy old English tradition of the "balance of power" in Europe. No power of the Continent shall exceed a certain strength determined upon by England. With this political maxim there is no possibility of agreement, just as there was no possibility of concord with that France who opposed the German Empire. We

can be peace-loving in Germany as we will, but we sixty-five millions of Germans cannot promise to mold our future after a comfortable Dutch *intérieur*. And if we promised it, no one would believe us. We must remain strong, and we can only wait till a saner policy gains the ascendant in England, a doctrine that together with Germany will insure the world's peace, lighten military and naval burdens and open new fields for culture. England

could well experiment with some such policy, after the gift of Tripoli, Morocco and half of Persia, for a phantom is proven somewhat costly. Perhaps the time for a final change in view will have come when officers of the Indian Lancers and Russian Cossacks watch each other within pistol shot on the Persian frontier while reading the London *Times* and the *Novoye Vremya* [the well-known Russian journal].

## PUBLIC WORK AND THE DIRECT METHOD

AT first sight it would appear natural and reasonable that if the government possessed the means and the men to execute public work, it would not hesitate to carry out such work. It is a generally accepted theory, however, that public authority, whether government, State, county, municipal, or other, is not qualified to do work on its own account. A further form of this idea is that "Government should do no work direct which private agencies can do equally well, and that direct work by public authority is an invasion of private rights, an interference with the natural course of business, and a curtailment of individual freedom and initiative." These observations occur in an article in the *Forum*, by Gen. H. M. Chittenden, who shows pretty conclusively that "this common theory is without rational basis; that public work by public agencies direct is often, if not generally, the better method; and that the contrary belief is the source of immense disadvantage to the public welfare."

As General Chittenden pertinently remarks, "the fundamental defect of the indirect or contract method of doing work is its temptation." The contractor's compensation is a profit; and a system of profit "always and everywhere fosters wrong-doing." The very contract itself is an element of evil. For, suppose the work is thrown open to public tender, there is always the danger of "collusion, or pooling of interests, whereby prices are held up and the profit shared by the bidders." Then it frequently happens that the law requires that the lowest bidder be accepted; and as "the lowest bidder is often not the best bidder, the work thus suffers from its very inception." Again, bidders, in their anxiety to get work, understate difficulties and overstate their ability, trusting to luck to come out even or ahead. Most of these drawbacks are absent under the direct method, because the temptation to dishonesty is removed when the contract system is superseded. As General Chittenden puts it:

Simplicity, directness, freedom from complications, and, what many will dispute, efficiency and economy are all promoted by this method. While examples without number from all classes of public work could be cited, Panama is the most prominent because of its great magnitude. The evidence is conclusive that, with the organization which has been created there, work of all descriptions can be done more efficiently and economically than it could be by contract. And when we contemplate the evils from which the country has escaped—the delays, extensions, extra charges, disputes over changes, the graft and corruption, the political intrigues and interference, and, of course the inevitable Congressional investigations—we may well congratulate ourselves that the contract method was not adopted.

The contracting interests themselves are absolutely audacious in opposing the public good for their own benefit. Take the following example:

Officers of the Corps of Engineers have often tried to do dredging on the works in their charge by the direct method because of the certain advantage that would result to the government. The great dredging companies have always stoutly resisted these efforts, and at one time they succeeded in writing their dictatorial demands into the federal statutes (Act of April 28, 1904), thereby prohibiting the construction of government dredges for use on certain of the rivers and harbors of the country. Thus Congress deliberately forbade the servants of the government to conduct their work to the best advantage of the public, but commanded them instead to conduct it in the interests of private agencies. Talk about protection, class legislation, subsidy, subservience to the interests—there is no more brazen example than this in the whole history of the government.

There is an interesting sequel to this unsavory piece of legislation.

When the government undertook to excavate the great Ambrose Channel through the shoals of New York Bay . . . the contractors failed at 9 cents per cubic yard, and no other bid could be obtained. At this juncture an assistant engineer in the public service . . . told his superior officer that he believed that he could build dredges and do the work direct more cheaply than the failing bidders had undertaken to do it. This officer . . . approved the plan, and on the strength of the failure of private interests secured the repeal of the Act of 1904 and then went ahead and did the work on



the plans of his subordinate at a field cost of only 4 cents per cubic yard, or 6 cents allowing for contingent expenses and interest on the cost of the plant.

A conventional argument against the direct method of executing public work is that it is subject to political interference and that its extension would mean an extension of the spoils system with all its demoralizing influences.

The whole argument is a case of inverted perspective. The one thing which can permanently seal the fate of the spoils system is a greater extension of the public service. It is because there are relatively so few interests under public control that the public gives them so little attention and leaves them an easy prey of the spoils politician. But let the scope of the service be expanded so that it shall intimately affect the people's interest and they will instantly resent political interference. . .

The soil in which the spoils system flourishes is *lack of public interest* due to the relatively small proportion of work under public authority. The soil in which it inevitably withers and dies is the soil of extensive public work, and of correspondingly extensive public interest therein. And a fact of which the public scarcely ever hears is that these alleged evils in all their essential features prevail in the business world even more extensively and shamelessly than they ever have in the government service. If the inside management of railroad business, for example, could be laid bare it would disclose practices just as obnoxious to public decency as anything which the Civil Service rules are intended to prevent. It is a demonstrable fact that in at least one department of the public service to-day—the Engineer Department and probably the Reclamation Service also—work is carried on on truer business principles, with more simplicity and directness and with less red tape, than in any railroad system of the country. What is true there can be made true of the public service everywhere.

## THE EFFECT OF ELECTRICAL TREATMENT UPON SWEDISH SCHOOL CHILDREN

FROM *Cosmos*, *L'Electricien*, and other sources, the following data have been secured bearing upon experiments conducted for a number of years past in Stockholm, in accordance with suggestions made by Prof. Svante Arrhenius, with the object of determining whether or not electricity affects advantageously the development of the human body. Two groups, of fifty children each, were carefully selected so that the two groups were, as nearly as possible, absolutely equivalent from the standpoint of the health, height, weight, etc., of their members. Each group received instruction in one of two rooms identical in dimensions and exposure. One of the two rooms, however, was wound walls, ceiling, and, apparently, floor—with a coil of a great number of windings of insulated wire, which thus formed a huge solenoid; and through this coil were sent alternating currents of high frequency. The conditions within this room were therefore in part similar to those in the core of a great electromagnet: a d'Arsonval apparatus on a grand scale. The fifty pupils who constantly occupied this room were thus immersed in a magnetic field while at work; the other group, used as a "check," studied under conditions otherwise entirely similar. Presumably, both pupils and masters were kept in ignorance of the treatment to which those in the electrified room were being subjected.

All the pupils, having been carefully meas-

ured physically, were also classified minutely according to age, capacity for mental labor, and state of advancement in studies. In other words, every effort seems to have been made to reach satisfactory conclusions as to the effect of the treatment upon the favored fifty.

At the end of six months, the electrified pupils had, on the average, grown 51 millimeters (2 inches); the "check" students only 32 millimeters (1¼ inches). The increase in weight, etc., was proportional to that in height.

The mental progress was as remarkable as the physical. Taking as a standard of advance in studies that of the very brightest children and denominating this 100 per cent., the average advance of those who had been subjected to the new treatment was 92 per cent., and fifteen out of the fifty were recorded as having attained the maximum. On the other hand, the average progress of the check pupils was represented by 75 per cent., and none of them had attained to the maximum. There was also a notable improvement in mental alertness and attention and in capacity to resist fatigue, on the part of those in the electrified room. Teachers as well as pupils benefited by the treatment. It is stated that the odor of ozone was distinctly noticeable in the wired room, and the natural suggestion has been made that some physiological effect might have been produced by this substance upon teachers and

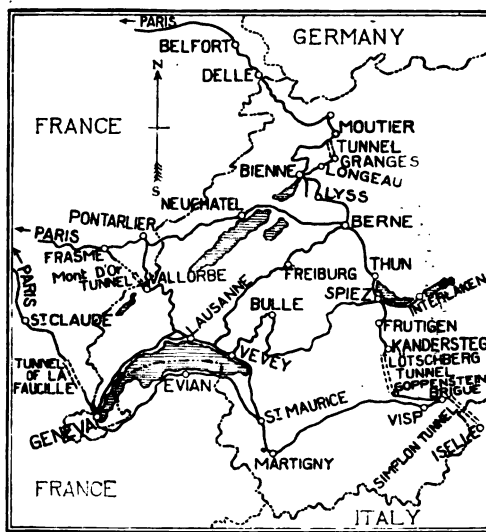
pupils, which would account for the results noted; but the experimenters think otherwise. If the results in question are confirmed, electricity may become a valuable aid in the education of children physically and mentally backward.

## THE LÖTSCHBERG TUNNEL

IN March last the north and the south heading of the Lötschberg tunnel met under the Bernese Alps, and now the time is not far distant when trains from Berne may reach the Simplon tunnel by a comparatively direct route. The completion of this remarkable project is interesting, not only because of engineering difficulties overcome, but for the far-reaching effect it is likely to have upon the trade routes of international commerce. From a recent article by A. Berthier in *Cosmos* (Paris) has been taken much of the material contained in this note.

I. The tunnel.—As is generally known, the Simplon tunnel, completed about five years ago, affords a direct railway connection between the upper Rhône valley and northern Italy. To reach the northern end of the Simplon, the railways along the north and the south shore of the Lake of Geneva join at St. Maurice and ascend the valley of the Rhône to Brigue. For western Switzerland this route is fairly direct; traffic from the north, however, must make its way around the western end of the range of the Bernese Alps, and hence is compelled to follow a very circuitous route. To remedy this condition the Lötschberg project was undertaken: this consists in connecting the line from Thun to Spiez and Frutigen, by a nine-mile tunnel, with a line from Goppenstein in the Rhône Valley to Brigue. In 1906 the work of cutting was begun at both ends by a French contracting company; on March 31 last a drill in the south heading broke through the separating wall and fell into the north heading. Through the small opening a bunch of flowers was passed by one of the engineers, and, within an hour, blasts had cleared away the remaining rock and the two mining gangs were fraternizing in true Latin fashion.

From the standpoint of accuracy of calculation and measurement, the Lötschberg surpasses all records. The north and south headings failed to meet precisely by less than half an inch in the horizontal plane! The length of the tunnel coincided exactly with the estimated length. The difference in level between the axes of the two headings was about sixteen inches, when they met, but this was intentional, as it facilitated the re-



MAP SHOWING THE NEW TUNNEL UNDER THE ALPS

moval of water in one of the galleries. What renders these results still more remarkable is the fact that the tunnel is not cut in a straight line, but follows two great curves. There is no tunnel of comparable length showing so sinuous a course, hence topographical work of the greatest complexity was necessary in order to avoid a fiasco.

In July, 1908, the north heading, after having been pushed about 12-3 miles, was suddenly flooded while working through the gravelly deposits below the bed of the Kander, with disastrous loss of life and damage to property. After six months' delay the heading was started again at a point nearly a mile back, so that the total length of the cuttings actually made corresponds to a tunnel of nearly ten miles in length. Taking into account the numerous holidays, the 15,942 meters of tunnel were pierced in 1492 days' work, which gives a mean of 10.68 meters (35 feet) advance per working day—a result never before approached.

The obstacles which had to be overcome in the case of the Simplon project will long be remembered; geological conditions and subterranean heat were sources of almost insuperable difficulties. The geological conditions encountered in the Lötschberg tunnel

were to some extent helpful, but on the other hand teemed with unpleasant surprises. For about two miles from each end the headings were driven through more or less hard jurassic limestone, filled with cracks, often wet, with occasional inroads of water,—followed by a transition layer between the limestone and the granitic core, penetration of which was brought about only with great care, so untrustworthy were the distorted strata. Considerable subterranean streams at the same time interfered with the progress of the work. Beyond this layer, which extended for about a third of a mile, granitic rock was met with, then granite itself. These strata were not as solid as might have been anticipated: the enormous pressure from above caused settlement with consequent cracking, and the

numerous fissures called for much timber-work. At the same time drilling was slow, owing to the presence in the granite of veins of an exceedingly hard porphyry.

The temperature in the galleries reached a maximum of 34.2° C. (93.5° F.) at a point where the cutting was 1450 metres (4750 feet) vertically below the surface. In order to lower the temperature of the air, heated by the surrounding rocks, resort was had, as in the case of the Simplon, to cold-water sprays.

Electric traction will, of course, be employed in the completed tunnel, although the system in use in the Simplon will not be adequate on account of the heavy grades.

Following are the lengths and the altitudes above sea-level of the more important Alpine tunnels:

	Length	Altitude
Simplon, Switzerland-Italy . . . . .	19,803 m. (12 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles)	2,312 ft.
St. Gothard, Switzerland-Italy . . . . .	14,998 m. (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles)	3,786 ft.
Lötschberg, Switzerland . . . . .	14,536 m. (9 miles)	4,096 ft.
Mount Cenis, France-Italy . . . . .	12,849 m. (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles)	4,245 ft.
Arlberg, Austria (Tyrol) . . . . .	10,240 m. (6 $\frac{1}{3}$ miles)	4,297 ft.
Ricken, Switzerland . . . . .	8,603 m. (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles)	2,033 ft.
Tauern, Austria . . . . .	8,550 m. (5 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles)	4,020 ft.
Moutier-Granges*, Switzerland . . . . .	8,550 m. (5 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles)	1,800 ft.
Hauenstein* . . . . .	8,148 m. (5 miles)	1,500 ft.
Mont-d'Or*, France-Switzerland . . . . .	6,099 m. (4 miles)	3,000 ft.
Albula, Switzerland . . . . .	5,864 m. (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles)	5,981 ft.
Weissenstein, Switzerland . . . . .	3,700 m. (2 $\frac{1}{3}$ miles)	2,250 ft.

\* Under construction.

II. The effect upon commerce of the opening of the Lötschberg tunnel. The Simplon tunnel was opened to traffic in 1906. Although it possessed the advantage at its southern end of excellent routes to Milan, Genoa and Turin, its outlets to the north and west failed to put the Simplon in a position to compete satisfactorily with other lines. Toward the west were, respectively, the line to Paris by way of Lausanne, greatly handicapped by the roundabout road over the mountains between Vallorbe and Pontarlier; and those along the shores of the Lake of Geneva, similarly at a disadvantage because of the circuitous line from Geneva to Dijon. All commerce bound north had to make its way, on the other hand, around the western end of the Bernese Alps, which naturally added greatly to the cost of transmission as well as the time required. Under these conditions it was but natural that every effort should be made to place the northern cantons in a position to avail themselves of the Simplon by a short cut to the Rhône valley. The Lötschberg tunnel is the result.

Turning to the west, we find that the Canton of Geneva very naturally aspires to have the direct route from Paris to Milan pass through its territory. To bring this about it

must—as the message from the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly shows—be in a position to compete with the more direct route *via* Vallorbe and Lausanne. To this end the La Faucille project of a line from Lons-le-Saulnier to Geneva has been devised,—which makes up by its low grade and easy curves for the advantage the Vallorbe line possesses in its lesser distance. It does away with much of the winding road from Dijon southeast, and reaches Geneva after piercing the Jura range by a long, low-grade tunnel under La Faucille. But the Canton of Vaud has not been caught napping. To maintain the advantage of the Vallorbe route against competitors, a short-cut from Frasme to Vallorbe, passing under the Jura range by a long tunnel at Mont d'Or, is under construction, and soon the roundabout line through Pontarlier will be abandoned by through trains.

In all this costly work of improvement the Swiss Federal Government has naturally endeavored to give its aid so as to benefit the greatest number. Geneva, and French Switzerland generally, feels that the completion of the Lötschberg project first is only another instance of the neglect of the western cantons in favor of the northern—*i. e.*, the German.

At present the line from Paris to Milan via Pontarlier and Vallorbe is the shortest of all lines which connect those two cities. The completion of the short cut from Frasme to Vallorbe will reduce the distance by 19 km. (11¾ miles). The lengths of the several routes (improved as outlined) are as follows:

Paris - Frasme - Vallorbe - Lausanne - Simplon - Milan: 817 km. (507 miles).

Paris - Neuchâtel - Berne - Lötschberg - Simplon - Milan: 828 km. (514 miles).

Paris - La Faucille - Geneva - Evian - Milan: 849 km. (527 miles).

Paris - Delle - Moutier - Longeau - Bienne - Lötschberg - Simplon - Milan: 852 km. (529 miles).

Paris - La Faucille - Lausanne - Simplon - Milan: 860 km. (534 miles).

Paris - Bâle - Lucerne - St. Gothard - Milan: 892 km. (554 miles).

Paris - Chambéry - Mont Cenis - Milan: 910 km. (565 miles).

According to M. Berthier, the bulk of the traffic by way of the Lötschberg line will be French. Before the Simplon was opened, this traffic between France and Italy was carried on almost entirely by way of Mont Cenis; only a small fraction made use of the St. Gothard. One would imagine that the opening of the Simplon would change this condition; as a matter of fact, it has not done so. What effect the Lötschberg lines' completion will have, or the construction of the Faucille tunnel in its turn, time alone can tell; but as an engineering feat the work commands our admiration.

## THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT AND GERMAN WOMEN

"SINGLE life is a winding road," remarked Isabel Carnaby to Paul, "and married life a garden. Really every spinster has at some time paused at the gate."

One might quarrel with the epigram, inasmuch as husbands are rarely as delightful as an English garden, for if they were, no wayfaring spinster would hesitate to open the gate. But it might be amended so as to read, "Married life offers a garden as bait and, it may be, compensation for taking the husband." The theory perhaps accounts for the success of the model garden city of Letchworth founded in 1903, by which less prosperous women were enabled to attain the garden after having struggled in a city with the husband and without the reward for endurance—the garden. It is, too, for that most sympathetic stratum of the German burgher class, the *klein Bürger-Leut*, for the wives of mechanics, foremen and small officials as well as wives of art craftsmen that the movement for more gardens has spread from England to Germany. Helene Helbig-Tränkner describes in the *Frauen-Rundschau* (Berlin) the results of the Hellerau experiment near Dresden, founded by the owner of the Arts and Crafts Workshops.

The workmen are offered homes at this place in the midst of a wood of Scotch firs on sandy heath ground. The home consists of a combined living room and kitchen, two large bedrooms and a wash room and bath room. The artists employed in the workshops use their living room as studio and can

express any wish as to the arrangement of the house before it is built. The gardens are not too small to exclude fruit trees for the filling of jars to line the *Hausmutter's* pantry shelves. Everywhere around Hellerau grow wild the green fertilizing lupine stalks that are gradually turning the sandy heath into fertile earth. Already the flaunting sweet peas and scarlet bean flower along long trellis and pumpkins and gourd vine trail with the weight of their fruit. Small fruit trees are propped and tended by the patient women gardeners whose improved health is perhaps due as much to the pride of property as to the work in the open air and the freedom from worry about summer food supplies. In all of the higher schools for girls there have lately been introduced courses of instruction in the art of gardening, and some of the girls who have aided their mothers in Hellerau will naturally elect to follow these classes and later on in their own gardens bring the ideas of trained specialists to aid them in their natural desire to outstrip their early attempts. At Letchworth the women have organized reading rooms and clubs and Frau Tränkner hopes that the German ladies of the new garden cities that are springing up around the big towns will follow this lead and assist their less fortunate sisters in mental and social development. Frau Tränkner even mentions the possibility of suffrage finding a fertile ground among the women gardeners. This is perhaps only an association of ideas, but it seems enough for the present that the

healthy individualism that demands a separate house and a piece of ground from which no landlord has a right to evict, has been met more than halfway by the companies, and, too, that the decrease of labor for workmen's wives in the factories has been counterbalanced by this new means of aiding their families.

To this duller side we are convinced that the gardeners themselves have given less thought than to the joy of color and smell of living plants and the pleasure of homely nose-gays on the table beside the *Kompott* made from their own plums and pears. In the towns in the poorest quarters every small fruit stand has a jugful of flowers, and the women with their market baskets pay the

ten pfennigs as they go out and stoop for the gentians or buttercups or dahlias. In the markets the best customers of the flower woman are not the cooks or *Dienstmädchen* of the rich, but just the *klein Bürger-Leut*.

From this unaffected attachment to flowers, so part and parcel of their daily life more than any social-ethical propaganda, is to be awaited the higher result of the garden movement in Germany. Frau Tränkner provokes the impatience of all who love gardens with her introduction of the suffragist leading motive. What, in the name of buttercups and gentian and dahlia and—yes, of homely but delicious plum *Kompott*—has suffragism to do within the hedges of the gardens of the poet and thinker folk?

## MODERN COMEDY IN SPAIN

**T**HOUGH Spain's literature and music have either lingered in classic trammels or lagged behind the French fashions, her drama has been as progressive and distinctively national as her painting. The comedies of Don Jacinto Benavente are witty as Oscar Wilde's with an occasional Old-World touch as light as Henri Lavendau's or as gust of passion as elemental as Bernstein. And besides Benavente bears the mantle of Camille Cailhau, the Spanish Heine, in his supreme gift of irony. Three or four seasons ago the little Lara theater in Madrid rang with the ovation to Benavente's comedy "The Interests at Stake." To the bitter satire of Don Jacinto, hitherto undisputed dean of dramatists, we hear that a muse almost Arcadian in its lulling optimism has succeeded, and the Lara public, captivated and moved by the beauty of Martinez Sierra's "Canción de Cuna" (Cradle Song), accorded a reception equally enthusiastic to the young writer. Señor Don Julio Melego in *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) declares that the triumph was not altogether a surprise to those who have observed the progress of the young poet and the gradual development of the intensity of the dramatist of to-day seen in successive tales and verses.

"Gregorio Martinez Sierra," says Señor Milego, "is a consummate observer of character; he knows profoundly the feminine soul, and his great intuitive power is linked to an extraordinary artistic sensitiveness. The "Cradle Song" is a sentimental comedy, a true poem that fingers the most sensitive of the heart. Besides, it has restraint and enchanting tenderness and spontaneity.

And, too, the inestimable treasure of originality. Martinez Sierra, like a rare Don Juan of the emotions, has leaped the convent walls and presents to us the daily life of a community of Dominican nuns. There could have been no more difficult task. The author was exposed to the danger of evolving a controversial work, one-sided, either from the clerical or from the radical standpoint. But he has emerged victorious in that he has confined himself to the vibrantly realistic painting of the monotonous life of the nuns with their little rivalries, their infantine distractions, their subdued mirth and their silent tragedy. Nothing more. But from the faithful, exact copy of reality, the "Cradle Song" becomes a song to life, a triumphal hymn to motherhood, a hosanna to undying love, universal in spite of mankind and the laws and religions of all nations, ages, and races.

The plot is very simple. In a convent of Dominican Sisters there is a little festival to celebrate the saint's day of the Mother Superior. Presents are received from the pious villagers and the local authorities. The novices have permission to speak and are prattling gayly when the porter's bell rings. They look through the grating. A bundle has been left and there are echoes of retreating footsteps of some one who brought it. The novices take in the bundle and discover to their dismay that it is a new-born infant in a basket. The Mother Superior enters. The novices beg to be allowed to keep the child and promise to bring it up among them. Sister John of the Cross, "in the world," had six little brothers and sisters whom she

washed and dressed, and offers herself as the most skilled nurse. The convent physician, a saintly old man, will be the godfather. The Mother Superior consents, and the child abandoned by its parents is adopted into the community. The nuns retire to a sacred office. Sister John of the Cross remains on the stage with the child. The bells sound the mournful summons to the choir. Clouds of incense float in from the open chapel door with the psalms and murmured responses of the nuns. And the young and beautiful Sister John of the Cross, kneeling before the cradle, covers the baby with kisses and coos to it, as to her little brothers and sisters. "Darling, precious, who loves you?" Her maternal instinct wakes in spite of the habit of bride of the Lord.

In the second act, the author in a very fine interlude in verse, tells that eighteen years have elapsed. The child is now a vivacious, gay, little woman. She fills no monastic vocation, and is going to marry a trustworthy, most human youth. The community, who love her as one loves a daughter, are embroidering the bridal linen. They are all sad, anticipating the separation from the girl. The time to go comes and the nuns weep bitterly. With the child goes a part

of their hearts—above all, of Sister John of the Cross, who was a real mother to her. The girl goes out into the world, happy and laughing at the future. The nuns stay buried in the convent, intoning their dirges of the passion and death of Jesus.

This is—broadly—the outline of the "Cradle Song" When the curtain fell, the audience was for a moment chilled with horror. The final scene is crushing in its tranquil coldness. Under the apparent calm and childish gayety of the convent dwellers, the icy, silent tragedies of those flower-souls reaped before their blossom, and all sacrifice and resignation, flashed before us. Martinez Sierra has written a brilliant page in the history of our dramatic literature, and this single work has unanimously, clamorously, and definitely consecrated its author as one of our greatest dramatists.

The secret pride of Martinez Sierra in transferring to the stage the poetry hovering over the tranquil, monotonous life of the lowly—the personal note of his verse—has been justified. The Spanish girl who sees the "Cradle Song" may perhaps hesitate before entering a convent. The negation of life and individuality will perhaps yield to the braver ideal of patience and motherhood.

## THE GREAT HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CONFUCIUS

FOR many centuries the Chinese sage who is known to the West as Confucius has wielded a tremendous personal influence over wide areas and vast numbers of mankind. It has been said that he is the "religious symbol for the totality of Chinese civilization." It was to him, says the writer of an editorial article in the *Japan Herald*, "that uniform development of Chinese civilization is due. In so far, he, more than any other man, is fitted to be the symbolic representative of the Chinese spirit."

The life of Confucius was not marked by any extraordinary accomplishments. We quote here again from the *Herald*:

He was indeed a great scholar, possibly the greatest of his time; he was a good official, possibly the best of his time—only that he had very little opportunity to show his capacity in this respect; he was a teacher of genius, possibly one of the greatest of all times; he was a literary compiler who put the Chinese "Bible" in the shape in which it has come down to posterity; although the Chinese "New Testament," the so-called "Shi King" (Four Books), based upon his own teachings, and

the "Old Testament," the "Wu King" (Five Books), edited by him, have in later times undergone considerable alterations, the above division of them being perhaps itself of much later date. But as for what are called "great actions" it is in his case vain to seek them. And even the later attempts to enhance his literary renown somewhat by ascribing to him, instead of the rather dry "Spring and Autumn Annals," which go under his name, the more lively commentary known as "Tao Chuan," do not help matters much.

It is in his historical connection, however, we are told, that Confucius appears the great force he really was.

Chinese society in the time of Confucius was in a very corrupt condition. The degeneration of a whole race is a process which requires a long time; hence it was that the final break-up did not occur till several centuries after Confucius. But this break-up was already being prepared in his time, and his failures were by him taken as a token that his generation were already past remedy. In recognizing this, he did not stand alone. The saints and sages of his time, who with Lao Tze at their head, are known to later ages as the Taoists, were well aware of it. But whereas the Taoists had in final despair left things to take their course and

withdrew from the world, Confucius did not give up the struggle, but had collected the elements of the existing civilization which were capable of enduring and had saved the plan of the social structure so that this plan remained for succeeding generations. In this sense is to be understood the often miscomprehended saying that Confucius was a "transmitter and not a creator." Yet he developed the old plan in one point, and that just the weak point. The protectors of civilization before him had been great princes—seven in all are named—the protectors of civilization after him were the scholars. By this means the structure of Chinese civilization became in a sense independent of the chances of succession of rulers, independent of the change of dynasties, even to some extent independent of the blood of the races that circulated in this great organism. The ethnological composi-

tion of China has several times undergone changes as great as Europe underwent at the time of the break-up of the Roman Empire by the northern races, yet the structure of Chinese civilization remained unaffected, so that to the uninitiated the change of races is hardly perceptible. This strength of the system is due to the fact that Confucius made it independent of physical conditions and based it on the broad foundation of the class which were the moral representatives of the whole people, the class of the scholars.

Since that time, concludes the editorial, the Confucian system has ruled without a rival in China: the system of democratic absolutism on the base of the family principle and protected by an aristocracy of intellect."

## THE PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION IN TURKEY

WHEN Said Pasha, "the Grand Old Man" of Turkey, assumed the Grand Viziership on the last day of September, soon after the opening of hostilities with Italy, it was his eighth premiership, the other seven having taken place under the reign of Abdul-Hamid. Although past the nineties, "Kutshuk" (the Small) Said Pasha was considered a shrewd diplomat, an able jurist, and an experienced premier. Under these circumstances, at a time when the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was threatened, he was expected to rally every force around him. His ability was recognized even by his numerous enemies, the only objection being his great age and some of his acts during the old Sultan's régime.

The life story of Said Pasha is, in fact, the history of Turkey for the past 35 years. At the time of the Russian war of 1876-77, he was the First Secretary of Abdul-Hamid, and it was his influence, his enemies say, that brought about the introduction of certain clauses in the first constitution which ultimately closed the first Parliament. It was he, they claim further, who was instrumental in bringing over to the Yildiz Palace the entire Sublime Porte.

Said Kettsburg claims and publishes his "Memoires," adorned with many interesting documents to prove his assertions, that he was always a liberal, that he was disgraced by Abdul-Hamid on account of his opposition to some of the latter's despotic acts, that he always advised his sovereign to revive the constitution.

At the opening of the present Parliament, Said was elected President of the Senate and was still the head of that body when he assumed the premiership. He presided over

the General Assembly, at San Stefano, in April, 1909, the body which deposed Abdul-Hamid. He is a typical Turk, stubborn rather than energetic, cunning and shrewd and very dogmatic. In foreign politics he has always been considered on England's side rather than on Germany's.

His first mistake was to form a cabinet in which two-thirds of the members were of the outgoing Hakki Pasha cabinet, which was under impeachment by the Parliament for having left Tripoli without protection. It is true that he claimed to have retained these members, because he could not find better men for the offices, and he promised to overhaul the entire cabinet within six weeks. This he never did. Then he signed an agreement with Imam Yahia of Yemen, who was in revolt, which is incompatible with the sovereign rights of the Sultan and Caliph over that section of the empire. The immediate convocation of the Parliament and his ministerial programme as laid before that body were considered of good omen. But soon he showed that he was too much under the influence of the "Committee of Union and Progress," the Young Turkish party, or, as some claim and perhaps correctly, that the committee was too much under the influence of the "old shrewd man."

Whatever the real situation, almost the entire press with the exception of the *Tanin* (Echo), began a systematic campaign against him, and even the journals considered friendly to the Committee—who advanced the theory that Said Pasha was influencing the Young Turk party—attacked him very bitterly and begged him "to resign and the committee to hand the government over to the opposition party," for the welfare of the

country, which was in danger from the unexpected attack by Italy.

The Turkish papers being very fond of polemics and the statesmen adepts in the art of slandering one another, the whole country, from Parliament down to the smallest cafés, including universities, schools, clubs, journals, started attacks and counter attacks, open letters accusing every living man of any prominence of crimes of all sorts, from murder down to the employment of *agents provocateurs* and spying for the old Sultan, grafting, freemasonry, heresy, etc. This contributed to make the already excited Turkish blood boil. The situation in the Parliament and the Senate became more and more acute, and Said Pasha and his cabinet did nothing except defend themselves and attack members and others, among the dead as well as among the living.

While the Italian fleet was said to be near the Dardanelles, while Russia was threatening to reopen the "Question of the Straits," while Persia's independence was menaced—a most important question for the Porte—while the defenders of Tripoli were sacrificing themselves to defend the integrity of their country and the internal strife in Parliament and outside of it was becoming more and more acute, the Cretan question assumed troublesome form, the frequent border skirmishes on the Bulgarian, Montenegrin and Greek frontiers, the great number of revolutionary bands invading Macedonia from Bulgaria and infesting the vilayets of Monastir, Salonica and Kossovo, leaving ruin and murder behind them; the railroad outrages and bomb-throwing at mosques and barracks, by these bands, in order to cause massacres of Christians and eventual European intervention—all these troubles, together with unrest in Armenia and Kurdistan and the personal fights and scandals in the capital and Parliament, made the situation well-nigh desperate. During the month of December the press was continually pointing out to the cabinet its faults and the necessity to give place to a stronger combination, which would be respected abroad and enjoy full confidence at home. The various opposition parties were forming a block, called the "Liberal Understanding," containing all political parties and those of the different nationalities, except the Socialists, having among its members many deserters from the Young Turkish party. As the regular parliamentary elections of 1912 are approaching it is understood that the new coalition party is going to oppose then an united front

against the Committee of Union and Progress, as in their platform they are trying to please every one. A very significant fact is the success of the candidates for M. P. of the new party, recently at Constantinople.

The most critical situation of the government arose when, during December, Said Pasha introduced in Parliament an amendment to the constitution, signed by all the Ministers, changing article 35 of that document. It was marked "Urgent" and modified the above-mentioned article in such a manner as to affect most seriously the privileges of the Parliament and the Senate. This is the amendment introduced by the government:

In case the Chamber refuse definitively and after many presentations, a proposition of the cabinet, the Sovereign has the right either to accept the resignation of the cabinet or to dissolve the Chamber, provided that elections will take place within the following three months; the dissolution of the House can only be decreed once during a parliamentary session. All parliamentary labors will be suspended during time of war. The Sovereign is free not to ask the advice of the Senate for the dissolution of the Chamber.

Said Pasha defended this amendment in a very long speech in Parliament, stating that he was hampered by the Chamber in his proposed peace negotiations with Italy and that he needed peace to carry out his ministerial programme. Replying to his critics in the press and in the Chamber, he defended all his acts during his public life, tried to prove his liberalism, denied any intention of a *coup d'état* as was attributed to him, proclaimed himself a founder and defender of the constitution, instead of the accusation of having killed it at the time of his first Grand-Viziership in 1878, and assured the Chamber that he would not dissolve it, but needed absolutely this amendment to the constitution in order to organize a strong government and not be disturbed every day by quarrels and personal attacks. The opposition accused him of trying to play the same game as in 1878, and of being willing to make peace with Italy on dishonorable terms. Although the amendment was referred to a commission, it needs the vote of two-thirds of the Chamber to become a law, and as the opposition absented itself *en masse* from the Chamber during the vote, there being no quorum, Said Pasha with the entire cabinet resigned; almost at once he was summoned to form a new cabinet with very few changes. The prospects are that he will not be able to pass his amendment, and it may happen that his ninth cabinet will soon follow the fate of the last one.



Against the lonely *Tanine* (Echo), the Committee's organ, whose editor is the able politician and economist, Djahid Bey, together with Babanzadé Ismail Hakki Bey, the ex-Minister, are united the *Yeni Gazette*, the *Tessissat*, the *Ikdam*, the *Alemdar*, all the journals of the different nationalities and the *Jeune Turc*.

The last-named journal mercilessly attacks Said Pasha and the Committee in a series of articles, entitled: "As in Old Byzantium," "The Modern Saidism Is Not Different from the Ancient and Medieval Sort," "Poor Constitution." It says further:

"The constitution can be modified only in a more liberal sense, while Said Pasha is trying to correct the same in a reactionary manner. . . . This old man has had all the honors and dishonors a mortal can desire. . . . Let him toward the end of his long life and career have a little pity on

that people from whom he has obtained everything and renounce such projects, which will surely trouble our internal peace. . . . We must have union and defend our integrity threatened everywhere. Is Constantinople to look like Byzantium, and, like the Byzantines, fight one another over insignificant questions, while Sultan Mohammed II was battering down the walls of their city? Is it by acting so that we are going to help our people regenerate themselves and give them the blessings of civilization? . . . Said Pasha will be the ruin of our country, and will invite by his acts the greedy, imperialist Europe to our division. . . . Said Pasha has created Hamid and killed liberty in 1878; he is still playing his original rôle. . . . We do not believe that the amendment will have the two-thirds vote necessary to pass in the Chamber, and we have hope in the intelligence and patriotism of our deputies, and this for the ultimate welfare of our country and the future of our constitutional régime. . . . Let the Committee be careful, because this old man, stubborn and crafty, can easily get the better of the Committee and thus give free course to his contradictions and hatred. . . ."

## STATE INSURANCE IN ITALY

AN example of the prevailing tendency toward the nationalization of large enterprises is given by the Italian project of State life insurance, as described in an article in the *Rassegna Nazionale* by Signor F. Giordani.

The obligatory insurance of wage-earners whose earnings would not enable them to make adequate provision for temporary or permanent disability, or for old age, has long been practiced in Germany, and has recently been introduced in France, Italy, and very recently England, and this Italian project is primarily designed to provide a much-needed subsidy for the State pension fund. Realizing that the legitimate profits of life insurance are very large, and that the immense reserves held by the insurance companies constitute a powerful financial resource, the Italian Government proposes that the State take over the entire business of life insurance, excluding all private undertakings, whether native or foreign, from this field.

The projected law provides for the establishment of a National Institution for life insurance, having its seat in Rome, and placed under the Ministry of Agriculture, Trade and Commerce. No one is to be allowed to make any contract for life insurance with any other institution or company. The

various companies now doing business in Italy are to be required to furnish the government with a list of their policyholders, and the policies are then to be valued and liquidated. All right to claim indemnity or compensation for injury resulting from the execution of the law is denied to the existing companies. The writer characterizes the scheme as weak and unwise and concludes his arraignment of the proposed legislation with the following words:

The truth is that this proposed law is manifestly a first step in the direction of national centralization, and in that of the confiscation of private property. . . . No serious considerations of public interest justify its introduction, as has been convincingly shown by the critics of the project. For all who have carefully examined it the question arises, What guarantees can the government offer that premiums will remain as stable as they have heretofore been in the case of the present life insurance companies? The government cannot well place its capital at a higher rate of interest than that now in force for the national debt, namely, from 3 per cent. to 3½ per cent., and the new institution would scarcely be able to realize the 4¼ per cent. or 4½ per cent. indispensable to cover expenses, maintain the present rates, and leave a small margin of profit. Hence, under the most favorable circumstances only a comparatively small sum could ever be applied to the invalid or old-age pensions.



# THE PLAN FOR BETTER CURRENCY

## WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

### "In Reserve"—The German Cabman

**T**HE little story of the German cabman, I think, will best answer your question." The speaker was Mr. George Paish, editor of the London *Statist*. As a visiting economist of international note, he had been requested, by a representative of this department, to lay bare the root of the trouble with our present currency system.

On the 8th of last month this story came to mind again. For on that day the bill for a new and better currency system was filed with Congress by the National Monetary Commission. With it went a report enumerating the seventeen chief defects of the present plan. They all center around the moral of Mr. Paish's story.

This began with the complaints of poor cab-service in a certain small German town. The worthy local authorities finally passed an ordinance providing that at each officially designated cab-stand there should always be found at least one cab.

The next night, one of the chief complainants, a visiting English lord, found himself caught in a heavy rainstorm on his way to a dinner. A solitary vehicle stood waiting at the principal cab-stand. He jumped into it. But the driver refused to budge—quoting the new official placard: "There shall always be one cab at each cab-stand."

It sounds incredible; but it is upon an exactly parallel basis that the entire money system of the United States operates—when it doesn't break down. Each of the 25,000 National and State banks, in good times and bad, is required by law to keep reserves varying from 10 to 25 per cent. Now ours has been the only nation, and is still, which doesn't increase its currency to meet the

expansion of business activity. Consequently, when the manufacturer or merchant applies to his bank, at times when he can use money best; when he knows it has hundreds of thousands or millions of perfectly good currency in its vault; after he has proven himself perfectly solvent and entitled to borrow some of it—he finds difficulty because "There must always be at least the legal reserve in this bank."

In every other civilized country reserves in finance are used as "reserves" are used in war—to be held off until the psychological moment, and then thrown into action with all the impetus and concentration possible.

It is such centralization of reserves that the Monetary Commission's bill provides for. If the scheme lacks sufficient checks against



SHIPPING GOLD—AN OBJECT LESSON IN THE CONCENTRATION OF BANKING CONTROL

(This transfer of gold from the Sub-Treasury is a familiar sight in New York. But few stop to consider how little real money (of which gold is the universal basis) actually changes hands as compared with the total transactions of the "money-business"—banking. Wherefore that business is more liquid, tends more easily to concentrate than any other. On January 9, the New York banks (representing nearly two-thirds the transactions of the nation in money and credit) "cleared" \$361,519,278. But less than one-eighteenth of this changed hands—that mostly in gold certificates. The Sub-Treasury, the largest single factor, "balanced" with only \$101,724)

the possibility of private or sectional control, it is the business of Congressmen to add them. If any other provisions are unwise, it is the business of Congressmen to modify them. But as to the beauty of its principle—the

average banker or business man of experience beyond a single small locality needs no argument. For the bill seeks to make "reserves" the common fund of *all* the banks—a medium through which the credit of any business man or farmer may be converted into cash. And this cash is to be, not the old bond-secured bank-notes, but notes issued by the Reserve Association itself, secured by the soundest private security—properly indorsed commercial paper.

### Perversities of "Currency" To-day

ANY Congressman who noted, on January 8, the filing of the bill for a better currency could have learned several reasons why relief is needed, simply by reading the current newspapers. While the curtain was thus rung down on the Monetary Commission's four years' labors, there were piling up on all sides fresh evidences of the perversities inevitable under the old law of '63.

For instance, statistics became available to show that the "interior" or "country" banks, during the last five months of 1911, had been rushing currency to New York until their deposits there, on January 1, totaled no less than \$70,000,000. Yet that particular period is the one when the flow of money is usually in the opposite direction. Normally, in the autumn, more currency is needed, West and South, for use in moving the crops. During the same five months of 1910, for example, the New York banks "lost" to the interior \$8,154,000; in 1909, \$12,314,000; and in 1908, \$8,186,000.

Obviously, the country was flooded last year with money that it did not need. A "natural" currency would have contracted as a result of the smaller volume of business. But take the month of December. In spite of the \$43,000,000-odd sent to New York banks, the month's decrease in the amount of money in circulation totaled only \$3,000,000.

Little wonder that money in New York during January was going begging at 3 per cent. This meant trouble for the bankers. In order to keep their great stocks profitably employed, they were compelled to loan abroad, where interest rates were higher. This, notwithstanding the fact that they had already sent more than \$150,000,000 to the other side—mostly to Germany.

Besides, "too much money" is as bad for the community as for the individual. The showing of strength imparted to the market for certain classes of investment bonds was

more or less fictitious. These were not enjoying the "distribution" that usually follows the enormous January interest and dividend payments by the corporations—\$233,000,000 this year. The big banks were bidding for bonds actively, adding to an already "high record" of security holdings, more than a billion and a quarter for the national institutions alone. Even gilt-edged bonds yielded the banks a higher interest return than could be obtained in the open money market.

What will happen later, should industry and trade and transportation turn out active and profitable? More money will be needed. Then, however, it will be scarce. Interest rates will soar, loans will be called and securities forced on the market with all the attendant disturbances that have been felt so frequently in the past. Will Congress provide a money-system that is "natural"? So it is hoped.

### Money Theories and Money Conditions

THERE lingers in some minds a general and honest reluctance to approve of any currency plan that involves "concentration."

While popular editorial writers still fear the possibility of "railroading a scheme to centralize the credit of the country and put the supreme power of the purse in the hands of a close corporation,"—when they declare that "to control the banks of the country is to control the business of the country"; and that "it is perfectly clear that the American people do not intend to have the business of the country controlled by any set of men," it seems proper to repeat that centralization of banking power at present is not a theory, but a condition.

As this department showed in January, 1910, the Morgan banking house and its associates even then controlled institutions with resources of more than \$2,000,000,000. They were influential also in the financial direction of railroad, industrial and public service corporations with aggregate capital of \$7,500,000,000. They wielded assets of banks and insurance companies in New York City alone equal to 14 per cent. of the assets of all the national banks. And since these estimates were made, the power of the "Morgan house" and its allies has been still further extended. They figured most prominently in the banking changes of 1911—a year notable for the large number of small banks that were actually merged with larger institutions or passed under their control.

Yet it must not be supposed that this development, which has been going on in other financial centers—in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles and San Francisco, as well as in New York—is the result of a conspiracy. It is nobody's invention. It reflects an inevitable tendency—like concentration in industry. Fortunately it has been directed by master financial minds—by men who are referred to as among the great constructionists in the country's material development. Whether it be a "money trust," Congressman Lindbergh's impending investigation should decide. By any name, it has some advantages. As one authority remarked last month, through it "depositors of the banks have been assured added safety and far better facilities than they have ever enjoyed before."

Of course, in the largest view, no private money centralization should be permitted. What assurance can be given that the successors of the men who now possess such power will be trustworthy? The real question before the nation is: How can the American people be represented in the concentration of money. The Monetary Commission believes it has found a way. Maybe the Commission's plan in this and other respects can be improved on. But its essential objects, as this magazine has pointed out from time to time, are good, and indeed necessary.

### "A Ruler on a Keg of Dynamite"

"WALL STREET, at present, is a ruler on a keg of dynamite." This picturesque comment upon the money power of New York banks, made by one of Wall Street's foremost bankers—Paul M. Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb & Company—was recalled last month in connection with an important amendment to the plan which the Monetary Commission had just announced.

Mr. Warburg, in addressing a convention of American bankers, had said further: "While our present system makes New York the undoubted money center, and gives to its banks a position of preëminence and predominance, this power is possessed only at the expense of a responsibility which in times of stress brings mortification and humiliation. Like many an absolute ruler in recent years, it (Wall Street) finds it more conducive to safety and contentment to forego some of its prerogatives—thrust upon New York, not by its own will, but as a result of our present laws and conditions—and to turn an oligarchy into a constitutional democratic federation."

Here was Wall Street's own declaration that it is not so jealous, as has been popularly supposed, of being "every inch a king." Its heavy crown will be removed if the Monetary Commission's bill becomes a law. The bill provides for forty-six directors of the Association, seven of them ex-officio—one Governor of the Association, and two deputies, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and the Comptroller of the Currency. Thirty-nine are to be elected by the member banks.

But of these thirty-nine directors, New York banks would have a voice in choosing less than 10 per cent. And this, despite the fact that they possess fully 30 per cent. of the banking resources of the country. How that representation would compare with the representation of banks in other sections appears from the following table:

	Per cent. of Total Banking Resources	Per cent. of Represen- tation in Reserve Asso.
New York Banks.....	30	10
New England Banks.....	12	8
Southern Banks.....	10	23
Middle West Banks.....	26	30
Far West and Pacific Banks.....	13	25
Other Eastern Banks.....	10	4

If dethroning Wall Street were the only thing needed to assure success for the currency reform bill in Congress, it looks as though the Monetary Commission had sought to make "assurance double sure."

### Has Labor a Right to Profits?

"HAS labor any moral right in a successful business over and above the market price of its service, which we assume has been paid?"

This world-old question was put again, three weeks ago, by one of the most distinguished of American merchants and philanthropists, Robert Curtis Ogden. He added a positive answer:

"I feel it has such a right—a moral equity—in the net profits, and I do not believe that the full application of the Golden Rule will have been made until the obligation has been recognized and paid. It is a common saying that corporations have no souls. To-day that is only partially true. The Pennsylvania Railroad has a pension system, and the various pension methods of the United States Steel Corporation are by stock ownership and bonuses."

Two days previously, an eminent English manufacturer, Sir William P. Hartley, who had practised coöperation for twenty-seven years, remarked at the annual meeting of his company:

"I don't say that profit-sharing is the cure for all labor trouble. But the spirit of it is an absolute cure. There has been a succession of strikes during the past year, and general labor unrest. What is needed on both sides is a reasonable attitude. Labor is highly organized, and organized labor, unless it is carefully guided, can be as despotic as the most selfish capitalist."

An antidote to dynamiting and other destructive incidents of the war between capital and labor is found in the spread of profit-sharing practice among American corporations. Year by year new companies are added to the list of those who have learned how to make more money by sharing more with their employees.

More of the plans whereby workers are made to feel that they are partners in the business go hand-in-hand with "scientific management." They put a premium on efficiency. For instance, officers of the International Harvester Company, in announcing a \$500,000 distribution to employees last Christmas, made it clear that the money was "in no sense a gift." It is "merely a share of the profits of the organization among worthy workers," they said. "Length of service or position will not entitle employees to participate. Special merit is the sole basis of this distribution."

Among the oldest profit-sharing corporations in America is the Bourne Cotton Mills of Fall River, Mass. It follows the practice of distributing to its workers semi-annual dividends amounting to 3 per cent. of their wages. The plan has been continued successfully for twenty-two years without a break.

The United States Steel Corporation is the leader among those which combine profit-sharing with stock ownership. Last year the distribution under its bonus plan amounted to \$1,450,000. It announced also a new allotment to employees of 25,000 shares of stock below the market price. With that distributed, the total par value of stock owned by 30,000 Steel workers—nearly 15 per cent. of the corporation's whole force—will be over \$30,000,000.

No less than 45 per cent. of all the stockholders of the Du Pont Powder Company are employees. That company has for years given its workers stock as bonuses for exceptional efficiency. It has also offered them shares on the subscription plan. This year it will go farther and encourage thrift among them by placing at their disposal the facilities of a savings department which will pay 5 per

cent. interest—more than they could get at regular savings banks, or by investing in high-class bonds.

Banks and trust companies are also seeing the wisdom of sharing profits with their employees. The newest plan among such institutions was announced last month by President Clark Williams of the Windsor Trust Company of New York. It provides for an annual distribution of from 5 to 12 per cent. of the company's profits. All employees, no matter how short their terms of service, will share in proportion to their salaries.

### Caring for the Worker in Accident and Old Age

A DOZEN or more American railroads and some of the big banks now practice old age pensioning. That scheme is more easily adapted to some organizations than profit-sharing to the industrials. But it may become equally "good business." It is profitable to study the sort of plan provided by the British Old Age Pension Act, or the new National Insurance Act.

The latter is tersely described by its champion, David Lloyd-George, in an interview given to W. T. Stead, and published in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* (page 194). As the British statesman defines it, "it is an attempt made by the State to compel workmen and employers to coöperate in a great insurance scheme for the benefit of the workmen." It operates this way: The workman contributes 8 cents per week, the employer 6 cents, and the State adds 4 cents. The fund thus created secures free medical attention for the workman and allows him as high as \$2.50 per week while he is "off work." Another section of the act insures workmen—in only a limited number of trades at present—against unemployment resulting from other causes.

In predicting for his insurance bill the cordial support of all British employers, the aggressive Chancellor of the Exchequer remarks that "they will soon realize—as they have realized in Germany—the great advantages that accrue to them from the increased efficiency and contentment of their workmen."

Interested American corporation managers or bank officials can learn practical details about these plans of pensions, insurance, and profit-sharing by studying Lloyd-George's reforms, or the practices of American employers like the Union Switch Signal Company, the Mackay Companies, the Pennsylvania,

New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio and Rock Island railroad companies, the National City and the First National banks of New York, and the National Shawmut Bank of Boston.

### Investments Defined by Government Commission

**I**T is unusual, and encouraging as well, to find an official report of a government commission directly helpful to the private citizen. It is a pleasure to quote below some sentences of the Railroad Securities Commission. They are surprisingly easy to read, and helpful to any one who is interested in the subject of investment.

The reason for the strikingly practical nature of this report appears from a study of its personnel. Dr. Hadley and his associates come from the rare walks in life wherein activity and thinking on broad investment subjects go together.

Paragraph after paragraph is found, as responsive to the public and private demand for clearness and conciseness, as the work of the most successful journalist—yet bearing the stamp of government approval.

Then, the weight of authority is added. In the brief definition of railroad bonds and stocks which follows, there speaks the experience of men who have responsibly discussed and handled railroad stocks and bonds aggregating literally billions of dollars.

This is how the Commission defines a railroad bond: "Essentially a note made by the company; a promise to pay a certain sum of money, say \$1000 at a specified date of maturity, and to pay interest at specified rates in the meantime. The obligation is definite. The value is limited by the terms of the instrument."

"But a share of railroad stock," the Commission explains, "is of a different and more complex character. It represents two things instead of one: that a certain sum has been paid in; and that the holder of the stock has a certain share in the ownership of the property, of whatever value it may prove to be. The second of these things is what ultimately gives the stock certificate its value. . . . Even in theory, it purports merely to show that (what the certificate represents) is the amount originally paid by the subscriber when the road was built. It does not create an obligation to pay its face value, nor does that face represent its money value as a share. The value varies with the development of the property as a whole. If the property

has been wisely located and well managed, the certificate will be worth more than the amount it represents. If the property has been unwisely located or badly managed, the certificate will be worth less than the amount it represents." In short, "The value of a share of stock is essentially variable, its profit essentially indeterminate."

All of which is, from a theoretical point of view, one reason why, as has frequently been remarked in these pages, to-day's prices of stocks—their market values—are made by *future* not *present* conditions—why they depend so much upon prophecy; and why prophecy in this field is dangerous.

### Millionaires and Mines—Mr. Carnegie's Rule

**A** STRIKING postscript to last month's "note" in this department, describing the will of the successful miner which forbade all beneficiaries to invest in mines at all, is supplied by recent happenings.

The man with a small surplus who puts it into mining stocks only to lose it (as most do) is apt to feel he would have won out—if only he had commanded plenty of capital.

Yet two investors who figured in last month's news as heavy losers in the mining field were millionaires, and "insiders," too. Each was a director in more than twenty corporations. Each benefited by personal connections with a powerful financial group.

Nevertheless, one of these investors witnessed the complete bankruptcy of a Canadian enterprise into which he had ventured, even to the extent of loaning it \$25,000.

The other millionaire, of a family distinguished in public life, suffered bankruptcy himself—"largely through investments in mining concerns," or rather mining prospects.

Then here is part of Andrew Carnegie's testimony on January 12:

I never bought a share on the Stock Exchange in my life; never sold one. I am a monomaniac on stock gambling. My grandfather was ruined on the Stock Exchange in Scotland. Once in the early days I bought a lot of shares of Pennsylvania Railroad stock in Philadelphia. My banker said I might pay thirty days after. That was the only purchase I ever made on Exchange.

Mr. Carnegie, of course, could afford to be an extremist. The average business man needs still to discriminate among other people's stocks. He wants to lay something by, safe from the risks of the small business. He is not in a position, as Mr. Carnegie was, to invest all his money in himself.

# MAURICE MAETERLINCK

BY EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

WHEN it became known that the Belgian poet-philosopher had been awarded the Nobel prize for literature, none of the usual clamorous dissent was heard—nothing, in fact, but pleased approval. Back of this rare accord between the much-criticised Swedish Academy and an irreverent world might lie nothing but admiration granted by our reasons to one who has molded the unborn thoughts of his time into lucid and melodious words. But I am inclined to seek for a more potent explanation, and to find it in a feeling so strong and intimate that it can be described only as love. And this much, it seems to me, is universally given to Maeterlinck, not as a poet and thinker alone, but as a personality—as a beacon soul, at once pure and strong, wise and sweet, toward which our hearts instinctively turn in their search for consolation and inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

There was a time, not so very long ago, when, to use James Huneker's striking phrase, "Maeterlinck meant for most people a crazy crow masquerading in tail feathers plucked from the Swan of Avon." As he stands before us to-day, modern literature knows of few more commanding figures, and of none more charming. Springing from a small country, his genius has turned the whole civilized world into a fatherland claiming him for its own. Writing miniature plays for puppet stages, he has taken his place beside Ibsen and Strindberg as a reformer of the modern theater. Seeking for a form that would fit his dreams even more perfectly than his own "formless" dramas, he has raised the philosophical essay to a height attained only by Emerson among latter-day writers. Though working only for truth and the joy of working, his efforts have also earned worldly returns, enabling him to make a home of an old Benedictine abbey, where Madame Maeterlinck, who on the stage is Georgette Leblanc, can find ideal settings for "Macbeth" and "Pélleas et Mélisande." That such a man should, as rumor asserts, refuse to surrender his Belgian citizenship in order to become a member of the French Academy seems too consistent with his character not to be true.

The charm of this man, who has given us such masterpieces of soul-penetration as "Aglavaine and Selysette" or "Wisdom and Destiny," is rendered doubly striking by a physical ruggedness and balance that furnish a background of unexpectedness to the subtlety of his speculation and the delicacy of his artistic form. Tall and active, large of limb and rather heavily featured, he is more at home out of doors than in the study.

Sweeping along the highroads in an automobile driven by himself, or skimming the frozen surface of some canal in his native country, he appears most himself. Yet there is much both in his appearance and his habits that helps to account for that gentle calm which strikes us as the dominant spirit of his work even when he deals with the heart's most stirring tragedies. Having only the tone of his poetry in mind, Arthur Symonds said once that "he speaks always without raising his voice." But that saying holds true of the whole man and all that he is and does.

Seldom has the world known a soul so well poised, so at peace with whatever fate chooses to bring, so disregardful of the petty concerns that keep most human lives in a state of turmoil. All polite conventionalities are hateful to him, and yet he would never dream of striving consciously at any sort of unconventionality. It seems just as natural for him to be himself as this requires effort in ordinary persons. And when thus surrendering to the quiet pressure from within, he cannot but shun the bustle and hustle, the strife and the shamming, of mart and of drawing room.

Next to his unostentatious strength and unfeigned equanimity, the man's most characteristic trait is a shy reserve, behind which lies an almost complete lack of personal vanity, and not, as sometimes happens, a pride so overweening that it dares not expose itself to any rebuff. If caught at the right time and place, he will talk most fascinatingly—about practically anything but himself. But silence is more natural to him than talk, solitude more dear than company. There is in him a craving to dream and to brood that must have got into his very blood out of the mist-laden atmosphere of his native shores. But whenever he does speak—or write—his every expression proves the truth of Alfred Sutro's declaration that, "if the word mystic implies anything of mental fog or obscurity, then Maeterlinck is none."

He springs from Flemish stock that has been settled for something like six centuries in or about Ghent, where he was born just fifty years ago. His childhood was spent in a home where, as in some of his own plays, ships could be seen sailing through what looked to be the back part of the garden. The country and its population of slow, taciturn peasantry seem to have impressed themselves with equal force on the boy. And to this day his work takes much of its dominant coloring from the closely allied tempers of Belgian nature and Belgian people.

Seven years of precious youth were spent in a Jesuit college under a discipline that he himself has described as tyrannical. And yet I cannot recall a single protest in his art evoked by that significant experience. Here as elsewhere he looks kindly to the past and the institutions that once served it well, while all the eagerness of his spirit goes out to the future and what it may bring of higher perfection, higher happiness.

In that college, and later at the university, he met several men of his own kind—men like Charles van Lerberghe and Emile Verhaeren, whose names

<sup>1</sup>The following works by Maeterlinck are available in English, all of them being published by Dodd, Mead & Co. Plays: *Princesse Maleine*, 1889; *The Intruder*, 1890; *The Blind*, 1890; *The Seven Princesses*, 1891; *Pélleas and Melisande*, 1893; *Alladine and Palomides*, 1894; *Home*, 1894; *The Death of Tintagiles*, 1894; *Aglavaine and Selysette*, 1896; *Sister Beatrice*, 1901; *Ardiane and Bluebeard*, 1901; *Monna Vanna*, 1902; *Joyzelle*, 1903; *The Blue Bird*, 1909; *Mary Magdalene*, 1910. Essays: *The Treasure of the Humble*, 1896; *Wisdom and Destiny*, 1898; *The Life of the Bee*, 1900; *The Buried Temple*, 1902; *The Double Garden*, 1904; *The Measure of the Hours*, 1907. "The same firm has brought out 'Maurice Maeterlinck,' by Edward Thomas, and Duffield & Company have issued 'Maurice Maeterlinck: A Study,' by Montrose J. Moses.

hardly mean anything on this side of the ocean, though they have given Belgium a noted place in present-day literature. He studied law and was admitted to the bar. He even practised a little and lost a case or two. This failure as a pleader was ascribed to his low and rather thin voice, which lends itself but poorly to emphatic expression. But I suspect that it depended as much on his ability to see both sides of every case. He, who has spoken of our tendency to believe in a universal justice as "the prejudice which has its roots deepest in our hearts," cannot have failed, from the very start, to perceive how the elusive thing we call "right" refuses to stay undivided with any one person or cause.

At twenty-four he went to Paris—to the place where, if we may believe Alfred Sutro, "art is more than a word, more than a cult—a brotherhood." From the first Maeterlinck was received as a member of that brotherhood by the grace of God. The air was then full of a sort of symbolism that endeavored to express by the innate melody of words what might be too elusive for their meaning. And young Maeterlinck wrote poems as hauntingly incomprehensible as any of the rest.

Then he published his first play, "Princess Maleine," and Octave Mirbeau proclaimed him "greater than Shakespeare." Most men would have lost their heads over the ill-worded praise, or their hearts over the ridicule it provoked. Nothing illustrates his wonderful mental equilibrium better than his calm disregard of both applause and laughter. And it was not long before other plays followed—of a quaintness and a daintiness such as the world had never seen before—and with each of them his fame waxed and spread.

What his financial position may have been in those early days I have not been able to discover. But he must have had some private means that enabled him to pursue his course without regard to anything but his own faith in it. And so he has continued to do ever since—"loving what he wrote, and writing only what he loved." Now the day is gone when the authenticity of his genius might be seriously questioned. Probably nothing has



MAETERLINCK WITH HIS WIFE (GEORGETTE LEBLANC)

done more to settle that question than his fairy play, "The Blue Bird," by which he succeeded in appealing to the many as formerly he had appealed to the few. They tell me that at one time this play was given by fifty-nine different companies in Russia alone. Be that as it may, there is now no civilized language into which his works have not been transplanted. Nor is there a nook so hidden in any part of the Western world that it is not likely to hold some life made a little more livable by his wise musings.

To take up his works separately would lead me beyond my present purpose. All I wish to do here is to suggest certain general aspects that seem inseparable from whatever he does—that, in a word, are one with his spirit. Of course, he must be acclaimed a master in the handling of the written word, and his mastery shows itself not the least in the harmony with which his sentences invariably are fraught. But the better part of the beauty springing from his soul lies, nevertheless, in the thoughts to which his words give wings—thoughts like the one shining brightly out of this passage: "Light, though so fragile, is perhaps the one thing of all that yields naught of itself as it faces immensity." Here we have infinity of time and space confined



within a few words, spoken "without the air of having said anything more than the simplest observation."

And his work abounds with thoughts that are equally sublime in aspect and in scope. Yet he never lets himself be tempted beyond poetic suggestiveness into scientific exhaustiveness. The sense of things still unuttered always remains the final impression. And perhaps it is in this implied abundance, this limitless reserve power, that his main appeal lies. For it is this side of his nature that has enabled him to look at life and at death with such imperturbable eyes. Through that quiescent power, reaching beyond the spoken word into the one not yet breathed, he has carried peace to a time fatigued beyond endurance by an overlong struggle.

Maeterlinck has been called a poet of the subconscious—or I may have called him so myself. The name is good, at any rate, and it finds warrant in the light he has poured into "that holy of holies of the 'Buried Temple,' in which our most intimate thoughts and the forces that lie beneath them and are unknown to us go in and out without our knowledge and grope in search of the mysterious road that leads to future events." But his main discovery and most significant revelation concerning the subconscious rests in the intimate connection which he has established between certain mysterious powers within ourselves and certain equally mysterious powers on the outside. What he shows—or tries to show—is that these two sets of powers are at bottom identical.

Poetically he has accomplished what Bergson has achieved philosophically. Life, so threatening when lying wholly beyond our own selves, becomes homely and familiar when found at work within those same selves. The fear with which man has regarded fate tends thus to change into happy faith—the unknown becomes the partly known—and in dealing with life, destiny, providence, man begins at last to feel as if he were but dealing with another self. But by opening up these new vistas into the heart of being, where our own image comes back to us as if mirrored in the pupil of a loved one's eye, Maeterlinck has done his share, and a large one at that, toward preparing a religious re-formulation for which some of the best men on both sides of the ocean are now working ardently. When that formulation has been attained, I think it will be seen that Maeterlinck has contributed not only a conception of life as trustworthy, but of death as an integral part of life—and not the unkindliest at that.

Like Tolstoy, like Zola, like so many other men of strong physique and vivid imagination, this dreamer from the Lowlands has been largely preoccupied with the inevitable moment of dissolution that forms the interrogation point at the end of every human career. But while Tolstoy sought to scare men into righteousness by enhancing the terror of that ever-present specter, one of Maeterlinck's chief tasks has been to breathe the breath of hope and sympathetic comprehension on our terror, and thus to melt it into vanishing mist. Of course, he began by staring at the specter in open-eyed horror like the rest of us. For years its grim figure stalked through his plays like a veiled angel of darkness. But gradually there came light into his vision, and that vision widened and grew until all creation lay steeped in brightness. It is that vision he has tried to make ours—in "The Blue Bird," for instance—and when we possess it, then what has hitherto figured in our fancies as

life's main curse will undoubtedly change into one of its many blessings.

Looking upon life and death in the way I have just tried to indicate, it is only natural that Maeterlinck should entertain toward humanity a vast tolerance—nay, more than that: an unshakable confidence. At one time a student of Nietzsche, and always a lover of Emerson, he has nevertheless consistently refused to accept any view of the individual as the ultimate object of all existence, or as its supreme arbiter within the scope of human existence. Speaking of universal suffrage, which he holds a necessary step on the road to higher cultural development, he wrote that, "in those problems in which all life's enigmas converge, the crowd which is wrong is almost always justified as against the wise man who is right." Yet he is anything but blind to the part played by the individual as a hand reached out by the race for its own uplifting, and he does not hesitate to assert that, "when the sage's destiny blends with that of men of inferior wisdom, the sage raises them to his level, but himself rarely descends."

The full extent of his foresightedness, as well as the heart of his political faith, is laid bare when he comes to discuss the interaction of those two opposed principles—the racial and the individual. Then he says that, when life below man is concerned, "all genius lies in the species, in life or in nature, whereas the individual is nearly always stupid." But in man, on the other hand—and in man alone—he finds that real emulation exists between the racial and the individual intelligences. In man he finds also a tendency "toward a sort of equilibrium which is the great secret of the future." And in the solving of that secret—the secret of how to make the man with a mission and the mass of ordinary men give each other mutual respect and support—lies the only hope of our modern democracies.

Too often the essential difference between philosophy and wisdom is lost sight of. While all wisdom is based on some philosophical coordination of life's multiplicity, it would be dangerous to find wisdom in all that we now call philosophy. It is not out of place to give the title of philosopher to Maeterlinck—as Professor Dewey has pointed out—but he is more: a sage. Application lurks back of his most abstract speculations, and what he principally wants us to do is to learn in order to live. Both the manner and the result of such learning are suggested in this passage: "If we had applied to the removal of various necessities that crush us, such as pain, old age and death, one-half of the energy displayed by any little flower in our gardens, we may well believe that our lot would be very different from what it is."

Somebody has said that he possesses "the child's faculty of wonder." This is true, and one reason for his power over our time is his untiring effort to turn us in childlike wonder toward that ocean of dumb life out of which we have risen into unique articulateness. Like Bergson, he wants to teach us how to soften the noise made by our reasons in order that we may catch the unspoken messages passing from the rest of life into our instincts and intuitions. But to do so, we must cultivate the simplicity of spirit that has lived untainted in his own heart through so many years of conspicuous success—the simplicity that sends him out to watch his beloved bees in the early morn, and that helps him to define the new mysticism he feels coming as "nothing more than a knowledge of self that has far overstepped the ordinary limits of consciousness."

# THE NEW BOOKS

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

**DIRECTOR** William H. Allen, of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, has written an extremely useful and stimulating book<sup>1</sup> concerning woman's part in government. In this work Dr. Allen sets forth, with remarkable clearness, the responsibilities that women, under our form of government, really have for successful administration, entirely apart from the possession or non-possession of the franchise. If we mistake not, there are many ardent advocates of woman suffrage in this country who have never carefully considered the real influence of women on government, or classified the actual administrative functions that are already conferred upon women even in States that do not grant them the suffrage. Such persons will rise from a perusal of Dr. Allen's book with a new conception of what is meant by good government in this country, and they can hardly fail to be convinced, at the same time, of the need of a more thoroughgoing education in governmental affairs for both sexes. One thing Dr. Allen has shown beyond dispute: the duties and the responsibilities of citizenship for men and women neither begin nor end with the ballot.

Readers of the article on "The Short Ballot in American Cities," in the January number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, will be interested in a little book entitled "Short-Ballot Principles,"<sup>2</sup> by Richard S. Childs, who represents the organization that is active in explaining and advocating the short-ballot throughout the country. Mr. Childs answers many questions, and meets some of the objections that may have occurred to those who have been following the spread of the movement for what is known as commission government in American cities. His book is clearly and unpretentiously written, and affords a good elementary exposition of the subject.

A comprehensive handbook of the essential facts relative to commission government in American cities has been prepared by Dr. Ernest S. Bradford.<sup>3</sup> While Mr. Childs sets forth the principles of this movement, Dr. Bradford tells what has been done in different parts of the country to embody these principles in actual schemes of government, and shows how this particular reform is related to the referendum and initiative, the recall, electoral reform, and municipal civil service. Both books will be found useful by all students of civic government, the one to show what the short-ballot reform is intended to accomplish, and the other to show what has been done thus far to put it into effect.

A new edition of Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer's excellent account of the "Referendum in America"<sup>4</sup> contains a new chapter on the recall. There are also chapters on the initiative and referendum, covering the years from 1900 to 1911, inclusive, and one on the referendum versus the representative system. While the earlier edition of Dr. Oberholtzer's book has been used at times in support of the movement



**DR. WILLIAM H. ALLEN**  
(Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and author of "Woman's Part in Government," one of the most suggestive and thought-provoking books of the current season)

to extend these reforms throughout the country, the author prefers to appear in the character of a scientific investigator, rather than in that of an advocate. It is his purpose, in this edition, as well as in the original one, to describe what has been done to engraft these forms of democracy upon the American political system. The additional chapters are brought closely up to date.

"Corporations and the State"<sup>5</sup> is the title of a volume of lectures delivered by Senator Burton, of Ohio, at the University of Pennsylvania, supplemented by a chapter interpreting the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases. One of the six lectures is devoted to the discussion of banking and monetary problems, and while not closely related to the other lectures in the series, is included in the volume because it had a place in the original plan for the course. With this exception, the topics discussed are the following: "Origin and Development of Private Corporations"; "Nature of Combinations in the United States and Abroad"; "Regulation of Corporations"; "Corporations and Public Welfare"; and "Advisable Regulations and Corporations." Senator Burton gives in these lec-

<sup>1</sup> *Woman's Part in Government.* By Dr. William H. Allen. Dodd, Mead & Co. 377 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup> *Short-Ballot Principles.* By Richard S. Childs. Houghton Mifflin Co. 171 pp. \$1.00.

<sup>3</sup> *Commission Government in American Cities.* By Dr. Ernest S. Bradford. Macmillan. 359 pp., frontis. \$1.25.

<sup>4</sup> *The Referendum in America.* By Ellis P. Oberholtzer. Charles Scribner's Sons. 533 pp. \$2.00.

<sup>5</sup> *Corporations and the State.* By Theodore E. Burton. Appletons. 249 pp. \$1.25.

tures an able exposition of corporation problems from the modern conservative viewpoint.

The appearance of a book devoted to "Problems in Railway Regulation"<sup>1</sup> is at least significant of the fact that the time has at last arrived when some system of regulation in this country is assumed as necessary. The author of the present work, Mr. Henry S. Haines, who is himself an engineer, an experienced railway manager, and a well-known authority on American railroad development, has included in the scope of his book a description of past conditions and of the effects of the various attempts to cure the evils resulting therefrom by government regulation. He regards the embryonic stage of our railroad development as having terminated with the outbreak of the Civil War. A stage of reconstruction followed upon the consequences of the financial crisis of 1873, and the stage of legislative regulation was reached with the passage of the Interstate Commerce law of 1887.

A new type of school history, written from the viewpoint of our most recent national development, is embodied in a text-book modestly entitled "An American History," by Dr. David S. Muzzey, of Columbia University.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Muzzey has largely discarded, or relegated to insignificant places in his narrative, the detailed accounts of wars and military and naval movements which have always monopolized so large a proportion of our historical text-books. He prefers to utilize the available space for an exposition of what he regards as the more vital factors in our national growth. Throughout the volume special emphasis is given to social and economic evolution, and a distinctive feature of the work is the fact that more than one-fifth of it deals with the history of the United States since the Civil War and reconstruction. Dr. Muzzey's courage in undertaking to treat of these recent phases of our history, as well as in omitting from his story a great mass of unimportant detail which in the past has served only to confuse the mind of the student, is to be heartily commended.

A book, which in some features admirably supplements Dr. Muzzey's history, is Mr. S. E. Forman's text-book in civics entitled "The American Republic."<sup>3</sup> In this work there has been included considerable material on the actual workings of our governmental system. It is, of course, a new thing in text-books of this character to have such subjects as direct primaries, the recall of judges, the initiative and the referendum, the "commission" form of municipal government and municipal home rule represented. All these and other topics of like timeliness are treated and illustrated in Mr. Forman's book.

#### TWO BOOKS ABOUT THE CIVIL WAR

Any biography of General Lee, written by a Virginian of Thomas Nelson Page's antecedents, must, perforce, be sympathetic. When the volume, entitled "Robert E. Lee, Man and Soldier,"<sup>4</sup> was begun by Mr. Page, he had in mind only to prepare a second and enlarged edition of the little book "Robert E. Lee, the Southerner," in which Mr. Page had as his theme Lee's personal character. The materials expanded, however, beyond expectation, and Mr. Page was led to undertake a rather

full account of Lee's military operations, and to show his relation to the civil power of the Confederacy. Mr. Page has employed the studies of Northern as well as Southern military authorities, and we note that he accords to Major John Bigelow's "Campaign of Chancellorsville" exceptional praise, declaring it "the most complete and authoritative history of any battle ever fought on American soil."

Mr. Archibald Gracie's book about the battle of Chickamauga<sup>5</sup> is an unusually careful and thoroughgoing piece of work. Mr. Gracie has had access to all the official records of the battle, including original reports and manuscripts and related documents bearing on the subject. He has given much time to the study of these materials and the result is one of the most complete accounts of a single battle that the voluminous literature of the Civil War has yet produced. One feature of the work is an extraordinary collection of portraits of participants in the battle, while the text is well supplied with maps and photographs of the battlefield.

#### A FEW VOLUMES OF ESSAYS

"William James, and Other Essays" is the title of the latest work on the philosophy of life by Josiah Royce, professor of the history of philosophy at Harvard College.<sup>6</sup> Professor Royce has brilliantly defended his theories of philosophical idealism advanced in previous works, giving practical applications of his doctrine, the conclusions leading to the forming of sound and high ideals for the conduct of our individual lives. These essays are not slender saplings of philosophical thought; they are rich with mature deliberation and speak with the voice of authority, reiterating the Platonic postulate that "nothing can injure the subtle principle called soul." The essay bearing the honored name of the late Professor William James was delivered last June at Harvard as a Phi Beta Kappa oration. It considers the noted pragmatist as a psychologist, an ethical idealist, an exponent of efficiency, an evolutionist and an interpreter of public problems. It is a splendid tribute to a great man by one no less great, though an apostle of a differing philosophical creed. Mr. Royce is sure that Professor James alone has richly interpreted the American moral consciousness and that we shall always reckon with his spirit of hopeful unrest in our national development. After the tribute to James, the two most important essays discuss "Immortality" and "What is Vital in Christianity." Of immortality Professor Royce says that only fools dream that the real world is the present one, that we are a part of the world-will, and the thirst for immortality is a malady of our souls, for which the cure is—eternity.

"The Five Great Philosophies of Life," by William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College,<sup>7</sup> is an exposition of the philosophical principles produced in the five centuries from the birth of Socrates to the death of Jesus—namely, the Epicurean pursuit of pleasure, the Stoic law of self-repression and control, the sublime idealism of Platonism, the Aristotelian scheme of proportion, and the Christian doctrine of perfect love. It is a book of practical philosophy, alive to the every-day needs of life, that endeavors to reconcile the good within all philosophies to a common meeting-point in the

<sup>1</sup> Problems in Railway Regulation. By Henry S. Haines. Macmillan. 582 pp. \$1.75.

<sup>2</sup> An American History. By David Saville Muzzey. Ginn & Co. 662 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> The American Republic. By S. E. Forman. Century Company. 359 pp., ill. \$1.10.

<sup>4</sup> Robert E. Lee, Man and Soldier. By Thomas Nelson Page. Scribners. 734 pp., por. and maps. \$2.50.

<sup>5</sup> The Truth About Chickamauga. By Archibald Gracie. Houghton Mifflin Co. 462 pp., ill. \$4.00.

<sup>6</sup> William James, and Other Essays. By Josiah Royce. Macmillan Company. 300 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup> The Five Great Philosophies of Life. By William DeWitt Hyde. Macmillan Company. 295 pp. \$1.50.

doctrine of Jesus' spirit of love. Mr. Hyde has the gift of lucid, virile utterance and an understanding of the scientific spirit that dominates the world to-day.

"Some American Story-Tellers"<sup>1</sup> is a volume of essays from Frederick Taber Cooper on the work and personalities of various American novelists. They originally appeared in the *Bookman* as critical and somewhat adventurous studies of the art of modern story-telling, and are written with the recognition that the gift of the story-teller is perhaps the greatest gift, one that will bring the purest pleasure so long as children are born and men and women, like Peter Pan, refuse to "grow up." The essays dealing with the work of Edith Wharton and Frank Norris are worthy of especial praise.

We all need to know more about friendship. A man who has not the capacity for friendship lacks the capacity for anything that is of value; he is superfluous matter in the universe, and the sooner a stray comet flecks him off into space and dissolves his wooden heart into etheric nothingness, the better for all concerned. "The Book of Friendship"<sup>2</sup> is a new compilation of thoughts in prose and verse on friendship, with an introduction of rare literary artistry and beauty by Samuel McChord Crothers. He touches upon all phases of friendship from Emerson's lofty and spiritualized conception of the intimate and personal experience to the friendship of Huckleberry Finn and Negro Jim floating down the broad bosom of the Mississippi. Great care has been expended on the illustrations for this volume. Each one is a gem of artistic appreciation of its subject; they reveal that friendship is somewhat of earth but more of heaven.

#### POETRY AND MUSIC

Harry S. Pancoast, author of the excellent textbook for students of English poetry, "Standard English Poems," has prepared a new collection,—"The Vista of English Verse."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Pancoast has obliterated the trail of the schoolmaster and adapted the volume to the needs of the general reader. His selections beginning with the swinging lyricism of the Chevy Chase Ballads and covering the field of English verse down to Yeats and Alfred Noyes are the master-music of poesy. The binding is a beautiful dark green, stamped with a romantic design in green and gold. The decoration within the cover-pages—a spacious garden-aisle between rows of marble pedestals to poets dead and gone, is the work of Mr. Paul Martin.

James Whitcomb Riley has given us another poem in his characteristic and captivating style. "When She Was About Sixteen"<sup>4</sup> is the story of a delightful pair of youthful lovers whose union is forbidden by the girl's stern and mercenary parents. Despite opposition the pair contrive to meet and the occasion of the circus coming to town gives them the long-desired opportunity to run away and be married. The angry parents kidnap the bride, and finally, in despair, the bridegroom lures his mother-in-law to his house and holds her a prisoner in the preserve cellar until his father-in-law is willing to make an exchange of prisoners. It is a book that gives one a happy hour, a gleam of love and youth and laughter. The pages are lavishly illustrated in color and crayon by Howard Chandler Christy.

"Since you cannot have what you wish, wish for what you have," is the gist of a volume of verse and prose entitled "The Value of Contentment,"<sup>5</sup> edited by Mary Minerva Barrows, with an introduction by Mary E. Wilkins. All that has ever been written about contentment, from Epictetus down to Anne Payson McCall, is included in this exquisite gift book.

"Opera Synopses,"<sup>6</sup> by J. Walker McSpadden, is a handy book which gives the plots of sixty-four operas, grand, romantic, and light, which have been produced within the last few years,—including the \$10,000 prize opera, "Mona," brought out at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1911-12. The telling of the plots is clear and concise; they are summed up act by act, and a history of each opera is given with data concerning the first production and the names of the members of the original cast. As the knowledge of opera has become an essential part of modern education, every one who is interested in things appertaining to music should read this book as well as those who wish to have an accurate knowledge of standard productions.

Mr. Filson Young has been successful in bringing a certain emotional atmosphere into his retelling of the Wagner stories, and he has not lessened the interest in these wonder-tales by separating them from the music. The version of the stories as given by Mr. Young<sup>7</sup> is adapted to the taste of the general reader; it requires no knowledge of music to enjoy the story of the "Ygg Drasil Tree," whose verdure shaded the universe and beneath whose branches welled the "Spring of Divine Wisdom," or the vast epic of the "Ring" with its primeval forces and human emotions, heroes, gods, and demi-gods. Wagner adapted his opera stories from the myths and legends of the north. The story of the "Flying Dutchman" is the property of all seafaring people; "Tannhäuser" is founded on a familiar German folk-tale known as "The Hill of Venus"; "Lohengrin" was discovered by Wagner in a work of Chrestien de Troyes; the "Ring of the Niebelungen" is based on the "Niebelungen Noth" and the "Edda"; "Parsifal" was taken from a version of the "Grail" story, and the "Meistersingers" of Nuremberg is a representation of a contest between the Minnesingers who held contests of song and flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The prose of these stories is freely interspersed with lyric renditions of the text of the opera librettos, translated by Mr. Eric Maclagan, and a chronology of the events of Wagner's life is given in the appendix.

"The Musical Amateur,"<sup>8</sup> a delightful book on the human side of music, comes to us from Robert Haven Schauffer. It is addressed to all those who love music and believe that music is vitally necessary to the home and to the community. The function of creative listening is explained in detail by Mr. Schauffer in order that we may understand how greatly a performer is sustained and aided in the expression of his art by an intelligent and appreciative listener. The first chapter relates the captivating story of the author's progress as a music-loving little boy, whose first love was a German flute, his favorite composition, the "Jolly Brothers' Gallop," on to the eventful day when, grown a few years older, he plays the opening bars

<sup>1</sup> Some American Story-Tellers. By Frederick Taber Cooper. Henry Holt & Co. 388 pp. \$1.60.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Friendship. Introduction by Samuel McChord Crothers. Macmillan Company. 321 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> The Vista of English Verse. Compiled by Henry S. Pancoast. Henry Holt & Co. 654 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup> When She Was About Sixteen. By James Whitcomb Riley. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 30 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>5</sup> The Value of Contentment. By Mary Minerva Barrows. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Company. 205 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>6</sup> Opera Synopses. By Joseph Walker McSpadden. Crowell. 75 cents.

<sup>7</sup> The Wagner Stories. By Filson Young. Henry Holt & Co. 304 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>8</sup> The Musical Amateur. By Robert Haven Schauffer. Houghton Mifflin Co. 262 pp. \$1.25.

of Beethoven's "Adelaide" on the 'cello and rushes to his father filled with joy and sudden comprehension, crying, "I like the dull stuff. At last I like the dull stuff." From that moment the whole musical firmament opened to the boy's vision.

#### CHINA FROM WITHIN

An inside view of China's awakening which is particularly useful and interesting at the present time is given by J. Dyer Ball, of the Hong Kong Civil Service (retired) in his recent book, "The Chinese at Home." Mr. Ball, who has already written a good deal on China, including another volume entitled "Things Chinese," spent forty-six years among the "children of Han." He knows not only their manners and customs, but, apparently, has come to understand their language and thoughts as few Occidentals have done. He skillfully depicts the life of this ancient, supposedly rock-bound, never-changing folk and lays bare some of the social and temperamental characteristics which have not only permitted, but conduced toward the present awakening. The volume is copiously illustrated.

#### AERONAUTICS

There have been many books on flying machines written by students of aeronautics, but few, if any, by a real aviator writing out of the fulness of a large experience in various countries. Such a book is "The Story of the Aeroplane,"<sup>1</sup> by Claude Grahame-White. This volume follows close on the heels of another in this field, by the same famous aviator. Mr. Grahame-White describes in a terse and interesting manner his entrance into the aerial game, the triumphs and disasters of his novitiate, his most notable flights and the novel sensations of flying. The early work of Maxim, Chanute, Lillenthal, and the Wrights is sketched, and the progress of flying brought down to the year 1910, the beginning of the era of cross-country flights. The author's description of the personalities of the various great flyers is an interesting chapter. Mr. Grahame-White has had a good deal of experience with flying "meets" and what he has to say on the elements that make for the success or failure of these occasions is worthy of note by those concerned. Other subjects taken up are the rise of aviation schools, the development of the engine, the future of aviation, and the military use of the aeroplane. The volume is profusely illustrated with reproductions of fine photographs.

The purpose of Albert Francis Zahm's volume on "Aerial Navigation"<sup>2</sup> is to portray in popular terms the substantial progress of the science of aeronautics from its earliest beginnings down to the present. Little note is taken of experiments that have not made definite contribution to progress in this field. Part I deals with aerostation—the development of the balloon from the "passive" craft to the modern dirigibles; Part II treats of aviation—the development of the heavier-than-air

flying machine, while in a third section of the book the author discusses aeronautic meteorology,—the general properties and phenomena of free air, including winds, cyclone, storms, and other aerial disturbances. A chapter with the novel title "Forcing the Art," deals with the remarkable aerial achievements of the year 1910. The appendices reprint two interesting letters of Benjamin Franklin, written during his stay in Paris in 1783, describing the balloon experiments of Professor Charles and the Brothers Robert. The Wright Brothers contribute a chapter on the power and speed of flyers, and another chapter discusses Glenn Curtiss' experiments with the hydro-aeroplane. The volume is liberally illustrated.

#### OTHER BOOKS OF THE SEASON

Mr. Paul Wiltach's play "Thais,"<sup>3</sup> recently a pronounced success on the American stage, comes to us published in book form. It is built on the novel of the same name by Anatole France, and has for its theme the world-old struggle between flesh and spirit. Daniel, an anchorite of the desert, goes to Alexandria as directed by a vision, to save the Courtesan Thais from her life of sin. He succeeds and Thais leaves the worship of Venus to enter the convent of the White Sisters. Daniel returns to his cell, but the old peace will not return; he is haunted by the memory of the beauty of Thais and after struggling with his temptation, he resolves to forswear his faith for her caresses. He returns to the convent only to find that Thais is dying. She repulses his proffer of earthly love and points his faith to things eternal. Thus the monk who was sent by God to save Thais the Courtesan is saved by Thais the Saint. The book is illustrated with photographs of players in the original cast.

A new book on Panama,<sup>4</sup> by Albert Edwards, gives not only a compact narrative of the movements on the isthmus since its discovery by the white man, including an account of fifty-three revolutions in fifty-seven years, but also a detailed account of events since the secession from Colombia and the undertaking of the great canal enterprise by the United States Government. Both the historical and the descriptive chapters are bright and entertaining, and the information conveyed should be serviceable to all who are in any degree interested in the rapidly approaching completion of the canal.

Assuredly the safe-deposit vault is a new point of departure in literature. In a little book entitled "In the Cave of Aladdin,"<sup>5</sup> Mr. John P. Carter, one of the officials of the Lincoln Safe Deposit Company of New York City, tells us the story of this characteristic development in modern social and commercial life, and makes known a great many facts of curious interest which have heretofore remained secrets of the safe-deposit business. Mr. Carter writes in a pleasing vein, and both the humor and the pathos of the subject are well represented in his book.

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese at Home. By J. Dyer Ball. Fleming H. Revell Co. 370 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>2</sup> The Story of the Aeroplane. By Claude Grahame-White. Small, Maynard & Co. 390 pp., ill. \$2.00.

<sup>3</sup> Aerial Navigation, a popular treatise on the growth of air craft and on aeronautical meteorology. By Albert Francis Zahm, M.E., Ph.D. D. Appleton & Co. 497 pp., ill. \$3.00.

<sup>4</sup> Thais. By Paul Wiltach. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 150 pp., ill. \$1.

<sup>5</sup> Panama. By Albert Edwards. Macmillan. 585 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>6</sup> In the Cave of Aladdin. By John P. Carter. New York, James A. Jenkins. 275 pp. \$2.00.



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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### **PRESIDENT BIGELOW OF THE OHIO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**

The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the Ohio Constitutional Convention now in session at Columbus, is an ordained Congregational minister. A native of Indiana, Mr. Bigelow, who is forty-two years of age, has passed more than half his life in Ohio, the State of his adoption. He is a graduate of Western Reserve University at Cleveland (1894). Since 1896 he has been pastor of the Vine Street Church of Cincinnati (now known as the People's Church and Town Meeting Society). For many years Mr. Bigelow has been active in social reform movements. He was a loyal follower of the late Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, and ten years ago was the unsuccessful candidate of the Democratic party for Secretary of State. Mr. Bigelow is an officer of the Ohio Direct Legislation League. He is a gifted platform speaker and has campaigned in the State repeatedly. That a man of Mr. Bigelow's type,—undoubtedly representative of a large and growing section of public opinion in his State,—should be chosen to preside over such a body as the Constitutional Convention, indicates that the legal profession, with its conservative traditions, no longer dominates Ohio as it formerly did. The lawyers are in a minority of the present convention. (For other convention portraits see page 270, and for a detailed article contributed by one of the delegates, see page 337.)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Parties and Leaders*

A man from another country, arriving here at the present time, and reading our newspapers in order to find out political conditions, might well be puzzled. In other countries the leadership of parties, as a rule, is a definite thing. Parties have to be led by their responsible heads, in order to exist at all, under parliamentary forms of government, as in England, France, Canada, and many other lands. Our system is so different that it is not easy for the intelligent foreigner to understand it. In England party leadership is found in Parliament. Mr. Asquith, with his associates, leads the Liberal party; and the ministers are at once the heads of the executive government and also the active exponents of party policy in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. For a long time Mr. Arthur Balfour has been the leader of the Unionist, or Conservative, party, whether in power or out of power. Lately, by agreement of the principal active members of the Unionist party, Mr. A. Bonar Law has taken the place from which Mr. Balfour retires on account of declining health. It is all very clear and definite; and any intelligent man going from another country to England can easily enough find out how British parties are organized and led and how they operate.

*The Republicans as Organized*

But it is wholly different with us in the United States. Parties do not focus, either in particular men or in particular governmental agencies. The "Republican party," for instance, is a term that means at least three different things. More usually, it means that great mass of voters throughout the country who have been in the habit of calling themselves Republicans and of voting for Republican candidates. In a very practical sense, the term "Republican party" means the men

who get their living, directly or indirectly, from politics; or who, for one reason or another, give a good deal of their time and effort to party affairs, so that they may be called professional politicians as compared with their fellow citizens who are merely voters. They belong to one of the two great rival political guilds of the country. In another sense, the Republican party exists officially in those States that have laws regulating primary elections, and providing for the registration of voters as belonging to specified parties. These laws, however, create State bodies, rather than national; so that the registered voters using the name "Republican" in Nebraska might have quite different political sentiments from those registered under the name "Republican" in New York.

*The National Convention*

As a national entity, the Republican party has no central body and no organ of expression, excepting its great convention of delegates, which meets once in four years. This convention adopts a platform and selects a candidate for the Presidency and a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. A campaign committee is also selected, each State having its own member of that committee. The object of the national convention is to give the dominant sentiment of the party as a whole,—that is to say, the habitually Republican electorate,—a full opportunity to make its own platform and select the candidates of its choice. There is no such thing in this country as party headship or leadership, as understood in other countries. There has lately grown up in Washington the practice of alluding to the President of the United States as the head or leader of the party. But such a designation is at once novel and confusing. The leadership of a party must be a real thing, not *ex officio*. The Presi-



dency, when once attained, is an executive position, above parties, that ought to tax to the utmost all the powers of the man who occupies the place. Its duties are of such a sort that they cannot well be exercised in the spirit of mere party leadership.

*President  
and  
Party*

For example, the President has as his chief duty the selection of judges for the federal bench. If exercised by a party leader, in the spirit of partisanship, this power would result in a bench selected through motives less than the very highest. However much the present occupant of our highest office may like to be called the head of a party, he has in point of fact been a President of the whole people, acting upon his own judgment regardless of party lines or bearings. In that sense he has much more nearly conformed to the spirit of his oath of office, and to the constitutional conception of the Presidency, than if he had acted in close association with one party or the other. He began with a non-partisan, or bi-partisan, cabinet, Mr. Knox and Mr. Meyer being the only two very prominent members of the Republican party in the entire group. In like manner Mr. Taft's highest court appointments were free from all trace of partisanship, his first appointment to the Supreme Court being that of Judge Lurton, a Southern Democrat, and his selection for the Chief Justiceship being that of a distinguished Southern Democrat who had for a long time been in active politics as a Democratic Senator from Louisiana. These appointments were admirable, but they were not those of a leader of the Republican party.

*Mr. Taft's  
Non-Partisan  
Attitude*

The one public measure of his administration that Mr. Taft made peculiarly his own, and upon which he staked his entire political fortunes, was the Canadian reciprocity tariff bill, to pass which he called a special session of Congress against the opposition of every Republican member of both houses of Congress. Mr. Taft succeeded in carrying this measure through; but only by the votes of the Democrats, aided by a reluctant minority of the Republican members. This, surely, however creditable, could not be called the work of a leader of the Republican party. The railroad rate bill, as passed, seems to have been, in its vital aspects, the work of Senator Cummins and other so-called "insurgent" legislators, with the aid of many progressive Democrats. It cannot, therefore, be claimed as a great party measure achieved under the

leadership of the President and carried through by coöperation with his fellow Republicans in the two houses of Congress. The Tariff Board, under which facts and statistics are usefully gathered, and which is claimed as a Taft measure, was wholly the creation of the insurgent Senators, led by Mr. Beveridge. It was put in the Senate bill with Mr. Aldrich's final consent, but without aid from the White House or encouragement from the "orthodox" party leaders. It was emasculated in conference committee by the House leaders and Senator Hale, being unsupported by the administration. Thus, however great or small its present value, it could not with truth be listed as an orthodox Republican party achievement, brought about under the leadership of Mr. Taft as head of the party.

*Parties  
and  
Reciprocity*

In so far as the Republican party had leadership at Washington in the early part of Mr. Taft's administration, that leadership was vested in Speaker Cannon and Senator Aldrich. The Reciprocity bill was put through the House by a large body of Democratic votes, aided by insurgent Republicans under the lead of Mr. McCall of Massachusetts. This coalition, chiefly Democratic and directed from the White House, broke the Republican control of Congress and put Speaker Cannon and his party in a minority position. Inasmuch as this Reciprocity measure is the only conspicuous one in which Mr. Taft has asserted leadership,—using all the power of executive influence to carry it through Congress,—it is worth while to remember that it was not accepted as a Republican measure, whether in the closing session of the Sixty-first Congress or in the extra session, last year, of the Sixty-second Congress. For in both cases it went through the House as a Democratic measure. But, while it is the duty of the President not to perform his executive functions in a partisan spirit, it is usual for a President to make his legislative suggestions in general harmony with the party which elected him and whose convictions he is supposed to share.

*Giving Effect  
to Party  
Policies*

The legislative duties of a President are comprised in his communications made to Congress in his messages, and to his acceptance or rejection of bills which have passed both houses and have come to him for his signature. When a great party adopts a platform in national convention, chooses a Presidential candidate,

and in the following November elects not only its President but also a large majority of the members of Congress, it is expected that certain principles set forth in the platform will not only guide Congress but will also have the active and passive support of the Chief Executive. The Republican platform, upon which Mr. Taft was elected and upon which the Sixty-first Congress had a large Republican majority, promised to give the country a real revision of the tariff. There was not the slightest doubt as to what the country understood by that promise. The Payne-Aldrich tariff did not in any sense meet the country's reasonable expectation. In his inaugural address, Mr. Taft said that the Republican platform had promised to revise the tariff to the point where there would remain protective duties "equal to the difference between the cost of production abroad and the cost of production here."

*Revising  
the Tariff*

It was supposed that when he sent in his message to the extra session, on March 15, he would elaborate this doctrine and make it clear, in a concrete way, that he would not be satisfied with any measure that did not, in some reasonable spirit, attempt to carry out this plain principle. The message of March 15, however, contained nothing except an allusion to the inaugural address. The Payne-Aldrich tariff was log-rolled through Congress by special interests in such a way that, as respects the average rate of duties, we came out just where we went in. There were various changes of detail here and there; but the tariff wall, viewed in perspective, was of exactly the same height as before. Measured by the most accurate tests that experts could apply, this tariff wall was, indeed, a very little higher rather than a very little lower. But this difference meant only a slight percentage. A group of able and consistent Republican Senators made a sturdy fight to have the schedules revised in accordance with the Republican platform, and also in accordance with Mr. Taft's own campaign speeches and his inaugural address. It is reasonable to believe that if Mr. Taft had tried one-tenth as hard to secure real tariff revision in the special session of 1909 as he tried to force his Canadian tariff bill through the special session of 1911, there would have resulted a measure that must have been acceptable to the country. The public was reasonable in its demands. The principle was capable of some practical recognition. The Payne-Aldrich bill wholly ignored it.

*A Lost  
Opportunity*

The Canadian bill was an after-thought, had not been proposed in the Republican platform, and was stoutly opposed by a majority of the Republican Congressmen. General tariff revision, on the other hand, was a party pledge, was demanded by the sentiment of both great parties alike, and would have been accepted by Congress. A real revision of the tariff in 1909 would have taken the tariff question out of politics for some years to come, would have spared the Republicans their crushing defeat in 1910, would have led to a wise national control of great business corporations, and would further have paved the way for Republican victory in 1912. Yet such, apparently, were Mr. Taft's political and personal preoccupations, during the strenuous weeks of tariff revision in the spring of 1909, that his one great opportunity to act as the voice of the country and the leader of his party was thrown away. The tariff-making secured his attention only in the final stages, when in conference committee there was deadlock over the treatment of lumber and several items on the free list. The great textile schedules had gone virtually unrevised, and so had most of the other parts of the elaborate measure.

*"The Wrong  
Thing at the  
Right Time"*

The President, however, signed the bill and then went out on the stump and proclaimed it not only as a substantial fulfilment of the party's promises, but as the best tariff the country had ever enacted. And now, in 1912, the distressed and disturbed business interests of this country must again go into a quadrennial political campaign, with the tariff question unsettled and under agitation. The Republicans of the country showed their dissatisfaction, at the first opportunity, by electing a Democratic Congress in 1910. If ever a party had a clear call to revise the tariff, it was the Democrats when the present Congress effected its organization, with Champ Clark as Speaker and Oscar Underwood as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. The series of tariff bills prepared by the Democrats went through the House by a majority of 2 to 1. They made their way through the Republican Senate with a clear and substantial majority. Those trained in the study of the currents of public opinion in the United States knew that the country thought very well of these tariff bills, and desired to have them placed upon the statute books. Mr. Taft, however, vetoed them all. The best public opinion in both great parties had disapproved of his course in connection

with the Payne-Aldrich bill. And public opinion again unquestionably disapproved of his attitude toward the Underwood measures. He had approved where he ought to have vetoed; and he had vetoed where he ought to have approved.

*What a President Could Have Done*

For the Payne-Aldrich bill, though nominally a Republican measure, was not in any true sense a party affair. Behind the scenes it was shaped up quite as much by Democrats as by Republicans. It was a measure created by the log-rolling of localities and of special-interest lobbies. Some of the localities having products to care for were Democratic, and some were Republican. As for the special interests, they were manufacturing and commercial and agricultural, and of course non-partisan. Individual Congressmen were compelled to work for their own localities, and could only do so by cooperating with other localities. The only official so placed that he could have proclaimed and enforced the general principle of tariff revision, was the President. Republicans and Democrats in Congress would have acquiesced, if the principle had been plainly laid down, and if the veto had awaited the disregard of the country's demands and expectations. Yet Mr. Taft not only declared the Payne-Aldrich tariff to be satisfactory, but subsequently he used the prestige, patronage, and power of his great office in an endeavor to drive out of the party those faithful and consistent Republican Senators, like Dolliver of Iowa, who had worked for revision.

*Pursuing the Party's Faithful*

Dolliver had been stumping for the Republican party since he was twenty-one years old, and at Mr. Taft's own request he was one of the two men who had borne the brunt of the heaviest campaigning for Mr. Taft's election in 1908. These Senators had in no way opposed themselves to the President, nor had they criticized him for signing the Payne-Aldrich bill. They had merely felt it their duty to vote against the measure on its final passage. Yet these Senators were stigmatized as not fit to remain in the Republican party; were openly read out of the fellowship by the President and his Cabinet; were made *non persona grata* as respects their relations to ordinary appointments in their States; were singled out for attack and for defeat in their plans for reelection to the Senate. This is a plain statement,—made by way of simple reminder,—of a few of the more obvious facts

in our recent political history. It would seem as if facts of this kind were too easily forgotten in the hotbed atmosphere of political intrigue breathed in Washington and in Wall Street. But evidently they are remembered by several millions of inconspicuous, but determined voters, all the way from Maine and New Hampshire to the great States of the Pacific Coast. These are important matters, but they are only a few of the things that have happened in the last three years, by reason of which the present turmoil in the Republican party is easy to understand where one remembers, and hard to understand where one forgets.

*As Things Stand in Washington*

It is plain, then, that the Republican party, as such, is without concerted action or accepted leadership in official circles at Washington. The administration managers in the Senate are Mr. Smoot, of Utah, and Mr. Penrose, of Pennsylvania. But Mr. Penrose has never pretended to be an exponent of the aims and ideals of the national Republican party. It is regarded as an alliance for mutual benefit. Mr. Penrose relies upon Mr. Taft to support his control of the Republican situation in Pennsylvania. Mr. Taft, in return, relies upon Mr. Penrose's assurance of a solid Pennsylvania delegation to the convention at Chicago. The Senate is a Republican body, and the House is Democratic. It is a curious fact that the Republican Senators who, this winter, have been making national opinion are, quite largely, members of the group that Mr. Taft is still trying to read out of the Republican party. Senators Cummins, Clapp, La Follette, and others have been working assiduously in the endeavor to help the country solve the question of the national regulation and control of "trusts." Senator Bourne has been working day and night, as chairman of the Post-Office Committee, to bring the plan of a parcels post into some practical shape. He has given the matter weeks of consideration where others have given it minutes. Those very steps in tariff reform to which Mr. Taft is now committed, have resulted from the work done in the tariff session of 1909 by Dolliver, Cummins, Bristow, Beveridge, and others who stood for rational revision. The problems that concern the public domain are being worked out by industrious, strong Senators like Nelson of Minnesota. The movement for direct election of Senators, which has been supported by Republican Legislatures throughout the country, has been led by



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, OF OREGON, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS

(Senator Bourne is perhaps the most conspicuous advocate of the direct action of the people in political affairs. As a Republican he is chairman of the great Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. He has during recent weeks been working intensely to give practical form to a real project of Parcels Post. Although one of the foremost in the group characterized by President Taft as "neurotics and emotionalists," Senator Bourne is in point of fact a constructive legislator and a political thinker whose analysis of our present conditions cannot be met by epithets or by allusions to "Jonathan Bourne's salvation army."—this being a favorite phrase under which the Taft leaders at Washington have been taught to group the progressive Senators and their friends)

Senator Borah, of Idaho. In many matters requiring especial training as respects treaties, foreign relations, insular dependencies, and the like, the Senate has had the unequalled knowledge and ability of Senator Root, of New York, for a chief reliance. However Mr. Root might be classed by men drawing a line between progressives and reactionaries, he is in point of fact one of the most creative and progressive minds that has served the Republican party and the country in all its history.

*The Real Party Cleavage*  
The real distinction at the present time in the Republican party is not so much between "progressives" and "conservatives" as between a coalition of selfish interests on one hand and the consistent Republican sentiment of the country on the other hand. The future of the Republican party must depend upon

what will happen in the national convention next June. It is not a party seriously divided within itself. Nor is it a party that cannot easily be harmonized. The great mass of the party is for the country and the welfare of all the people. But the machinery of the party has to a great extent come under the control of self-seekers and special interests. The party does not lack intelligence, and its best thinking is done, not by those holding the high political offices, but by the rank and file who have time to think and are free from the bias of personal ambition and the restraints imposed by political bargain and trade. There has never been a period in the party's history when it was so necessary for its salvation that its private members should assert themselves, control their own convention, repudiate machine bargains, make a simple, honest platform, and nominate candidates in response to such demand as the party may



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MR. CHARLES D. HILLES, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT  
(Who has been exclusively engaged in pre-convention political work, chiefly as respects the South)

have indicated by the middle of June. It is complained that the movement for control of the Chicago convention rests unduly upon the selection by federal office-holders of the delegates from Southern States that will cast no Republican electoral votes in November. If the administration were not reckoning upon its control of delegates from Alaska, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, and those Southern States that are always solidly Democratic,—so the Progressives declare,—it would have no assurance upon which to base its arrangements with local machines and organizations, like the New York County Committee and the Penrose following in Pennsylvania. The anti-Taft Republicans have been sharply criticizing the methods used to get “snap judgment” and secure delegates many months in advance of the convention. The Republican party is generous, and it can forgive many mistakes. But, these critics declare, the party does not like to be sandbagged, and it resents snap conventions and cut-and-dried schemes that disregard the will of the voters. The eighteen or twenty delegates elected in early February were all of this sort.

At least it can be said that the “Roping” and “Tying” the Delegates Taft movement has made not the slightest pretense of being based upon public sentiment. Its own political and newspaper supporters have furnished the facts upon which the anti-Taft people base their criticisms. The foremost Eastern newspaper supporting Mr. Taft is the *New York Times*; and its Washington correspondent has written wholly from that standpoint in his daily specials. It is significant, therefore, that the *Times* of February 15 should have made the following statement:

And while the battle of the claimants now goes on merrily, the Taft forces expect to rope and tie the delegates from the Southern States. In accordance with the plans on which they have been working for some time, practically all the Southern conventions are to be held before the end of next month. If there is any ground swell for Roosevelt working about the country, the Taft managers mean to have their Southern delegates thoroughly fastened before it can get time to exert its influence on them.

This statement, of course, is as true as it is brutally frank. When these “roped” and “tied” bunches of delegates appear in the Chicago convention, it is a question whether their service may not chiefly be that of a warning against the methods that must be reformed if the party is to hold the confidence



MR. TAFT SEEMS TO BE “‘HOGGING’” THE SOUTHERN DELEGATES

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT: “Come, Theodore, or it will soon be too late.”  
From the *Globe* (New York)

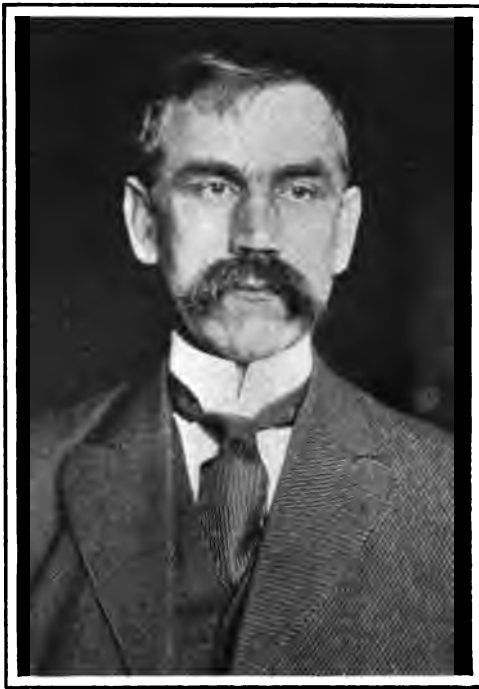
and respect of the country. They may prove to be an "exhibit," rather than a conquering force. It may be their last quadrennial appearance.

Popular  
Opinion  
Everywhere

Some of the "stand-pat" leaders have said that, since Democratic victory seemed almost certain, it might be best to let the brunt of defeat be borne by the chief authors of the Republican party's misfortunes. But the rank and file of the Republican party evidently do not take that view. They would like a chance to make the party's platform and name its candidates this year. That is why they are everywhere seeking an opportunity to express themselves through State primaries, or to elect delegates to the national convention by direct vote. In the absence of such opportunities, they are resorting to straw votes and post-card ballots in every part of the country, in order to show their preferences. The marked feature of these popular tests is the opposition to Mr. Taft's selection for a second term. The Republican party elected Mr. Taft for four years, and it is new doctrine to say that one term carries with it the presumption of another. There would be no point in having a Presidential convention this year if, as some of Mr. Taft's supporters are saying, it would be "unfair" for the party not to yield to Mr. Taft's demands for a renomination. Such were the conditions this year that all elements in the Republican party should have agreed in favor of leaving everything to be settled by an uninstructed, untrammelled national convention. No delegates in any State ought to have been chosen before April or May. Trying to force the situation argues weakness and alarm. The scheme of snap conventions in the Southern States, arranged by federal office-holders, to appoint delegates in February to a convention that is not to meet until after the middle of June, lends no real strength to the Administration. If the Administration had renounced all such methods, it would have won confidence. Its present methods are causing it to lose far more than it can possibly gain.

How the  
Result  
Was Proved

It may be that the bargains and arrangements long ago made will give firm control of the Chicago convention. Again and again, in the prior three months,—scores of times, indeed its announcements have gone straight from up White House to the effect that Mr. Taft would have all the delegates to the convention excepting a certain specified minority, on a pitiable dimensions. It is true no delega-



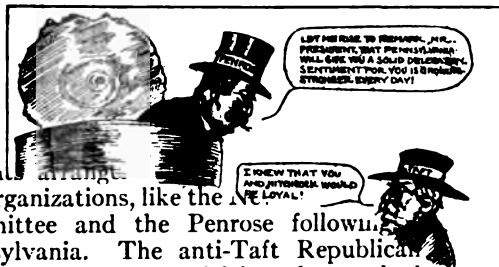
Copyright by the American Press Association, New York  
SENATOR REED SMOOT, OF UTAH

(One of the twelve apostles of the Mormon Church, and Mr. Taft's most active representative in Congress)

had been chosen. The hundreds of alleged Taft delegates were carelessly appropriated as if they were so many turnips in half a hundred baskets. It was not for a moment considered that the delegates would have anything to say about it. They had all been delivered, unnamed but in numbered bunches, many months in advance, in pursuance of bargains and arrangements made with office-holding cliques and State and local machines. It happens, however, that there is a spirit abroad in the land which hates this sort of thing. Everywhere, in order to upset bargains so carefully signed, sealed, and tied, the Republican masses are making Presidential nominations. In Nebraska, Governor Committ of New Hampshire, Governor it was of West Virginia, and Governor a of South Dakota. Mr. Roosevelt had made it plain to many callers and correspondents that, while he would not be a candidate in the sense of seeking a nomination, he would not be likely to refuse a nomination if the party should of its own accord call upon him to accept. The situation created by Mr. La Follette's illness and by the letter of these governors seemed to make it imperative upon Mr. Roosevelt to give an answer that would unmistakably and openly present his attitude to the whole country. There was the

"Progressives" in the Field The progressive movement developed new strength in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast, as a protest against an alleged combination of organized politics and financial interests, which had undertaken to hold the national convention in its own way without consulting the public. The Progressives, to a considerable extent, rallied around Senator La Follette of Wisconsin as a candidate, not chiefly because of their personal attitude toward Mr. La Follette, but because of his courage and vigor in asserting himself against bad tendencies; and his long record as a man of reforming and democratic principles. If a higher wisdom and a broader judgment had been directing the efforts on behalf of Mr. Taft's renomination, there would probably have been a change of tactics. A wiser course would have favored uninstructed delegations, and a convention of strong Republicans who would find their candidate after they had begun to ballot at Chicago. But the announcement went forth from the White House that the President, with his official vantage point, was determined to fight the other candidates and if possible force his own nomination. It was plain that a nomination wrested in this fashion from an unwilling party might mean defeat in November.

*The Straw Ballots* In the States which had not gone over to the Democratic party in 1910, every test and post-card ballot that was taken among Republican voters showed a surprising anti-Taft sentiment. The strength of this feeling went beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine of those



and organizations, like the National Committee and the Penrose following in Pennsylvania. The anti-Taft Republicans have been sharply criticizing the methods used to get "snap judgment" and secure delegates many months in advance of the convention. The Republican party is generous, and it can forgive many mistakes. But, these critics declare, the party does not like to be sandbagged, and it resents snap conventions and cut-and-dried schemes that disregard the will of the voters. The eighteen or twenty delegates elected in early February were all of this sort.



WHIP BEHIND, FELLOWS!  
From the Journal (Portland, Ore.)

supporting the progressive movement. Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, California, Oregon, and Washington were unquestionably anti-Taft in so far as the sentiment of the Republican voters could be ascertained. In Mr. Taft's own State of Ohio there was reported to be a preponderating sentiment in favor of some other candidate; and the same thing was disclosed of Indiana and Illinois. At the very moment when Mr. Penrose was at Pittsburgh telephoning Mr. Taft that the solid Pennsylvania delegation was assured, the post-card ballot of Pittsburgh stood about 10 to 1 against Mr. Taft. Whether or not the hasty action of the New York County Committee represented metropolitan sentiment, it was unquestionably true that the great Republican half of the State of New York, lying north and west of Manhattan, was strongly anti-Taft. But although Senator La Follette was widely respected for his courage and his record of achievements, he was not, by common Republican consent, regarded as the man for the emergency.

*Senator Cummins a Candidate* While strong in several of the Western States outside of Wisconsin, Mr. La Follette lacked strength in the neighboring States of Michigan, Iowa, and Minnesota. Iowa Republicans in general were progressive, and they were willing to send a delegation to present the name of a candidate of their own, Senator Cummins. After due consideration, Mr. Cummins consented to be a candidate and the announcement of the fact on January 10. He did not for a moment permit himself

MR. TAFT SE

PROGRESSIVE  
soon be too late





Photograph by Moffett, Chicago

ALEXANDER H. REVELL, OF CHICAGO

(Mr. Revell, with a large number of associates, last month formed a National Roosevelt Committee with headquarters at Chicago, and in his capacity as chairman of this committee Mr. Revell has been cooperating with Progressive Republicans and Roosevelt supporters throughout the country)

to be diverted from his Senatorial duties, and his candidacy came about in a most creditable fashion. Under normal conditions a dozen names might similarly have been brought forward for presentation to the convention.

**Demand  
for  
Roosevelt**

But conditions were far from being normal. Republican officialdom had set out, so to speak, to fight the non-official Republican party for control of the convention. Under the circumstances, there had to be an early agreement among large masses of voters upon a people's candidate. The post-card ballots everywhere showed a surprising demand for Colonel Roosevelt. The great post-card vote carried on by the Kansas City *Star* had up to February 10 shown 74,702 for Roosevelt, 8590 for La Follette, and only 8513 for Taft. The Indianapolis *Star* showed that Indiana Republicans were 3 to 1 in favor of Roose-

velt as against Taft. In spite of Beveridge's refusal to be voted for, there was so large a list for him as to show that he would easily have distanced Taft in Indiana. While the ballot of the Minneapolis *Journal* did not give Roosevelt so overwhelming a lead, he was nevertheless far ahead of all other candidates, and La Follette was decidedly ahead of Taft. Indications, in so far as they could be discovered, in New York State were in like manner for Roosevelt as against Taft. The inquiries conducted by the New York *Press* showed not only that Roosevelt's strength was greater than Taft's, but that a dangerously large percentage of Republicans would not vote for Taft even if nominated.

**La Follette  
on the  
Sick List**

Meanwhile, Senator La Follette's aggressive work as a candidate came to a sudden ending on the 2d of February, by reason of a physical and nervous breakdown due to long-protracted overwork. While there was reason to believe that Wisconsin would in any case send a La Follette delegation to Chicago, and that there would be other La Follette delegates, it was clear enough that the Progressives would for the most part join with the unofficial Republican masses in supporting Mr. Roosevelt.

**The  
"Drafting"  
of Roosevelt**

A movement in Chicago of a purely patriotic sort led to the organization of a National Roosevelt Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Alexander H. Revell, a well-known business man. Meanwhile, several Republican governors had declared themselves for Roosevelt, and they finally came together and united in a letter asking him to accept the call if the party should so decide. The letter was signed by Governor Carey of Wyoming, Governor Stubbs of Kansas, Governor Osborn of Michigan, Governor Hadley of Missouri, Governor Aldrich of Nebraska, Governor Bass of New Hampshire, Governor Glasscock of West Virginia, and Governor Vessey of South Dakota. Mr. Roosevelt had made it plain to many callers and correspondents that, while he would not be a candidate in the sense of seeking a nomination, he would not be likely to refuse a nomination if the party should of its own accord call upon him to accept. The situation created by Mr. La Follette's illness and by the letter of these governors seemed to make it imperative upon Mr. Roosevelt to give an answer that would unmistakably and openly present his attitude to the whole country. There was the





GOV. ALDRICH OF NEBRASKA

Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington  
GOV. HADLEY OF MISSOURI

GOV. OSBORN OF MICHIGAN

more reason for this in the fact that his position was being constantly and studiously misrepresented for the sake of confusing the Republican voters. Mr. Roosevelt had accepted an invitation to address the Ohio Constitutional Convention on Wednesday, February 21, and he did not deem it best that his answer to the governors should be made public until after that address had been de-

livered. The Ohio convention is a non-partisan body, and Mr. Roosevelt, in presenting his views before it, did not wish to be regarded as in the rôle of a political candidate. His reply to the governors, as prepared to be made public after his return to New York from Ohio, was brief but definite. It made plain his unwillingness to be a candidate in the sense of seeking the office, but it removed



GOV. JOHNSON OF CALIFORNIA



GOV. STUBBS OF KANSAS

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GOV. BASS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE SIX GOVERNORS ON THIS PAGE, AND THE THREE ON THE FACING PAGE, HAD PROMINENTLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH THE MOVEMENT FOR MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION AND WERE UNITED IN THE FORMAL REQUEST TO HIM TO GIVE ASSURANCE THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT IF CHOSEN AT CHICAGO

all doubt of his intention to accept the nomination if conferred upon him by the convention. The result of the letter was to give assurance to those who wished to make him their candidate that he would not render their efforts futile at the last moment by declining.

We present, in another part of this number of the REVIEW, an excellent article on the Ohio Constitutional Convention, from the pen of one of its ablest members, Prof. Henry W. Elson, who is a recognized authority in the field of American history and politics. The convention is made up of men of a highly progressive and intelligent quality. It is facing practical and fundamental issues with directness and courage. Mr. Roosevelt's speech of February 21 was addressed to this able body as upon a high plane of reasoning. Holding the doctrine that constitutions are not meant to limit or thwart the power of the people to govern themselves, Mr. Roosevelt advocated a plan by which, in the last resort, the people could put their own construction upon the meaning of any controverted provision in the organic law. Among the principles of a practical sort advocated by Mr. Roosevelt, a prominent place is given to the short ballot. This means fewer elective officers and a more intelligent selection of those few. "Direct nominations by the people, including therein direct primaries to elect delegates to the national nominating convention," were advocated in the speech. Another practical point was the election of United States Senators by direct vote. The initiative and referendum were strongly indorsed, with a discussion of the way in which these devices ought to be used. Mr. Roosevelt was doubtful as to the necessity for the recall where executive officers are elected for short periods.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York  
GOVERNOR VESSEY OF SOUTH DAKOTA, AND  
GOVERNOR CAREY OF WYOMING

Under certain circumstances he would favor the recall of judges, but not under all conditions. But even where he would not recall the judge himself, he thinks it might be possible to apply the principle of the recall



GOVERNOR GLASSCOCK OF VIRGINIA  
(A so-called "Roosevelt Governor")

to a bad decision made by the judge. He illustrates this by discussing several unfortunate decisions made by lower courts as respects workmen's compensation and the conditions of labor.

It was inevitable that Mr. Roosevelt's address should have aroused great discussion, and led to attacks upon him as one who would subvert our institutions. As a matter of fact, nothing that the Progressives are proposing would even remotely affect any of the fundamental safeguards of a constitutional system intended to secure the people's control over their own government. Not a word of Mr. Taft's argument against recalling judges could not be used, with equal effect, in an argument against the prevailing system of nominating and electing judges, and of dealing with the question of their reelection. Why should the appointment or recall of judges by vote of the people be any more dangerous than their appointment—and virtual recall—by a political executive who is seeking popular favor for his own reelection? For example, a famous and excellent jurist, Judge Hook of Kansas, had been virtually selected

"Recalls"—  
and, again,  
Recalls!



E. L. Lampson  
(Good Roads)



S. E. Bowdle  
(Liquor Traffic)



H. D. Peck  
(Judiciary)



E. W. Doty  
(Taxation)



Judge Norris  
(Public Works)



Dennis Dwyer  
(Schedule)



Prof. G. H. Colton  
(Phraseology)



Dr. S. D. Fess  
(Vice-President)



G. W. Miller  
(Agriculture)



Stephen S. Stillwell  
(Labor)



J. A. Okey  
(County and Township)



W. S. Harris  
(Legislative)



Prof. G. W. Knight  
(State University)



Prof. H. W. Elson  
(See page 337)



H. M. Brown  
(Prominent delegate)



W. B. Kilpatrick  
(Equal Suffrage)

CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES AND OTHER PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE OHIO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. (SEE FRONTISPIECE AND PAGE 337)

by Mr. Taft for the vacancy on the Supreme bench. Day after day the newspapers announced, upon unquestioned authority, that the President had decided to send Judge Hook's name in to the Senate. But there came to Mr. Taft the complaint that Judge Hook had failed to dissent from an opinion sustaining the Oklahoma law that permits railroads to provide separate Pullman cars for the white and colored races. Judge Hook's views in that case may have been erroneous; but his general record as a judge has been of the very highest. Protests from negro voters were made to Mr. Taft on account of this decision. It was announced that Mr. Taft had accordingly decided not to appoint Judge Hook. What Mr. Taft calls the "momentary passions of a people" are not more likely to do harm to a splendid judge like Hook of Kansas than are the momentary political exigencies of a Presidential candidate. If Judge Hook's "Jim Crow" decision is wrong, the Supreme Court can readily reverse it. But Mr. Taft is applying his recall, not to the decision but to the judge himself. It is not likely that the plain people would deal with such a situation in a spirit so timid or vacillating. Doubtless Judge Hook would prefer to take his chances with the verdict of the voters of Kansas.

**"Taft Fires  
on His  
Opponents"**

The President on Lincoln's Birthday made an address in New York which had been much heralded in advance as one that would play an important part in Mr. Taft's campaign for renomination. The foremost of the New York newspapers advocating his cause published the speech under the headline, "Taft Fires on His Opponents." The first half of the speech was an attack upon the Progressive Republicans, and the second half was an attack upon the Democrats who now control the House of Representatives. The Progressives are characterized as "seeking to pull down those things which have been regarded as the pillars of the temple of freedom and representative government, and to reconstruct our whole society on some new principle not definitely formulated, and with no intelligent or intelligible forecast of the exact constitutional and statutory results to be attained." Mr. Taft's objection to direct action by the people even includes "the selection of candidates." He characterizes the people themselves as being "necessarily indifferently informed"; and, referring to the advocates of direct popular government, he declares that "such extremists would hurry us into a con-



PRESIDENT TAFT, AS HE APPEARED ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY WHEN HE VISITED NEW YORK

dition which would find no parallel except in the French Revolution." He goes on to say that "such extremists are not progressives; they are political emotionalists or neurotics." He seems to regard any discussion of the position of the judiciary as a profane meddling with sacred things. He refers to the judges as "the high priests who administer justice." His discussion of the Democratic party is rather contemptuous in its tone, his idea being that the voters were merely giving the Republicans a mild and playful reprimand in 1910, in order that the Grand Old Party might be in fine condition for an overwhelming victory in 1912. This might answer very well for a bit of Mr. Taft's famous persiflage in an offhand dinner speech; but it is hardly serious enough for the thoughtful consideration of a country that is in dead earnest this year. For all the party's traditional proclivities in the direction of blundering, the Democratic management at Washington has been much more compact and efficient, during the past year, than has the Republican. As for the progressive wing of the Republican party, it might be charitable to suggest that Mr. Taft has been too busy fighting it to understand it. It seems to be in very vigorous condition, and to know somewhat definitely what it is trying to do.

**Taft's  
Campaign  
Management**

For many weeks the Taft campaign management was in the hands of Mr. Charles D. Hilles, Secretary to the President, who had disclosed

remarkable ability as a practical politician. Early in February, however, it was decided to open a campaign headquarters outside of the White House, and Congressman William B. McKinley, of Illinois, was put in charge. Mr. McKinley was already chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, which place he still retained. The object of the Congressional committee is to render assistance in the election of a Republican Congress. It is an unusual thing that the head of a general committee, belonging to the whole party, should at the same time take upon himself the private campaign of one candidate for the Presidency as against the other candidates. But this is an abnormal political year, and unusual things are to be expected.

*Wilson as a Democratic Favorite.* As respects the Democratic outlook for candidates, it would be idle to deny that the most widespread and spontaneous Democratic sentiment is for Governor Woodrow Wilson of

New Jersey. There are parts of the country where the demand for Bryan is large enough to show him as remaining the popular idol of the Democratic masses; and there can be no doubt of the strong position Governor Harmon of Ohio holds in the confidence of well-informed Democrats. Speaker Clark and Mr. Underwood grow more prominent, rather than less, as possible nominees of the Baltimore convention. But Governor Wilson has somehow caught the fancy of the young men of the Democratic party, and of political idealists in all parties. He is fortunate, moreover, in the capable and leading men who are openly supporting him in all parts of the country. Governor Wilson has a campaign manager of great enthusiasm in Mr. William F. McCombs, who is a Princeton graduate and a young lawyer of New York City. The money used in the Wilson campaign is said by Mr. McCombs to have been contributed mostly in small sums from people widely scattered. The sort of opposition encountered by Governor Wilson was of course to



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

**CONGRESSMAN W. B. MCKINLEY, MANAGER OF THE SO-CALLED "NATIONAL TAFT BUREAU" AT WASHINGTON**

(Upon assuming charge, on February 14, Mr. McKinley issued a statement. In this he declared: "President Taft has proven himself the real progressive leader of the party. He has written an unparalleled record of achievement and practical reforms. The business men, anxious for the continuance of prosperity, placing their confidence and reliance in President Taft, are upholding his hands. He is the only man who can carry New York and the doubtful States. That he will be renominated is a foregone conclusion—renominated on the first ballot, with plenty of votes to spare. That he will be reelected we have not the slightest doubt.")

have been expected and might well be regarded as a tribute to his growing strength:

Attacks  
on  
Wilson

In the series of attacks upon Wilson, the one that attracted most newspaper notice was due to the changed attitude toward him of two prominent journalists. Mr. George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, had for several years been advocating the qualifications of Woodrow Wilson as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency. More recently, Mr. Henry Watterson, the veteran editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, had also become an eloquent supporter of the New Jersey governor. But *Harper's Weekly* had suddenly ceased to mention Governor Wilson; and Mr. Watterson became involved in the attempt to make it appear that Mr. Wilson had failed in grateful appreciation of the efforts of Mr. Harvey. In due time it was plain to everybody that the intentions of each of these three gentlemen were quite unassailable. There had been some misunderstanding on the part of each. Plainly Mr. Watterson misunderstood a good deal more than did either of the other two. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Harvey would have managed better without the intervention of the "mutual friend." Several years ago Governor Wilson wrote a popular history of



WOODROW WILSON—(A FAVORITE PHOTOGRAPH)



WILLIAM F. MCCOMBS  
(Managing the Wilson campaign)

the United States in five volumes. In it he made some casual allusion to the rapid growth of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. A few sentences, taken away from the connecting text, have been used by newspaper opponents of Wilson in a studied plan to prejudice against him the voters of certain nationalities to whom he had referred. There is not the slightest reason to regard Governor Wilson's views, either now or at any time in the past, as less generous toward foreign-born citizens of the United States than are those of any other man who might aspire to Presidential honors. The attempt to break a candidate down by unfair methods is not likely to count for very much in a country that is fond of fair play and that has well-diffused intelligence.

Some Matters  
at  
Washington

The Democratic bill revising the iron and steel schedule of the tariff passed the House, under the leadership of Mr. Underwood, by a vote of 210 to 100, on January 20. Debate was brief, the bill having been reported from the Ways and Means Committee on January 25.



PRESIDENT TAFT SIGNING THE PROCLAMATION WHICH COMPLETED THE ADMISSION OF ARIZONA AS A STATE ON FEBRUARY 14

Iron ore is made free in the measure, and the reduction in rates on iron and steel products are from 30 to 50 per cent. The Senate Committee on Finance will hold long hearings on the bill, and its fate is uncertain. Twenty-one Republicans voted for it in the House, however, and it is quite possible that the progressive Republican Senators may support it, in which case it would go to the President. Although Mr. Andrew Carnegie and Judge Gary, president of the United States Steel Corporation, had expressed themselves as not opposed to a reduction of the tariff on steel products, Mr. Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Works, declared before the Finance Committee that if the Underwood bill should become a law his great industry would have to be abandoned. The Underwood bill revising the chemical schedule will, in its turn, have passed the House on brief notice. A Wool bill and a Cotton bill, resembling those that Mr. Taft vetoed last year, will soon emerge from the Ways and Means Committee. The question of a "money trust" investigation was finally settled in the House by referring the matter to the Finance Committee on Banking and Currency, under the chairmanship of Representative E. C. Raker, of Texas, who was

defeated in his attempt to have this inquiry made by a special committee. The Senate has passed the bill establishing a so-called Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor. We shall give this subject further attention as it comes before the House. In general the course of legislation has been slow, and work upon the appropriation bills has occupied the attention of various committees. The administration has been much stirred up by the proposal of the Democrats to omit the usual appropriation for two new battleships, and by a further proposal to reduce the size of the army.

#### The Laurence Strike

In Lawrence, Mass., one of the world's great centers of the textile industry, a strike has been on since early in January among the 25,000 operatives (chiefly people of foreign birth) in the woolen and cotton mills. The weekly wages of all the employees of these mills, including foremen, overseers, and office force, averaged only \$6. It was when the companies undertook to reduce wages already below a living standard to a still lower point, in consequence of the enactment of a State law forbidding the employment of women and children more than forty-four hours a week, that the opera-





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## PARADE OF THE STRIKING TEXTILE WORKERS AT LAWRENCE

tives quit work and demanded a 15-per cent. increase upon the old scale. They also demanded the abolition of the premium, or bonus, system. The calling out of the militia to preserve order in Lawrence and the arrest of strike leaders on charges of murder and violence may have diverted the public mind for the moment from the real questions that remain to be settled, after the smoke shall have cleared away. What, after all, is a living wage in Lawrence? There is work for a minimum wage commission in Massachusetts. Of this the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will have something to say next month. In this number (page 322) is an article on the remarkable record of the Anthracite Conciliation Board, which has been at work for the past nine years, as an outcome of President Roosevelt's action after the coal strike of 1902.

**Dynamite Indictments**—Last month indictments were found by the Federal Grand Jury, at Indianapolis, against fifty-four officers and members of labor unions charged with participation in a series of dynamite explosions that have taken place in various parts of the country during the past six years, and have destroyed more than one hundred

lives and millions of dollars' worth of property. Within a few days the Government secured the arrest of forty-nine of these men, including Frank M. Ryan, president of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and other officials of that organization. The Department of Justice declared that no evidence had been secured against officials of the American Federation of Labor. This magazine has already commented at length on the crimes and offenses of which these men are accused. Mr. Clarence Darrow, counsel for the McNamaras, has himself been indicted for bribery in the McNamara cases.

**A Railroad Over Salt Water**

The opening of Mr. H. M. Flagler's "over-sea railroad" to Key West, on January 22, brought Cuba several hours nearer to the United States and marked the completion of an engineering achievement wholly creditable to all who have been associated with the enterprise. For many miles the "right-of-way" of this singular railroad lies over salt water, and at certain points on the line passengers on its trains are actually out of sight of land. These conditions raised obstacles to track-laying that might well have daunted the





MR. HENRY M. FLAGLER, WHO AT THE AGE OF EIGHTY-TWO COMPLETES THE LABOR OF YEARS IN UNITING KEY WEST WITH THE MAINLAND BY RAIL

spirits of any construction corps, however resourceful. To Mr. Flagler's engineers has come the reward of success in the face of what at first seemed overwhelming odds. Steel and concrete have proved their loyal and efficient allies in the contest with the elements. Even the marl-beds of the coral reefs along the Florida coast were made to yield a tribute of thousands of tons of cement, which went into the structure raised far above tide level to support the rails. While construction was in progress villages were built on islands to accommodate the workmen.

*A  
Gigantic  
Undertaking* Viaducts, carried on arches of masonry varying in width from fifteen to fifty feet and built to endure for ages, constitute more than nine miles of this extension. One of these viaducts is six and eight-tenths miles long. There are nearly twenty-five miles of earth and rock embankments, while pile trestles make up almost six miles of the structure. Altogether the Key West extension of the Florida East Coast Railway, from Homestead, a point twenty-eight miles south of Miami, is 156 miles in length, and its approximate cost was \$18,000,000. Those portions of the line that are not built over open water cross the numerous small keys, or islands, that are characteristic of the Florida coast line. Havana is brought within forty-eight hours of New York; Key West becomes a railroad terminus nearer to Panama than any other American port, and great possibilities for traffic are opened up.



ONE OF THE VIADUCTS OF THE KEY WEST OVER-SEA RAILROAD

(The track is more than thirty feet above high tide)

*Exit the  
Manchu*

With the formal abdication, last month, of the Manchu dynasty, which has ruled China for three centuries, an end came to an empire nearly 5000 years old. No other nation in history has maintained one form of government of any kind for such a period of time. The renunciation of the Manchus is, therefore, one of the most dramatic and impressive occurrences of human history. The imperial order was in possession of Yuan Shih-kai for a week or more before it was made public, on February 12th, the Premier being instructed not to give the documents out until sufficient military force had been collected at the capital to protect the royal family. The "order" consisted of three edicts. The word "abdication" was carefully omitted. It was simply set forth that the Imperial family has decided to discontinue exercising governmental power, and that it will confine its future efforts entirely to spiritual matters. The full text of the first edict, which embodied the actual abdication, is interesting enough to reproduce in full. It follows:

We, the Emperor of China, have respectfully received to-day the following edict from the hands of Her Majesty the Dowager-Empress:

In consequence of the uprising of the Republican army, to which the people of the Provinces of China have responded, the Empire is seething like a boiling caldron, and the people are plunged in misery.

Yuan Shih-kai was therefore commanded to dispatch commissioners in order to confer with the Republicans with a view to the calling of a National Assembly to decide on the future form of government. Months have elapsed, and no settlement is now evident.

The majority of the people are in favor of a republic. From the preference of the people's hearts the will of Heaven is discernible. How could we oppose the desires of millions for the glory of one family?

Therefore, the Dowager-Empress and the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty of the Chinese Empire in the people.

Let Yuan Shih-kai organize to the full the powers of the Provisional Republican Government and confer with the Republicans as to the methods of union, assuring peace in the Empire and forming a great Republic with the union of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans.

We, the Empress-Dowager and the Emperor, will thus be enabled to live in retirement, free from responsibilities and cares, and enjoying without interruption the nation's courteous treatment.

The second edict accepted the conditions arranged between the then Premier Yuan Shih-kai and the Republican leaders. The third directed the viceroys and governors all over the empire to continue to exercise their functions until they are relieved by the new régime. Thus has come to an end the rule of



YUAN SHIH-KAI, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Elected by the National Assembly at Nanking last month)

the little Pu-yi in the sixth year of his age, the fourth of his reign, and the two hundred and sixty-eighth of his dynasty. In this REVIEW last month we printed an extended analysis of the situation in China showing the relation of Yuan Shih-kai thereto.

*Enter the  
Chinese  
Republic*

A great deal must yet be done before a permanent, modern form of government can be completely worked out in China. But there would seem to be scarcely any limit to what can be done by men dominated by such genuine patriotism as the leaders of the Chinese revolution. Soon after the abdication of the Manchus, Dr. Sun Yat Sen resigned his office, and Yuan Shih-kai was elected President of the new government by the National Assembly at Nanking. It was reported that Tang Shao-yi would be Premier, and that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, General Li Yuan Heng, Dr. Wu Ting Fang and other prominent radicals and moderates would make up the cabinet. Such a government will be capable of carrying on the administration in a manner satisfactory to the Chinese people until a fully representative national convention can be gathered together and a permanent government inaugurated. A provisional ministry under leaders such as these would be adequate to preserve China's dignity and political integrity before the world. Ever

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD



WELCOMING CHINA TO THE WORLD'S FAMILY OF REPUBLICS

(Uncle Sam with the other members of the world's republican household, France, Switzerland, Brazil and Portugal, welcome little China)

From the *Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

since the beginning of the present revolutionary movement it has been perfectly clear to the more far-sighted Chinese statesmen that certain European and Asiatic nations of well-known predatory inclinations were alert and preparing to take advantage of China's domestic troubles to begin the great game of "grab." Indeed, as we pointed out in these pages last month, in commenting on Russian "activity" in Mongolia and British "interests" in Tibet, the game has already begun. The association, in one strong cabinet, of representative radical and conservative leaders will undoubtedly tend to discourage the aforesaid predatory powers. They will be more discouraged by the note which Secretary Knox sent to Count von Bernstorff last month.

*Our Chinese Policy Reaffirmed*

The German Ambassador had requested information as to the attitude of the United States Government with regard to conditions in China. In reply, Secretary Knox pointed out the fact that our government has "from time to time exchanged views with the other interested powers, particularly France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia, as well as the Imperial German Government, with regard to the protection of common interests," and also that "it has become quite clear that

all the powers concerned are as one as to the wisdom of maintaining the policy of concerted action." Therefore, concluded Mr. Knox significantly:

There happily has thus far been no reason for interference on the part of the foreign powers, inasmuch as both Imperialists and Republicans have guaranteed the life and property of the foreign population, and the latest reports tend to strengthen the belief that it is improbable that future developments will necessitate such interference. If, however, contrary to all expectations, any further steps should prove necessary, this government is firm in the conviction that the policy of concerted action after full consultation by the powers should and would be maintained in order to exclude from the beginning all possible misunderstandings.

The interests of Germany and the United States in China are very similar. Since her acquisition of Kiaou-Chau in 1898 Germany has had no territorial ambitions in the Far East, and the maintenance of the "open-door" policy in trade is of as much importance to her as it is to the United States. The Chinese policy of our own government has always been pacific and commercial, and in favor of maintaining China's territorial integrity against all odds. This policy was clearly enunciated at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war by the now famous notes of the late John Hay. It was consist-

ently followed by Mr. Root, and this note of Secretary Knox is simply a reaffirmation of it.

*The Peace  
of the  
Pacific*

This country maintains the most cordial relations with the Orient and, indeed, with all nations whose territories border on the Pacific. Each month, with the progress made toward the completion of the Panama Canal, the United States becomes more of a world power, particularly more of a factor in the settlement of problems confronting those nations that front upon the Pacific Ocean. In conjunction with Great Britain, Russia and Japan we have already practically settled the long-vexed problem of the fur seal fisheries. Dr. David Starr Jordan, on page 315 of this issue, makes this situation clear. Despite the temporary pique caused once in a while by the political amenities of a Canadian general election campaign, our relations with the Dominion are increasingly cordial. A gratifying illustration of the feelings of our Canadian friends toward us was furnished by the visit of the Duke of Connaught to this country, late in January. The Duke, who is the uncle of King George and Governor General of Canada, combines in his own personality many of the attractive and estimable qualities of British manhood. Accompanied by the Duchess and their daughter, the Princess Patricia, he visited in New York, and later was received by President Taft in Washington. Three years from now the completion of the Canal will be celebrated by the opening of the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco. This could very appropriately be made the occasion of some international gathering or ceremonial which should mark, not only the completion of a century of unbroken peace between the United States and Great Britain, but the assembling of another peace conference at The Hague, and a new era in international amity. Dr. Butler's article, on another page this month, elaborates this idea.

*Our Friendship  
With  
Latin America*

With all Latin America we are on increasingly friendly terms. The completion of the Panama Canal will see a new Colombia economically and politically regenerated. The noteworthy achievements of the new President, Señor Carlos Restrepo, are set forth on another page this month. Our own island of Porto Rico is prospering; a new President, Señor Eladio Victoria, now administers the affairs of Santo Domingo, and, despite the failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty with Honduras and some small anti-American demonstra-



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SECRETARY KNOX

(From a photograph taken just before starting on his tour through "Caribbean America")

tions during the past few weeks in Honduran cities, we are apparently on good terms with Central America generally. On February 21 Secretary Knox, at the request of President Taft, started on a tour of all the Latin American Republics surrounding the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about a better comprehension of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. When the great canal at Panama is completed, these Caribbean countries will come into vastly increased trade with the United States. The political and economic conditions within their borders will then be of much more importance to us than now, considering our own interests and responsibilities in that region. Several years ago Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, made his trip around South America. The effect of this trip in bettering relations between the United States and South American countries is acknowledged to have been highly beneficial. The State Department hopes that the visit of Mr. Knox to the Caribbean countries, which have never before been visited by an American Secretary of State, will be of corresponding benefit. With our more immediate Latin American neighbors, Mexico and Cuba,

we have more delicately adjusted relations. During recent weeks the disinterested, friendly attitude of the United States Government and the American people have been demonstrated toward both of these countries.

*The Warning  
to Cuba*

A third intervention by this government in the affairs of Cuba seemed imminent late in January when the tension caused by the demands of the National Council of Veterans drew forth Secretary Knox's warning note. It is now just one month more than three years since the American provisional government withdrew from Cuba and left the administration of the island in the hands of General José Miguel Gomez, who had been elected president without serious opposition. He took the oath of office on January 28, 1909. Since then, making proper and fair allowance for the youth and inexperience of the republic, our West Indian ward has done very well and was apparently making a success of her second experiment in self-government. Last fall, the veterans of the Spanish wars were organized and trouble began. The association of veterans started out with the demand that all public offices should be filled by men who had fought for the independence of the republic, and that there should be no places for those Cubans who had either fought against independence or else had sympathized with Spain. Later, other and still more radical demands were made. For a while President Gomez temporized with the veterans. The civil service law enacted by the provisional government of the second intervention covered the cases of those in office, whatever their patriotic record. General Gomez used this as a reply to the veterans. They at once took up the gage of battle and demanded the suspension of the

civil service law. Gomez refused. The veterans then secured the introduction in the congress of a bill to suspend the civil service law for eighteen months. This measure passed the house, was amended by the senate so as to include the judiciary as well as the other branches of the service, was passed by that body and in its amended form accepted by the house. Then General Gomez yielded and signed the bill. This was early in December.

*Harmony  
Restored*

At that time the Cuban situation was the subject of serious consideration by both the State and War departments at Washington. As soon as the law suspending the civil service had been signed, President Gomez appointed a commission to hear the claims of the veterans and to consider their protests against men in office. This commission, known in Havana as the "Decapitating Committee," began its work by considering the "fitness" of the Havana police force. Then the Cuban supreme court declared unconstitutional the act suspending the civil service law, and the President dissolved the Decapitation Committee, declined to oust any of the officials obnoxious to the Veterans' Association, and finally issued a decree suppressing the association. Rioting and disorder ensued. Then followed Secretary Knox's note, which was sent on January 16, and the substance of which was contained in this paragraph:

The President of the United States looks to the President and Government of Cuba to prevent a threatened situation, which would compel the Government of the United States, much against its desires, to consider what measures it must take in pursuance of the obligations of its relations to Cuba.

The warning from our State Department has evidently been heeded, for all the warring factions now appear to be in harmony. The excitement and usual amenities of an election campaign, however, still remain. Some time in the month of October the Cubans will elect a president to succeed General Gomez. The Liberal party, now in power, has informally chosen Dr. M. Zayas for president, this choice only lacking the confirmation of the national convention. It is reported that General Mario Menocal, who is a very wealthy sugar plantation owner and highly regarded by all parties, may be the Conservative candidate. The desire of the United States Government for additional land to enlarge the Guantanamo naval station has



CHORUS OF LATIN AMERICANS:—"Look out! Knox is coming!"  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn).

been met by satisfactory—if somewhat delayed—action on the part of the Cuban Congress in a treaty delivered last month to Minister Beaupré for consideration by our State Department.

*Slow Progress in Mexico* When Mexico exchanged Diaz for Madero she did not, apparently, at once replace the political and commercial methods of "Diazism" by those lofty and progressive ideas and principles for which the new President waged the war of revolution and for which he has been endeavoring to stand since his election. These ideas and principles have indeed begun to take root in the popular mind. The difficulty comes when a new government endeavors to translate the ideas and principles into action and legislation in the face of the Latin-American appetite for guerrilla warfare and the unfortunate tendency of defeated Mexican politicians to resort to bullets when ballots have not been cast according to their liking. For some time President Madero will have to reckon with the after-effects of the revolution which he himself began. It takes more than a few months to rectify the political and economic mistakes of two generations. General Reyes, convicted of treasonable attempts against the new régime, the brigand Zapata, leading his guerrilla bands to disorder and pillage in the mountains of the south, and the various petty revolutionary juntas of Juarez and other cities along the Texas border, are probably merely indications that the revolution is not yet complete, that anarchy has not yet been quite eradicated in Mexico.

*Giving Madero a Chance* Events seem to be forcing Madero into a policy of repression which apparently justify the charge that his methods are no different from those of Diaz. But Diaz kept up these methods for forty years. The world will not refuse to give Madero time to develop his conceptions of the proper form of government for Mexico. The warning note sent to Señor Madero last month through the American embassy at Mexico City that his government will be held responsible for any loss or injury to American life or property along the border, cannot be construed as an evidence of any lack of faith in the new government. It is likely to react in favor of the existing administration. Madero has inherited more than one extremely difficult problem from the autocratic régime of Diaz. It is the desire of the American Government and people

to help, not hinder, him in the solution of these problems.

*Anglo-German Rivalry* It has long been evident to students of world politics that there is only one international situation

which threatens the peace of civilized mankind. That is the rivalry between England and Germany. There is no other rivalry, dispute, or misunderstanding between nations that could not be settled quickly and peaceably (we are now of course speaking of the great powers) if this Anglo-German problem did not, directly or indirectly, prevent or retard such a settlement. British and German policies on four continents are determined or conditioned by the mutual enmity and fear of these two powers. Because British policies and interests clash with German policies and interests, Europe is divided into two great groupings of nations, which during the past half decade have almost evenly balanced the military strength of the continent, and it has been the fear of disturbing this balance that has prevented the settlement of more than one grave political economic and social question. Further, most of the strained situations or actual breaks between the nations of Europe during recent years can be traced to the selfish and cynical efforts of one of these powers to counterbalance some real or apparent advantage gained by the other.

*What It Causes* There would be no adequate reason for the existence of a Triple Alliance or a Triple Entente if Britain were not suspicious of the Kaiser's *Weltpolitik* and Germany did not distrust Britain's influence and activities in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The traditional quarrels between France and Germany, Russia and Turkey, and Italy and Austria, could have been settled a generation ago had it not been for this Anglo-German game of thrust and parry which to-day has come to involve almost the entire world. Britain's distrust of Germany and Germany's distrust of Britain are the deciding factors in the Franco-German dispute over Morocco. They permit the descent of Italy upon Turkey's possessions in Africa and then prevent concerted European action in furthering peace between these belligerents. If these two great governments, the British and the German, could have agreed, the vexed Balkan problems and the relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire might have been peacefully adjusted long ago. Persia is losing her inde-

pendence as a nation and China gradually being shorn of her northern dependencies because Britain dare not offend Russia, so long as she faces a Germany, alert, powerful, and distrustful, if not actively hostile. On the other hand, the Kaiser sends his most astute and daring diplomats to challenge and, if possible, subvert John Bull's influence in all the world's centers of politics and trade. And all the while both nations feverishly push on the work of their arsenals and shipyards, building dreadnought against dreadnought, ever increasing the burden of taxation already heavy on the backs of their impatient peoples.

*What an Anglo-German Pact Might Do*

Students of world politics have long realized that the efforts to bring about universal peace that have been engaging the earnest attention and thought of so many high-minded statesmen and publicists as well as philanthropists could most profitably be directed toward bringing about a complete understanding between England and Germany. That is to say, more properly, between English and German governmental and political policies and sensibilities. There has never been any real quarrel between the English and German peoples. For years responsible statesmen and writers in both countries have been contributing largely by voice and pen to the furtherance of an Anglo-German understanding and friendship. Quite recently two powerful reinforcements have come to the camp of the workers for world peace, which, as we have already pointed out, means first of all a cordial understanding between England and Germany. These are the financiers and the Socialists.

*How Finance and Socialists Help*

In a noteworthy address on January 26, Sir Edward A. Holden, M.P., one of the best-known British authorities on finance, President of the London and Midland Bank, speaking to a gathering of bankers, said:

Germany's financiers and business men are equal to any in the world. They are assisting in the development of other countries in a most wonderful way. Outside her own country Germany has little territory which she can call her own. Other countries are acquiring additional interests abroad, but if Germany makes any move in the same direction she is immediately surrounded by difficulties. Such a condition must ultimately lead to the breaking of her bonds. I think nothing could happen that would be more for the benefit of finance throughout the whole world than that more consideration were shown her. We do not desire war. We do not desire to see Germany's

financial institutions crippled, neither do we desire to have our own financial institutions crippled. But as sure as war takes place it will mean disaster to and the collapse of the financial system of the whole world.

At the very moment Sir Edward Holden was uttering these words, the "*stichwahlen*," or secondary elections, were taking place for the German Reichstag. These resulted in greatly increased strength of the Socialist representation in the German national parliament. "The peace of Europe is now assured," was the comment of the veteran Socialist leader, August Bebel, when the figures of the final ballotings were read to him. The German Social-Democrats are patriotic enough, and could undoubtedly be counted on in a war of defense. But the feelings of class solidarity and world brotherhood have become so strong during recent years that it may be safely said that the growth of such programs of social betterment as the Socialists—particularly the German Socialists—offer would inevitably make for universal peace. On another page this month we present a summary of the growth of political Socialism during recent years all over the world.

*Lloyd-George and Armaments*

A significant speech by Mr. David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, on February 3, and the much-heralded visit to Berlin of the British Secretary of War the following week are evidences of the fact that the British Government has at last been brought to the point of making some official expression of its desire to live on better terms with the empire of the Kaiser. The Chancellor, speaking before the London Liberal Club, frankly declared that "the moment is most auspicious for a discussion of the reduction of armaments." This reference was understood by his audience, and by the German press as well, to be an effort looking toward a reconciliation with the Fatherland. Mr. Lloyd-George is undoubtedly in many ways the strongest member of the present ministry in Great Britain. Ever since he triumphantly carried through his revolutionary budget three years ago and thus brought an end to the veto power of the House of Lords, he has been the dominant figure in the cabinet. His other social reform measures which are now before the country have shown him to be endowed with many of the qualities of leadership which Premier Asquith apparently lacks. Indeed, the Chancellor is already looked upon in many quarters in England—and on the Con-



inent—as the successor of Mr. Asquith. Therefore, all his public utterances, particularly on international matters, are regarded as having great weight. Last summer it was his speech on the stand England would take in upholding France's Moroccan policies that secured such a favorable result for the republic and gave such offense to the Kaiser.

*Haldane in Germany* Whenever Mr. Lloyd-George speaks the world gives attention. When, therefore, his remarks on the proper moment for a reduction of armaments were so closely followed by the visit to the German capital of Viscount Haldane, England's Secretary of War, the press of the world began to herald some important developments in the prospects for international cordiality. The London Foreign Office formally announced that Lord Haldane, who is president of the Royal Commission on University Education, had gone to Berlin to investigate scientific education



(VISCOUNT HALDANE, BRITISH SECRETARY OF WAR

(Who, last month, made a visit to Berlin and conferred with the Kaiser, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and other Imperial German officials, and is believed to have discussed with them important matters concerning Anglo-German relations)

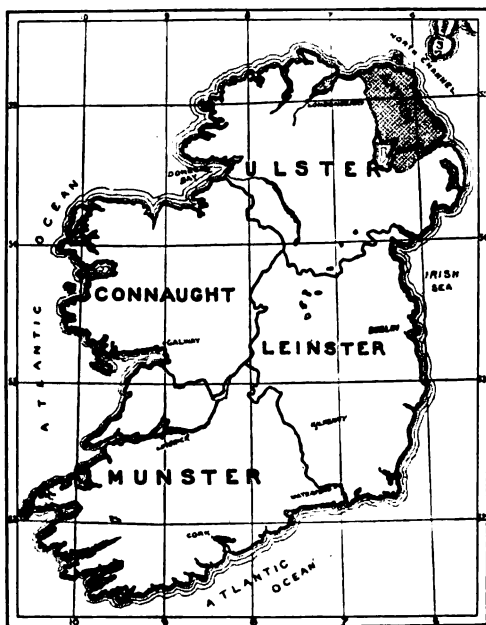


SIR EDWARD GREY (ON RIGHT), AND MR. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND, LEAVING THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

(When King George returned from his Indian trip, he conferred the Knighthood of the Garter upon Sir Edward Grey, who is the only commoner to receive such an honor since Sir Robert Walpole was decorated by George II. This gift to the Foreign Secretary is looked upon in some quarters as evidence of King George's intention to appoint Sir Edward Grey Premier upon the retirement of Mr. Asquith. Sir Edward may be regarded as the leader of the Conservative element in the present Liberal Cabinet)

in the German universities. Lord Haldane is the scholar of the cabinet, a man of high scientific and philosophical attainments, and this might well be so. It is known, however, that in December last the British Government inquired of the Government at Berlin whether Germany was willing to arrange for a "world-wide entente." We are informed by the usually well-informed Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily News* that Germany welcomed the proposal. It is believed that negotiations have continued since that time, and the visit of Secretary Haldane to Berlin is expected to mark a crucial point in the discussion. It will be remembered that after Sir Edward Grey had made his important speech setting forth the attitude of Great Britain in the Morocco question, which we discussed in these pages at the time, the German press, which is generally "officially stimulated," repeatedly demanded that Britain give Germany some





IRELAND ACCORDING TO ITS SENTIMENTS ON  
HOME RULE

(The shaded portion—the County Antrim in North East Ulster—is the only section of Ireland which may be said to be overwhelmingly opposed to Home Rule. See Mr. Stead's article on page 305 of this number)

"concrete, practical demonstration of her friendly attitude."

*Bargains  
in  
Africa*

"Some of the semi-official journals, among them the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, even ventured to "suggest" that the Bagdad railway and German colonial expansion in Africa are subjects "in regard to which Great Britain might indicate good will toward Germany in a tangible manner." It has been more than once intimated, in that half-veiled way which is so often chosen to make public those diplomatic moves of whose public reception the movers are not sure, that Great Britain and Germany, having "purchased" the right to dispose of Portugal's African colonies, are about to divide southern Africa between them. England and Germany did make a treaty in 1898 agreeing to "purchase" such a right to "consolidate" their African possessions. The possibility that such a rearrangement of territory in Africa might bring about better Anglo-German relations is easily apparent. After Lord Haldane had been received with every mark of cordiality by the Kaiser, his Chancellor, and his foreign minister, the Foreign Office in London authorized the admission that, "as he (the secretary for war) is

well known to many of the leading people of Germany, he will doubtless have general conversations on the political situation and the relations between the two countries."

*As to  
Armament  
Reduction*

The familiar project, dear to the hearts of the pacifists and of the radical members of the present British ministry, that of a mutual agreement between the two countries as to the limitation of armaments, was also thought to be the reason for the Berlin visit of the British war minister. The Kaiser's latest speech, at the opening of the Reichstag last month, in which he declared his intention to increase military and naval expenditures, and the belligerent address on the following day of Winston Churchill, British First Lord of the Admiralty, before the Clyde Navigation Trust at Glasgow, in which he notified the world that Great Britain could and would always "keep the lead" of every other nation in naval matters, would seem to indicate that neither government is as yet ready to talk seriously on the subject of armament limitation. Both the French and Russian governments (forming with Great Britain the so-called Triple Entente) were informed of Lord Haldane's trip before he left London, the notification adding significantly that, "in case political questions should be discussed, France and Russia would be kept informed." It may safely be asserted that the visit to Berlin of the British war secretary was primarily for the purpose of relieving the tension which has affected Anglo-German relations for so long. With Lord Haldane went Sir Ernest Cassel, a well-known English financier. The arrival of the two distinguished Englishmen had the effect of sending up prices on the Berlin bourse immediately. British Consols also gained at once.

*The Prospects  
for Home  
Rule*

The question that has wrecked most Liberal ministries in England in recent years, the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, was taken up for settlement last month by Premier Asquith. The entire life of the Asquith ministry has been by the grace of the Irish Nationalist-Labor combination, without which the Liberal premier would not have been able to carry through any of the legislation which has gone on record to the credit of his party. While themselves supporting not a few of the Liberal policies, the Irish members, held together by the excellent discipline of Mr. John Redmond, and the Laborites, marshaled by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Ramsay

Macdonald and other leaders, have never permitted the Liberal Premier to forget that he was dependent on them for his parliamentary majority. Some time during the present month, Mr. Asquith has promised, the government's Home Rule bill will be introduced in the Commons. In his speech from the throne opening Parliament on February 14, King George, having just returned from his Indian trip, gave the subject of Home Rule special prominence. The draft of the bill has already been approved by the Irish leaders. But, even when it has been passed in the parliament it will have to go before a convention of the Irish people. That body may deal with it as a preceding convention dealt with the Irish Council bill, which had also been approved by the Irish leaders in parliament, but which was summarily cast out by the convention. Mr. Stead surveys the entire situation on another page of this issue of the REVIEW. The visit to Belfast last month of Mr. Winston Churchill to set before the Ulstermen the provisions of the government's Home Rule measure was the subject of a great deal of discussion in the press. It was feared that the well-known opposition to Home Rule that has always existed in the province of Ulster would result in disorder when the British First Lord of the Admiralty laid the government proposals before the sturdy Orangemen of Belfast. His trip, however, was not marred by any serious opposition. It is now believed that a sort of working alliance has been arranged between the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites, looking to the passage of the Home Rule bill and another measure to reverse the Osborne judgment, a ruling of the British courts that trade unions cannot devote part of their funds to the support of the labor party.

Morocco  
a French  
Protectorate

France's new "Grand Ministry," under the premiership of M. Raymond Poincaré, ratified the Franco-German "accord" on the subject of Morocco and the Congo on February 10. The treaty was signed on November 5. During the three months of exciting discussion which preceded its ratification this treaty cost the life of the Caillaux ministry, and brought about a revelation of intrigue, financial maneuvering, and deceit which have aroused a national resentment unequaled since the Panama scandal. It has also resulted in bringing to the service of the Republic one of the most distinguished ministries France has ever known. M. Othon Guerlac, a member of the teaching force of one of our American

universities and formerly a journalist in Paris, sketches for REVIEW readers this month the career and character of Premier Poincaré. Under his guidance the Paris government has already formally entered upon the task of establishing a protectorate over Morocco. The present Moorish government is to be maintained in all its essentials, but the native functionaries will be advised and supervised by French officials. A definite agreement with Spain now seems in sight and the Republic has begun a new era in her colonial experience.

The Kaiser  
and His  
Reichstag

The thirteenth session of the Reichstag to assemble since the foundation of the German Empire was opened on February 7 by Kaiser Wilhelm in person. The monarch and his chancellor had the mortification of seeing the reply of the German people to their battle cries against Socialism ranged in solid lines on the Socialist benches, 110 strong, a plurality of the chamber and more than twice the number before the last dissolution. Even the Kaiser's own imperial constituency of Potsdam returned a Socialist deputy, the obnoxious Dr. Karl Liebknecht, who had just finished serving a sentence in prison for libeling autocracy (in the person of the Russian Czar), while the defeat of the Socialist



OUT OF THE SHADOW

THE KAISER: "What business have you here?"  
GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY: "I too want 'a place in the sun.'" From *Punch* (London)

candidate in the "palace" district of Berlin had been achieved by the slender majority of only seven votes. It is true that the remnant of the "Blue-Black Bloc" (the combination of Clericals and Conservatives which dominated the last Reichstag), by dint of dexterous "log-rolling," managed to defeat August Bebel, the Socialist leader, for the presidency of the Reichstag and to elect Dr. Peter Spahn, chief of the Centrists, or Clerical party. But a Socialist, Herr Philip Shiedemann, was chosen first vice-president, the first of his party to attain this honor. The National Liberal leader, Dr. Herman S. Paasche, was elected second vice-president.



HIS DILEMMA IN TRIPOLI

(ITALY: "Spaghettì! He is much harder to hold, but if I letta go——")  
From the *Star* (Montreal)

*The Socialist Plurality* For the first time in the history of the German Empire there is a definite progressive majority in the national parliament, and this majority is in the main hostile to the Kaiser's pet scheme of a bigger army and navy. There are 397 members in the Reichstag, and the House now stands: Social Democrats, 110; Centrists (Clericals) 93; Conservatives, 66; National Liberals, 47; Radicals, 44; Poles, 18; all others, 19. Readers of the REVIEW will recall Professor Jenks' article, published in these pages in January, analyzing the German political methods and setting forth the issues of the campaign which has resulted in the present Reichstag. Elsewhere this month we speak in detail of the principles and projected policies of the German Socialists. In his speech at the opening of parliament the Kaiser significantly declared his "unalterable intention" of "maintaining and strengthening both on land and on sea the defensive power of the German people." The present will undoubtedly be a momentous session. The Kaiser is bound to have his battleships; the Socialists are no less resolute to make war upon the existing order. They will not be able to prevent an increase of the German fleet. Their dominance in the Reichstag, however, will probably determine that the money for such increase will be raised from the incomes of the rich rather than from the necessities of the poor.

*The Turco-Italian War* After five months of fighting the war between Italy and Turkey is apparently no nearer a conclusion than when hostilities began. The Italian "expeditionary" army still holds the coast line and a few miles of the hinterland. Whenever there is a general engagement the Italians are victorious. Then the desert, rather than the Arabs, compels them to retire and

the Moslems claim to have again defeated the Giaour. Last month the range of the conflict was somewhat extended. The government at Rome notified the powers that it would blockade the Turkish coast of the Red Sea and that neutral vessels would be given five days in which to clear from the blockaded ports. The Italian navy also began an aggressive search for vessels suspected of carrying belligerents or contraband, and has already captured several. Italian warships held up two French steamers, the *Carthage* and the *Manouba*, bound from Marseilles for Tunis, and took them to Cagliari, in Sardinia. The first had an aeroplane on board, which the Italian authorities claimed was destined for the interior of Tripoli by way of Tunis for the use of the Arabs. The *Manouba* had among her passengers 29 Turks, ostensibly members of the Red Crescent Society, the Turkish organization corresponding to our Red Cross. As such, they would be immune from arrest. But the Italian officials claimed that they were really Turkish officers in disguise. They pointed to the fact that another Red Crescent expedition was recently halted in Egypt by Lord Kitchener, as it was found to be composed of belligerents. The sympathies of the Egyptians are almost entirely with the Turks, and there can be no doubt that many recruits and rifles have come by way of Egypt to aid the Tripolitan Arabs. The Italians also held up a British and an Austrian passenger ship.

*As to  
Rights of  
Neutrals*

A good deal of excited discussion of these seizures appeared in the French and English press, and for a time it seemed that the relations between



VOTING FOR MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

(The German voting places are models of cleanliness, and often artistic effect. The scene shown above is in a voting place in the city of Berlin)

France and Italy would be strained to the breaking point. The French Foreign Minister demanded the immediate release of the Turkish passengers of the *Manouba*. After a thorough medical examination by the Italians the Turks were admitted to be Red Crescent workers and given up. The aeroplane taken from the *Carthage* was also surrendered. The course of the Italians has been correct all along. They have the right, by the terms of the Declaration of London, to seize neutral vessels suspected of carrying belligerents or munitions of war. Moreover, the Italian Government has announced its readiness to submit all such cases to The Hague International Tribunal and to pay indemnity if errors have been committed.

The convention adopted by the powers which have treaties with China as to the future cultivation of opium and the regulation of traffic in that drug was signed on January 23 at The Hague. It contains twenty-five articles, in which the powers agree to control by law or regulations the production and distribution of raw opium, in so far as it is not already regulated. From the summary of the proceedings of the conference given out to the press, we learn that they agreed further

to limit, according to the differences of their commercial conditions, the number of towns or ports where the import or export of opium is permitted; to prohibit or control the export of raw opium to countries in which its use is prohibited or limited. Where the import or export of raw opium is permitted, it will be carried on only by authorized persons. The powers undertake the gradual suppression of the manufacture and use of prepared opium, and of local trade in it, in accordance with the existing legislation in the different countries. Where the trade is not yet regulated, the import and export of prepared opium shall be prohibited as soon as possible; and powers not yet ready for immediate prohibition will take restrictive measures.

The powers further agree to work in agreement with the Chinese Government for the enactment of measures against the contraband importation into China, as well as into their own far-Eastern colonies, of opium or any of its by-products. They undertake, further, to restrict opium smoking, and to keep pace with China in the limiting of opium shops and dens. We have already given our readers—in the article last month by Mr. E. F. Baldwin—an account of the world war against opium and showing the “background” of the Conference.

Aid for  
China's Famine  
Sufferers

The political and military news from China have, during the few past weeks, so absorbed the attention and interest of the world that the needs

of the famine-stricken poor in the Chinese provinces have been almost forgotten. Nearly 3,000,000 Chinese, chiefly hard-working farmers, are on the verge of starvation. Last summer the worst floods in forty years destroyed all the crops over an area of more than 50,000 square miles. No harvest can be expected until May, and until then the famine will be growing daily more acute. It is estimated that 600,000 families are without food or means of support. The Chinese Government and people are doing what they can to relieve the need, but, of course, can only do very little. There is a Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai, composed of eminent Chinese and foreigners. But the situation calls for a wider appeal. As head of the American Red Cross Society, President Taft has issued a proclamation asking the people of the United States to help the people of China. In this hour of her national crisis and reconstruction, the Celestial Empire is also in dire material distress and suffering, and it is to be hoped that the American people will respond generously. Any contributions or communications relative to this matter should be addressed to the headquarters of the National Red Cross Society, at the War Department, Washington.

*The Dickens Centenary*

It was a significant tribute to the hold Dickens has upon the memories and thoughts of all English-speaking people that at a meeting held in commemoration of the Dickens centenary one



THE DESIGN OF THE DICKENS CENTENARY STAMP

of the novelist's most vehement American detractors—who had come to scoff—in a five-minute speech used no less than four of the novelist's phrases to decry him. Charles Dick-

ens was born on February 7, 1812. He was twenty years of age when he published his first book, "Sketches by Boz." Since that year his place has been secure in the minds and hearts of the people of English speech. It is quite without profit to discuss whether he was a great literary genius or only a second-rate story writer who somehow (his detractors cannot explain how) captured the affections of millions of readers. Dickens created persons, not merely characters in books. Last month the Dickens centenary was celebrated in this country as well as in England. Committees of public men and women in both lands have been collecting funds for the purpose of caring for the indigent old age of several of the descendants of the man who has left to the world such a legacy of good feeling and perpetual entertainment.

*The Danes and Brandes*

As the Swedes celebrated Strindberg in January, so last month the Danes paid homage to the grand old man of their literature, George Brandes, who was born on February 4, seventy years ago. Rarely, if ever, has a critic held such a dominant position in the life of a nation. The leadership of Brandes in Scandinavian letters began more than forty years ago, when, at Copenhagen, he delivered the first course of the series of lectures later published under the collective title of "Chief Currents of Literature in the Nineteenth Century." Not only did those lectures exercise a powerful influence on Ibsen, but they became determining points for the whole host of young writers just then appearing in all the three northern kingdoms. It has generally been said that the motto of Brandes was "put problems under debate." But his cry was really broader, calling on the men of the new generation to write about what they knew, what was familiar to them. He was not the originator of the movement toward true realism. It was started in France and England. Balzac and Dickens were probably its foremost apostles. But Brandes acted as a focal point through which that movement found its way into the Scandinavian countries. In addition, it must be noted that Brandes has always consistently fought for radical ideas in government and for the rights of subjugated nationalities and wronged individuals, whatever might be their race or creed.



# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 17 to February 14, 1912)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 17.—The President's message communicating the report of the economy and efficiency commission is received and read in both branches.

January 18.—In the Senate, Mr. McCumber (Rep., N. D.) urges the ratification of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France.

January 23.—In the Senate, Mr. Culberson (Dem., Texas) criticises the source of Republican campaign contributions.

January 24.—The Senate debates the bill establishing a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor. . . . The House, by vote of 148 to 82, passes a measure requiring the President to make public the indorsements of candidates for appointment to the federal judiciary.

January 26.—The House begins debate upon the Steel and Iron bill prepared by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.

January 29.—The House, by vote of 210 to 109, passes the bill revising the steel and iron schedule of the tariff.

January 30.—In the House, the Pension appropriation bill is introduced.

January 31.—The Senate passes the bill creating a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

February 2.—The House passes the Pension appropriation bill, carrying \$152,000,000 and abolishing seventeen agencies.

February 3.—In the House, the rules are amended by the Democratic majority, restoring the power of the Speaker.

February 5.—The Senate agrees to vote on March 5 on the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France.

February 6.—In the Senate, Mr. Burton (Rep. Ohio) sketches the history of arbitration of international disputes. . . . In the House, Mr. McCall (Rep., Mass.) speaks against the idea of a third Presidential term.

February 9.—The House adopts an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, reducing the cavalry force from fifteen regiments to ten.

February 12.—In the Senate, the Committee on Pensions reports the Smoot bill as a substitute for the Sherwood measure.

February 13.—In the House, discussion of the Army appropriation bill is marked by an attack upon the Powder Trust.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

January 17.—President Taft communicates to Congress the results of the work of the economy and efficiency commission. . . . The Mississippi Legislature elects James K. Vardaman, the Democratic primary nominee, to succeed Leroy Percy (Dem.) in the United States Senate. . . . The Porto Rican House of Delegates passes a resolution declaring against American citizenship unless accompanied by full self-government.



HON. MYRON T. HERRICK OF OHIO  
(The new American Ambassador to France)

January 18.—The President commutes the term of Charles W. Morse, sentenced two years ago to fifteen-years' imprisonment for manipulation of bank funds.

January 19.—The House committee which investigated the pure food controversy agrees on a report sustaining Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. . . . The government brings action against the Erie Railroad for keeping firemen on duty more than sixteen hours.

January 20.—Senator Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, announces his candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination (see page 302). . . . Attorney-General Wickersham announces that the government will seek to dissolve the Harvester Trust. . . . The Senate subcommittee, which investigated the charges of corruption in the election of Isaac Stephenson to the United States Senate, from Wisconsin, reports that the charges were not proved.

January 22.—The President nominates Cyrus E. Woods, of Pennsylvania, as minister to Portugal.

January 23.—A caucus of Democratic members of the House approves the Steel bill prepared by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee. . . . The Standard Oil Company of New York is fined \$55,000 by the federal court at Buffalo, for accepting railroad rebates.

January 25.—Governor Foss, in a special message to the Massachusetts Legislature, urges an investigation of the mill strike at Lawrence. . . . Joseph M. Brown is inaugurated Governor of Georgia.



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CLARENCE S. DARROW, THE CHICAGO LAWYER, ENTERING HIS PLEA OF "NOT GUILTY" IN THE BRIBERY PROSECUTION AT LOS ANGELES

January 27.—Champ Clark announces his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

January 28.—The Secretary of War recommends the closing of many army posts and the concentration of troops at eight strategic points. . . . Ex-Congressman Edwin C. Burleigh, of Maine, announces his candidacy for the United States Senatorship.

January 29.—President Taft, speaking at Cleveland, urges Republicans to stand together in the coming campaign. . . . Clarence S. Darrow, counsel for the defense in the recent McNamara trial, is indicted for bribery by the Los Angeles grand jury.

January 30.—The name of William J. Bryan is withdrawn from the Nebraska Presidential primary ballot.

February 1.—The national convention of the Prohibition party is called to meet at Atlantic City on July 10. . . . The Massachusetts House of Representatives unanimously orders a thorough investigation of all railroads terminating in Boston.

February 2.—President Taft sends a special message to Congress dealing with the high cost of living and the relations between capital and labor. . . . The second Philippine Legislature comes to an

end, with important measures not disposed of; an extra session is called by Governor-General Forbes.

February 4.—The President suspends an order of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs which forced members of religious orders from Indian schools.

February 5.—Governor Deneen, of Illinois, announces his candidacy for the Republican renomination.

February 6.—The Ohio Constitutional Convention adopts a section providing for a three-fourths decision by juries in civil cases (see page 337). . . . More than thirty indictments are returned by the federal grand jury at Indianapolis which investigated the alleged nation-wide dynamite conspiracy.

February 7.—The President nominates Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, to be ambassador to France. . . . The extra session of the Philippine Legislature comes to an end with appropriation bills still unenacted. . . . At a caucus of Democratic members of the House it is decided to conduct an investigation into the alleged "money trust" by four standing committees, instead of a special committee as urged by William Jennings Bryan.

February 8.—William B. McKinley, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, is selected to run President Taft's campaign for renomination. . . . A joint committee of the Massachusetts Legislature begins a systematic attempt to end the Lawrence strike.

February 10.—Eight governors, and representatives of twenty-eight States, meet at Chicago and urge ex-President Roosevelt to be a candidate for the Presidential nomination. . . . Senator Stephenson, of Wisconsin, is exonerated by the special Senate committee of the charge of corruption in connection with his election. . . . Ex-Governor Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, withdraws from the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination in favor of Champ Clark.

February 12.—Governor Wilson, of New Jersey, in an address at Chicago, formally opens his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination. . . . James J. Hill testifies before the special committee of the House investigating the Steel Trust. . . . The letters of President Taft, concerning the alleged suppressed charges against Major Ray, are made public at the White House. . . . President Taft, speaking at the Republican Club of New York, expresses his belief that his party will, on its record, be sustained at the forthcoming election.

February 14.—President Taft signs the proclamation admitting Arizona as the forty-eighth State of the Union. . . . Nearly fifty labor-union officials are arrested in different parts of the country, under indictment by the federal grand jury at Indianapolis, charged with conspiracy.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

January 18.—The government troops in Ecuador attack and defeat the insurgents near Guayaquil. . . . General Rojas, recently deposed as President of Paraguay, withdraws his resignation and fights to regain his position. . . . The Turkish Chamber of Deputies is dissolved by imperial decree. . . . It is announced that France will immediately proceed to transform Morocco into a French protectorate. . . . The Norwegian Storting passes a measure admitting women to public office, with a few exceptions.



January 20.—The Cuban veterans' association approves an agreement made with President Gomez which will settle the differences that threatened American intervention.

January 22.—Peace is arranged between the revolutionists and the government forces in Ecuador; the three leading revolutionary generals are held as prisoners. . . . Gen. Louis Mena resigns as President of Nicaragua, his election by Congress having been declared illegal.

January 23.—The Canalejas ministry in Spain settles its differences and agrees to remain in office. . . . A new ministry was formed in Chile.

January 25.—The final voting in the German elections takes place; the Socialists increase their representation in the Reichstag to 110 seats, and the Conservatives lose 34 seats. . . . General Pedro Montero, recently proclaimed president of Ecuador by a portion of the army, is killed by a mob at Guayaquil. . . . The Portuguese cabinet under Premier Vasconcellos resigns. . . . Serious rioting occurs at Bahia, Brazil, following the refusal of the state government to carry out a judgment of the federal court.

January 28.—A mob breaks into the prison at Quito, Ecuador, and kills five revolutionary generals who surrendered recently, including ex-President Eloy Alfaro.

January 30.—Constitutional guarantees are suspended and martial law declared in Lisbon, because of the seriousness of the strike.

January 31.—The city of Juarez, Mexico, is seized by the opponents of the Madero government.

February 1.—Emilio Vasquez Gomez is proclaimed president of Mexico by the revolutionists.

February 2.—The Mexican insurgents are repulsed after an attempt to capture the Chihuahua government. . . . General Manuel Bonilla assumes the presidency of Honduras.

February 3.—The Portuguese Senate concurs with the Chamber of Deputies in favor of trial by military courts of men arrested during the strike. . . . The Serbian cabinet resigns.

February 5.—King George and Queen Mary return to London after nearly three months' absence in India. . . . Eladio Victoria, provisional president of Santo Domingo, is elected president.

February 7.—The German Emperor's speech opening the newly elected Reichstag forecasts the introduction of measures increasing imperial defenses.

February 8.—Winston Churchill, speaking in Belfast, outlines the Government's Home Rule bill; Mr. Redmond appeals to all Ireland to aid in its passage.

February 9.—Dr. Peter Spahn, head of the Clerical Center party, is elected president of the German Reichstag.

February 10.—The French Senate ratifies the agreement with Germany concerning Morocco and the Congo.

February 12.—Dr. Belisario Porras, formerly minister to the United States, is nominated as liberal candidate for the Presidency of Panama. . . . Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is created a Knight of the Garter.

February 13.—Several minor changes in the British Cabinet are announced. . . . The French Chamber of Deputies, by 452 to 73, votes to hasten by two years the completion of its naval program.

. . . The Persian Government orders the detention of twelve Americans who served under W. Morgan Shuster in the Persian Treasury.

February 14.—The second session of the British Parliament is opened by King George.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 18.—Russian troops seize the city of Meshed, Persia. . . . France demands that Italy release the *Carthage*, seized on suspicion of conveying an aeroplane to Africa for the Turkish army; Italy captures the French steamer *Manouba*, near Tunis, alleging that it carried men and money for the Turkish army in Tripoli.

January 19.—Italy releases the French steamer *Carthage*.

January 20.—The Cuban veterans' association reaches an agreement with President Gomez which will make American intervention unnecessary.

January 21.—A plot to kill an American official in Teheran, in order to involve the United States, is discovered.

January 23.—The International Opium Congress comes to an end at The Hague, and the protocol is signed by representatives of twelve nations. . . . France threatens to withdraw her ambassador if Italy does not at once release the Turks arrested on the *Manouba*.

January 25.—The Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada, is received at the White House by President Taft.

January 26.—Italy seizes another French steamer, the *Tavignano*, off the coast of Tripoli. . . . Argentina withdraws her diplomatic representative in Paraguay, because of attacks on Argentine shipping during the recent revolution in Paraguay.

January 27.—Italy refers to the Hague Tribunal all questions arising out of the seizure of French steamships; the twenty-nine Turks arrested on board the *Manouba* are released, as is also the steamer *Tavignano*.

January 28.—A battle is fought between French troops and Moroccan tribesmen near Rabat.

January 30.—A copyright treaty between the United States and Hungary is signed at Budapest.

February 2.—It is announced that Great Britain and Russia will revise their agreement of 1907 concerning Persia.

February 3.—President Madero of Mexico is warned by the United States Government to protect American interests near the border.

February 5.—Four additional battalions of United States troops are sent to the Mexican border.

February 6.—Russia, with the approval of Great Britain, notifies Persia that she will order the deposed Shah, Mohammed Ali Merza, to quit Persia if a pension is granted to him.

February 7.—The State Department at Washington defines the attitude of the United States in the matter of the Chinese revolution.

February 9.—United States marines are landed in Honduras to protect American property.

February 10.—The United States declines the request of the Mexican Government to allow Mexican troops to get to Juarez via Eagle Pass and El Paso, Texas. . . . The Franco-German agreement over Morocco is ratified by the French Senate.



February 13.—The State Department at Washington is officially notified of the formation of the new Chinese republic. . . . Great Britain persuades Japan to postpone loans which might reach either of the contending parties in China.

#### WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND TURKEY

January 18.—A large body of Turks and Arabs attack an Italian column near the town of Tripoli with considerable loss on both sides.

January 28.—The Turkish forces attack Ghirgarsh and Ainzara, but are repulsed.

February 5.—The Italian fleet bombards Ho-deida, on the Red Sea.

February 13.—The Turks attack the Italian defenses around Derna, but are beaten back with a loss of sixty men.

#### THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

January 19.—Premier Yuan Shih-kai demands that Dr. Sun Yat-sen resign the presidency and permit the Premier to exercise sovereign powers until the meeting of the national convention. . . . The republican government appeals to the powers for recognition. . . . American troops take up their duties as a part of the international force protecting the Chinese railroad from Peking to the sea.

January 24.—American Minister at Peking calls into the legation quarter all Americans living in outlying parts of the city.

January 27.—Forty-six generals of the imperial army demand that the Government peacefully settle the troubles of the country, even if abdication be necessary.

February 1.—President Sun appoints Wong Chung-ting as special representative to the United States.

February 3.—The Manchurian assembly notifies Premier Yuan that Manchuria desires no part in the republic about to be formed.

February 4.—The Dowager Empress signs a decree, in behalf of Emperor Pu Yi, directing the Premier to coöperate with the Republicans at Nanking in establishing a republic.

February 5.—The revolutionary leaders suggest to the Premier that orders be issued by both sides to stop fighting.

February 6.—The National Assembly at Nanking accepts the main proposals of Premier Yuan Shih-kai; the imperial family is granted a pension of \$2,400,000 a year.

February 12.—The Manchu dynasty in China comes to an end with the abdication of the child emperor, Pu Yi, and the recognition of the republican government.

February 13.—Yuan Shih-kai assumes the title of Organizer of the Republic; all officials and diplomatic representatives are retained.

February 14.—Dr. Sun, provisional president, requests Premier Yuan Shih-kai to accept the first presidency of the republic.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 17.—The United Mine Workers' convention at Indianapolis votes in favor of government ownership of all industries. . . . Cardinal Farley arrives in New York from Rome after his elevation to the cardinalate.

January 18.—The members of the British Miners'

Federation, by vote of 445,801 to 115,921, declare in favor of a general strike on March 1. . . . John P. White is reelected president of the United Mine Workers of America. . . . The site of the new courthouse for New York City, a part of the proposed civic center, is approved by the Board of Estimate. . . . More than 100 lives are lost in storms off the British coast.

January 19.—The cotton lockout at Manchester, England, is ended by a postponement of the open-shop issue for at least six months.

January 21.—Cardinal Bourne makes a state entry into Westminster Cathedral, the first ceremony of the kind in England since the Reformation.

January 22.—James T. Harahan, former President of the Illinois Central, and three officials of the Rock Island system, are killed in a railroad collision at Kinmundy, Illinois.

January 24.—The United Mine Workers, at Indianapolis, vote to demand an increase in wages for both bituminous and anthracite miners. . . . The two-hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Frederick the Great is celebrated throughout Prussia.

January 25.—Imposing ceremonies are held in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, in honor of Cardinal Farley.

January 26.—President Taft appeals for funds to relieve the famine-stricken people of China. . . . The cathedral at Khartoum, erected as a memorial to General Gordon, is consecrated. . . . The Royal Bank in Vancouver is robbed in broad daylight of \$30,000.

January 27.—Negotiations between the mill owners and striking operatives at Lawrence, Mass., are called off.

January 29.—A general strike is declared in Lisbon, seriously affecting newspaper publication and transportation facilities. . . . A woman is killed during a strike riot at Lawrence; Governor Foss orders out additional militia.

January 30.—The bore, 1200 feet under the Hudson River, which forms a part of New York City's new water-supply system, is completed.

January 31.—A violent earthquake, centering at Valdez, Alaska, is felt throughout the Northwest.

February 1.—The will of Mrs. Caroline W. Neustadter leaves \$1,000,000 for the establishment of "model homes" near New York City. . . . Mgr. Giovanni Bonzano is appointed by the Pope as Apostolic Delegate at Washington.

February 2.—The convention of the United Mine Workers is adjourned.

February 5.—The battleship *España*, the first unit of the new Spanish navy, is launched.

February 6.—The last of the sixty-five bodies known to have been in the wreck of the *Maine* is recovered.

February 7.—The Lawrence mill strikers who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor demand a 15-per cent. wage increase.

February 8.—Many persons lose their lives in extensive floods throughout Spain and Portugal.

February 10.—The Lawrence strike committee votes to continue the strike as long as the labor leader, J. J. Ettor, remains in jail.

February 11.—Many persons are injured in a riot following a Socialist burial in Paris.

OBITUARY

January 16.—Brig.-Gen. Ezra Philetus Ewers, U.S.A., retired, 74.

January 17.—Brig.-Gen. William Smith, U.S.A., retired, 80.

January 19.—Hermann Winkelmann, the German operatic tenor, 67. . . . Rev. Francis Michael Sheeran, former president of Villanova College, 72.

January 20.—Rev. Dr. Benjamin Crispin Lipincott, a prominent Methodist Episcopal clergyman of New Jersey, 84.

January 21.—Former Judge Ulric Sloane, of Columbus, Ohio, an authority on criminal law. . . . Judge Alfred A. Hall, of the Superior Court of Vermont, 63.

January 22.—James T. Harahan, former president of the Illinois Central Railroad, 69.

January 23.—Prof. Nicholas Paine Gilman, a noted sociologist and economist, 62.

January 24.—Charles Finney Cox, of New York, a prominent railroad man and scientist, 66.

January 25.—Rear-Adm. Lewis Cass Heilner, U.S.N., retired, 63.

January 27.—William M. Lochren, formerly United States District Judge at Minneapolis, and Commissioner of Pensions under President Cleveland, 80. . . . Charles Schreyvogel, a well-known painter of Indian and frontier life, 51. . . . Edmund Singer, a noted Hungarian violinist, 80.

January 28.—Gustave de Molinari, a French authority on political economy, 92. . . . Alexandre Charles Bisson, a well-known French dramatist, 63. . . . Rev. Dr. Charles Stanley Albert, editor of Sunday School publications of the Lutheran Church, 64. . . . Felix Schweighofer, a noted Austrian comedian, 70.

January 29.—Ex-Congressman Ezra B. Taylor, of Ohio, 89. . . . The Duke of Fife, brother-in-law of King George of England, 62.

January 30.—Guy G. Major, twice mayor of Toledo, Ohio, 52. . . . James Cameron Allen, former Congressman from Illinois and ex-Circuit Judge, 90. . . . Charles Gilbert Wheeler, a noted chemist and geologist of Chicago, 75. . . . Dr. Norton Royce Hotchkiss, a prominent New Haven physician, 42. . . . Arthur Hamilton Gordon, first Baron Stanmore, a well-known British colonial official, 82.

January 31.—B. F. Pearson, a prominent promoter of Nova Scotia, 56.

February 1.—Edwin Hawley, the railroad magnate, 63. . . . Charles Gifford Dyer, a prominent artist of Chicago, 66.

February 2.—Dr. William Taylor Bovey, dean of the faculty of applied science at McGill University, 60. . . . Ex-Governor Frederick Robie, of Maine, 89. . . . Dr. Waldemar Koch, of Chicago, a leading physiological chemist, 36. . . . Gen. Luther S. Trowbridge, appraiser of the port of Detroit, 75.

February 3.—Charles C. Overbeck, formerly widely known as an abolitionist and one of the founders of the Republican party, 90. . . . Thomas F. Grady, a prominent Democratic politician of New York, 58. . . . Rt. Rev. George Holmes, Lord Bishop of Athabasca (Canada).

February 5.—Horace Hopkins Coolidge, three times president of the Massachusetts Senate, 80. . . . Dr. John Bacon Coolidge, formerly a prominent Boston dentist and professor of dentistry, 91. . . . Mrs. Mary Leavitt, the well-known temperance

worker and lecturer, 81. . . . M. H. Clark, secretary to Jefferson Davis, and last acting Treasurer of the Confederate States, 82.

February 6.—Gen. James Baird Weaver, twice candidate for President (on the Populist and Greenback tickets), 79. . . . Prof. George Jarvis Brush, formerly director of the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale, 80.



THE LATE LORD LISTER

(Discoverer of antiseptic treatment in surgery)

February 7.—Justice Truman C. White, of the New York Supreme Court, 72. . . . Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, a noted negro author and lecturer of Liberia, 79.

February 8.—Dr. DeWitt Clinton Huntington, chancellor emeritus of Nebraska Wesleyan University, 82. . . . Sir William Henry Allchin, M.D., physician extraordinary to King George of England, 65. . . . Field Marshal Wilhelm von Hahnke, of the German army, 79.

February 9.—Abbé Charles Loyson (Père Hyacinthe), the noted French preacher, 85. . . . Rev. Dr. Andrew Martin Fairbairn, principal emeritus of Mansfield College, Oxford, 74. . . . James Noble Adam, recently mayor of Buffalo, N. Y., and a prominent merchant, 70.

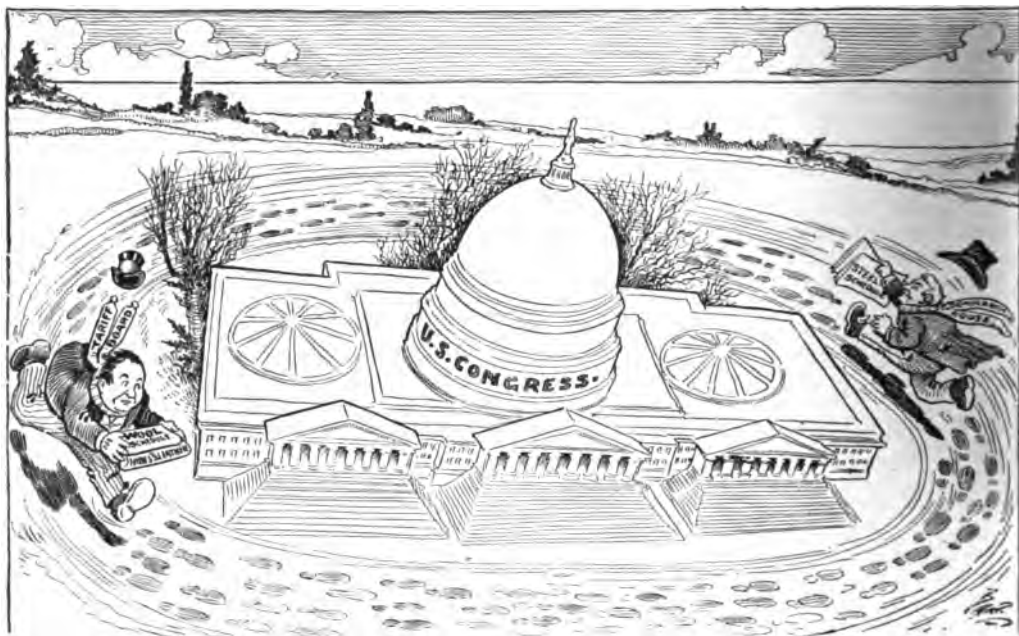
February 10.—Dr. J. M. da S. Paranhos, Baron do Rio Branco, the eminent Brazilian statesman. . . . Former Congressman Leonidas F. Livingston, of Georgia, 79. . . . Prof. T. C. Okane, author of many hymns, 82. . . . Louis Delaunay-Belleville, a noted French engineer, 69.

February 11.—Lord Lister, discoverer of antiseptic treatment in surgical operations, 85.

February 12.—Louis Heilprin, the author and editor of works of reference, 61. . . . Gen. Hippolyte Langlois, Senator and member of the French Academy, 77.

February 14.—Sir Nowell Salmon, Admiral of the British Fleet, 77. . . . Mataafa, former King of Samoa.

# CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



## WILL THEY EVER GET TOGETHER—THE TARIFF BOARD AND CONGRESS?

(Although the Tariff Board has reported on Wool, Congress seems to be more interested in revising the Steel Schedule)  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



## TREED BY THE SHORN LAMB

(While Congress is up the tree of "Politics" the Wool Schedule and the promise to revise it await attention)

From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



## PRESIDENT TAFT TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: "COME, YOU'RE ALL RIGHT; GET BUSY"

(In recent speeches, President Taft has grown more optimistic regarding Republican success this year)

From the *Star* (Washington)



THE AMERICAN "UNCLES"

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND MR. TAFT (to each other): "My dear friend, you had better look for some other country. North America is too small for you" From *Ulk* (Berlin)

The "Roosevelt" question developed in intensity last month. Sentiment in favor of the ex-President's nomination was shown by numerous straw ballots taken in various sections of the country. Naturally the Taft forces would have been glad to have Roosevelt "call off the dog" with a statement declining a nomination. Roosevelt's friends,



NOTHING TO SAY

From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)

on the other hand, were pressing him to declare a willingness to accept. It was finally understood that a statement to this effect would be forthcoming.



TAFT TO ROOSEVELT: "CALL OFF YOUR DOG"  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



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"NOT YET, BUT SOON"  
From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)



WOODROW MUST BE TERRIBLY WORRIED  
From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)

The cartoons on this page are concerned chiefly with the struggle among the Democrats to find a Presidential candidate. Governor Wilson's boom has recently been subjected to some severe jolts, although it is doubtful if the popularity of the "school-master in politics" has suffered much as a result. While Mr. Bryan has openly opposed some aspirants, and said good words in behalf of others, he seems still to be carefully "weighing them in" before definitely declaring his choice. In the past month work has been actively begun through the newspapers in pressing the claims of Congressman Underwood, of Alabama. Mayor Gaynor, of New



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#### WEIGHING THEM IN

(Mr. Bryan testing the weight of the various aspirants for the Democratic nomination) From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)

York, has also been projected into the arena by his recent tariff speech, which was taken as an indication of receptivity. This has been associated in a humorous way by Cartoonist Powers with another utterance of Mr. Gaynor's on how long an egg should be boiled!



STARTING A BOOM IN THE SOUTH  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



A "GLOOM" EGG  
(How long will it take Mayor Gaynor to boil a Presidential nomination egg?) From the *American* (New York)



**"WELCOME, MISS"**  
From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)

Two new States have been added to the Union this year,—New Mexico on January 6 and Arizona on February 14. The ceremony of the signing of the Arizona document by President Taft was recorded by the cinematograph (the first time such a machine has been operated in the White House). This will preserve for posterity a most interesting record of the act of making a State. In connection



**MR. MORGAN'S "MOVING PICTURES"**  
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)

with "moving pictures," the *Pioneer Press* cartoon refers to the report that Mr. J. P. Morgan had decided to transfer to this country his valuable art collections now located in various European museums.



**APROPOS OF HIGH FOOD PRICES**  
**"There's always room at the top"**  
 From the *Eagle* (New York)



**PROTECT THE INDUSTRY AT ALL HAZARDS!**  
(Referring to the calling out of troops in connection with the strike in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass.)  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)





THE FRENCH REPUBLIC SAVED

PRESIDENT FALLIÈRES: "At last, a restful seat after a strenuous day!" — Oh! Oh! DELCASSÉ: "I am the State!" FALLIÈRES: "Vive la République"

From *Muskele* (Vienna)

Four republics figured prominently in last month's news, for widely different reasons. Elsewhere in this issue are recounted the latest troubles of unhappy Mexico and Cuba. The entrance of China into the family of republics is also commented on. The first cartoon on



"OFF AGAIN, ON AGAIN, GONE AGAIN, FINNEGAN!"

(Apropos of the numerous revolutions in Mexico)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



BEWARE THE BIG-SLIPPER

From the *Press* (New York)

this page humorously touches on one phase of the recent cabinet overturn in France. The reëntance of Delcassé into a French ministry was thought to indicate that he would be virtual premier and even dominate the President. M. Fallière's genial sanity and "amplitude," however, seem—in the final panel of the cartoon—to have restored the equilibrium of state.



THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Chinese Dragon has joined the Top Hat Brigade of Republican presidents (Fallières of France, and Taft of the United States). From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR'S NEW BED

"Sleep is the brother of Death" (The figure under the Chancellor's bed represents Socialism)  
From *Ulk* (Berlin)

The "menace of Socialism" has been assuming greater proportions in Germany recently, owing to the capture of almost a third of the

Reichstag by the Social Democrats in the elections. The general subject of the growth of Socialism throughout the world, with reference also to the situation in Germany, is treated in an article contributed to this issue of the REVIEW, and also in our editorial comment.



"SIMMERING" FROM SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA FUEL  
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)



THE POLITICAL THEATER IN GERMANY  
(The curtain rises on Act I. and discloses the Red Socialists occupying the stage)  
From *Gluhlichter* (Vienna)



# THE WORLD'S PEACE AND THE PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

President of Columbia University

WHEN everything else that was accomplished by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 has been forgotten, the record of the great series of international congresses of arts and science held in connection with that exposition will remain as an enduring monument. It goes without saying that so enlightened a community as San Francisco and California will wish to associate with the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 some intellectual achievement, international in character, which will produce results that will serve to dignify it and to continue its name and influence long after the buildings and the exhibits have crumbled into dust.

The suggestion that I have to offer is that the intellectual and scholarly activities of the San Francisco Exposition be grouped about the fundamental thought of the Peace of the World and the World's Better Organization for Civilization and for Peace. I would make this the keystone of an arch that would last forever.

## WHY NOT A HALL OF PEACE?

I hope that it may be possible to make one of the central architectural features of the exposition a permanent Hall of Peace, which may be used as a meeting place for gatherings of every sort while the exposition lasts, and as a hall for San Francisco and a permanent monument to the exposition after the crowds have departed and its doors are finally closed. I greatly wish that this might be possible. Such a building appropriately designed and placed at a central point would capture the imagination of the world and would bring the eyes of every statesman and of every lover of his kind to San Francisco and to the hills about the Golden Gate in order to watch what took place there.

## A SERIES OF WORLD CONGRESSES

During the summer months of 1915 there might be invited to San Francisco a great series of world congresses to consider how better understanding between the various nations may be advanced, how international

relations may be made closer and raised to a higher plane, and how judicial process may be speedily substituted for public war, to the end that the world may be relieved of its present crushing burden of armaments and these be reduced to the status of national and international police.

During the summer of 1915 the third Peace Congress will probably convene at The Hague. If so, it would be possible on the other side of the world at San Francisco to set in motion forces, influences and tendencies that would make themselves powerfully felt in the action of the official representatives of governments assembled in the Peace Palace at The Hague.

Among others, the International Peace Congress of 1915 should be invited to meet at San Francisco. The Interparliamentary Union and the Institute of International Law should be invited to hold their meetings for that year at San Francisco. There should be a great economic congress, with departments representing international trade, commerce, and finance, to consider and debate the better development of all of these and their useful application to the promotion of international concord and good will.

There should be a congress of the two Americas, in which the fullest exposition should be given of the civilization and culture of the Latin-American peoples, with a view to advancing the understanding of Latin-America by North America, and *vice versa*. There should be a great international congress on the Oriental nations and their civilization. China and Japan should be invited to present their civilization and their interests at the hands of their most accomplished representatives, and ways and means should be discussed and considered of promoting closer and better relations between the United States and the Oriental peoples.

## THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

There should be a great international congress of judicial organizations to consider and discuss the place and function of an inde-

pendent judiciary in the civilization of the various nations themselves and in international affairs. The establishment of a judicial system, free from executive and legislative interference and having power to hold executives and legislatures to the strict observance of their constitutional limitations, is at once the most splendid and the most original contribution that America has made to the world's political science. The bearing of this great principle on international relationships and affairs should be made plain, to the end that courts of international arbitration may speedily become true courts of justice.

There should be a great international congress on moral education, to deal with the development of individual and national character, to recount the progress that has been made and the efforts that are yet making to raise to still higher planes the conduct of men and of nations.

If these plans and others which they readily suggest could be carried out in systematic fashion, the public opinion of the world would have its attention riveted for

DR. F. J. V. SKIFF  
(Director-in-chief, world's congresses,  
Panama-Pacific Exposition)



weeks and for months not only upon the San Francisco Exposition but upon its own highest aims and interests. No man dares say what lasting and uplifting results might follow from the effective accomplishment of a program like this.

TO CELEBRATE A CENTURY OF RELATIVE  
FREEDOM FROM WAR

It must be remembered that the year 1915 will be the one hundredth anniversary, not only of peace between Great Britain and the United States, but of the end of the Napoleonic wars. Despite the conflicts which have marked the last one hundred years, these are as nothing in comparison with the almost unbroken series of bloody wars beginning way back in the middle ages and coming to an end at Waterloo. As compared with the centuries that precede it, the one hundred years ending in 1915 constitute a century of peace, of the steady advance of justice. This great dominant fact should be celebrated at San Francisco in order that men may turn to the future with even greater hope and promise.

CHARLES C. MOORE  
(President of the Panama-Pacific  
Exposition)



PROJECTED MEMORIAL TOWER, PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

# SENATOR CUMMINS OF IOWA AND THE CORPORATION INQUIRY

"A GOOD cook is always bad tempered."

Like most proverbs, this one is so nearly true that any exception is important. A specialist who is also tolerant is rare and valuable. It would be difficult to find to-day a constructive expert of the first rank who displays more patience with the layman, and even with other experts, than the senior Senator from Iowa, Albert B. Cummins.

Beyond a few episodes of sensation, the newspapers have given little notice to the recent hearings of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. The American public does not yet appreciate the debt it owes to this body—and notably to its active spirit, Senator Cummins—for the light without heat it has cast upon the troubled "twilight zone" of corporations.

Many of the best informed and most eminent leaders in the industrial action and thought of this country have been appearing before the committee to state "what changes are necessary or desirable in the laws of the United States relating to the creation and control of corporations engaged in interstate commerce."

The hearings began on November 15; last month, the testimony, as printed, exceeded 2000 pages and 1,000,000 words.

A mass of diverse and conflicting opinions—if one reads only the "Statements," the papers prepared in advance by each witness and read by him without interruption. But immediately upon the completion of his "Statement" each witness had to run a gantlet of questionings. So deftly and consistently were these put that, if one follows them, the chaos of viewpoints begins to take a definite form. One might describe this as an appeal for the amendment of the Sherman law. Through these questions and answers, moreover, runs a thread of tendency—a hint as to the probable nature of the relief that will be asked for. This tendency seems to point toward a Federal bureau, something to do for industry part of what the Interstate Commerce Commission does for railroads, primarily the collecting and arranging of full publicity.

Certainly, the report of the Senate Committee should constitute the clearest and most important recommendation ever made on the pivotal problem of trusts and monopoly; and that a committee covering such

vast scope and such intense interest has already developed so plain a form and tendency, is due primarily to the skill combined with the good temper of the member from Iowa.

It was he who, as chairman of the subcommittee, organized this inquiry. He may fairly be held responsible for it.

## QUIZZING THE WITNESSES

Other senators have taken active part. The sturdy common sense of Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota, chairman of the full committee, has more than once exploded structures built up on high-sounding theory. One witness was pleading that sanction of law might be given trade agreements not to sell below a given price. As a matter of fact, he declared, such agreements already exist in great number. But manufacturers and dealers in pressing need of money often break their word, and close a contract at ruinous prices, for the sake of handling a little cash.

But, asked Senator Clapp, what good would follow a law? He asked "if the natural tendency of it would not be, in spite of all regulation, to buoy prices up, rather than prevent men from sacrificing themselves by selling at a loss? It would seem to me that there is the weakness of this whole proposition of trade agreements. If they could be made and observed with a spirit of absolute fairness, they would not be needed at all."

Senator George T. Oliver of Pennsylvania has applied the quick corrective of first-hand facts to many propositions involving the iron, steel, coal and oil interests of his section. Senator Frank B. Brandegee of Connecticut, Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada—whose bill to create an interstate trade commission formed the first object of the committee's deliberations—Senators Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma, Clarence W. Watson of West Virginia, and Atlee Pomerene of Ohio have been especially watchful and practical.

But to all these save the chairman himself, Senator Cummins is senior. Thus, under the rules of the committee, it was his to question first. Most consistent in attendance, and most closely informed as to the

subject of each day's inquiry, Senator Cummins has borne the brunt of the task—to pounce upon any direct hint spied struggling in the cross-currents of opinion—to drag it into the light, and to examine it narrowly for whatever it was worth.

Such an office demanded a combination of erudition with large-mindedness. To this Senator Cummins responded admirably. The printed testimony speaks for him. It would be worth reading, if only as a model object-lesson in performing a big piece of public business. It reveals a remarkable knowledge of trust cases on Senator Cummins' part, added to a broad and human sympathy even more remarkable, in view of his own positive and somewhat radical convictions regarding combination and competition. One not authorized to speak for him, and commenting simply as a spectator, would assume that his opinion is strongly in favor of such measures as will afford competition freer play—even if this involves such departures as the limiting of the capital to be employed in any one corporation in any one field, or a prohibition against the holding company as such.

Apparently the recognizing of monopoly, entire or partial, as an inevitable instrumentality of much modern business, does not appeal to Senator Cummins.

#### A VARIETY OF VIEWPOINTS

Yet there were no sparks, but only that steady illumination, in his prolonged questioning of those whose training, convictions and habits were directly opposed—as, for instance, the chairman of the largest corporation in the world, Judge Gary.

In fact, the member from Iowa seemed to speak the language of every witness. He went to the point as directly with Prof. John B. Clark, the eminent professor of pure economic theory, as with Mr. Joseph Bartles, an independent oil merchant bristling with "selling facts."

His fine courtesy was as marked toward the representative of the largest association of manufacturers, who urged that the distinction between combinations of labor and combinations of capital had no difference—as toward Mr. Gompers, who came to urge precisely the opposite.

Not outdone in militant spirit by that twentieth-century crusader, Louis D. Brandeis, Senator Cummins was yet able to emphasize, while questioning Mr. George W. Perkins, vastly helpful results of the latter's rare international business experience, and



Photograph by Mofett, Chicago

SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS OF IOWA

still rarer ideas for the advanced treatment of employees.

Intricately discussing the actual conduct of corporations Senator Cummins met on their own ground most highly specialized lawyers, such as Victor Morawetz, chairman of the Atchison Railway, George H. Earle, Samuel Untermyer and others, to whom the innermost doings of great corporations are no secret; or those like Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson, who actually create them.

Such familiarity with the "home life" of the trusts seems surprising in one who has served the public, and on the firing-line of progress, since quarter of a century past. During an equal period, however—from his move to Des Moines, Iowa, in 1878, to his first election as governor of that State in 1902—Mr. Cummins was a practising lawyer. He attained first rank in the Middle Western legal world. Among a variety of clients, he

numbered some of the largest railroad companies operating in his section. This unusual view along both sides of the fence has developed a sagacity rare among reformers—an eye for the practical.

#### LAWS THAT HAVE STOOD IN IOWA

Citizens of every State are naturally interested in the careers of the statesmen before whom the entire business structure of the nation is passing in review. It is significant, especially to those who fear anything smacking of the radical, to examine the numerous pieces of progressive legislation successfully advocated by Mr. Cummins during his seven-year governorship of Iowa.

Iowa was one of the first States to adopt a complete anti-trust program. Its laws were passed after fights marked by extreme bitterness. To what extremes they might have gone is plain from their nature. One prohibited contributions to campaign funds from corporations. Another upset the old-established caucus system, by means of a direct primary law. Railroad passes and discriminating passenger rates were prohibited. So were railroad fares of more than two cents a mile, and the working of railroad employees for more than a certain number of hours continuously. Overcapitalization of corporations was penalized. Banks were forced to pay interest on all public moneys.

There was a pure food and seed law. There were laws regulating child labor, school attendance, factory inspection, fire escapes and safety appliances.

Yet not one of these statutes has been successfully attacked in the Iowa courts. Public opinion, moreover, is more widely in favor of them than when they were passed.

This record augurs extraordinarily well. Honesty and ability to fight for a cause are so often unaccompanied by the special sense of practicability—the faculty to devise and support measures that will work.

#### FORMER SERVICES TO THE NATION

When the report of the committee is handed in to the Senate, the nation will want to know more about Albert B. Cummins. His previous services as a Senator have been neither few nor minor; yet his present task affects a problem more central in politics, entering more intimately into the life of every citizen, and more plainly to be under-



HOW CAN HE HIT ONE AND NOT THE OTHER?

(The inquiry organized by Senator Cummins will lead the nation much nearer the answer to that question—how the Sherman law can be amended so as to bring "Unlawful Trusts" down from their perch, without crippling legitimate business)

From the *News Tribune* (Duluth)

stood by the everyday newspaper reader, than those which preceded it.

The characteristic feature of all Senator Cummins' performances, past and present, is the same broad courtesy. It kept him his friends and the respect of his opponents, through the hot fight over the tariff revision in 1909, although the senatorial "insurgents" who numbered him among their leaders were exposed to deepest reproaches from old-time Republican associates. A stand even more distinct was made in June, 1910. Senator Cummins overhauled the railroad rate bill. He filled it with "teeth," particularly the clause that shifts upon the railroads the burden of proof at every request for a raise in rates.

Intense pressure was brought against the adoption of this item. Yet its promulgator has maintained friendly relations with leaders representing every shade of conviction in the Administration and out.

The courage to take such positions, and the ability to hammer workable measures out of ideals, are attributes of many citizens in politics to-day. Fortunate America! It is especially worthy of note when a leader in the fight for principle can separate it so entirely from personality.

in politics in Ireland. So far has this policy of abstention been carried that many shrewd observers have expressed a strong conviction that the Pope is in reality opposed to Home Rule; that the inopportune publication of the Decrees *Ne temere* and *Proprio Motu* were really well-timed bolts from the blue, launched for the express purpose of exciting Protestant prejudice to such an extent as to make Home Rule impossible. That notion, of course, is absurd. But that it can be entertained by sane men proves that the note of the Roman priesthood and hierarchy is not as passionately nationalist as it was in 1892.

Another great change has come over Ireland in the last twenty years. As a reviewer remarked in the current *Quarterly*:

The Ireland of to-day differs widely from the Ireland of 1886. Property has replaced poverty. The face of the country is changed. Ireland is comfortable, buoyant, and on its way to wealth. The homesteads of well-to-do peasant proprietors and newly-built cottages, with their acre allotments, have replaced the cabins and the sheelings of the tenant and the laborer. The country towns are no longer a group of dirty, insanitary dwellings. They have their waterworks, their drainage system, their recreation halls and public libraries.

Squire and farmer, parson and priest combine and cooperate in agricultural organization, in association unpoisoned, until a short time ago, by the virus of intruded political antipathies. There is an industrial, artistic and literary revival. Bank and Post-Office deposits have increased by millions, and still increase; and commerce shows by the annual returns a marvelous and continuous advance.

The condition of the Irish laborer, which for generations was the despair of the United Kingdom, now begins to contrast favorably with that of the English agriculturist. Nothing or next to nothing has been done to improve the homes of the English rural poor, but in Ireland the state in the last twenty years has advanced thirty million dollars as loans for the erection of 35,000 laborers' cottages, the rent of which varies from twelve cents to half a dollar a week.

It is often said that you can prove anything by statistics. But figures that cannot be

disputed all tell the same tale as to the steady increase of Irish prosperity. In twenty years the deposits in the Joint Stocks Banks grew by 65 per cent., the balances in the Post-Office Savings Bank by 220 per cent., and those in the Trustee Savings Banks by over 27 per cent. Death duties were paid upon



SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT  
OF THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL  
ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

(This society has done much to bring about the present  
agricultural and industrial revival in Ireland)



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(A type of the Irish hovel that is rapidly being discarded  
for new sanitary dwellings)

(A laborer's cottage—more than 25,000 of these have been  
erected with government aid—that bespeaks the new Erin)

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN IRISH RURAL DWELLING HOUSES



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ONE OF THE NEAT, NEW RURAL POST AND  
TELEGRAPH OFFICES

fifty million dollars in 1895-6; the amount had risen to seventy-two million dollars in 1900-1.

In six years Ireland's over-sea trade increased by 100 million dollars, or about twenty per cent.

Ireland is a great farm, and in the development of her agricultural resources lies the hope of the future. There is nothing more cheering in the recent annals of the British Empire than the improvement that has come over the spirit of the small farmer in Ireland. This dates from the publication of the report of what is known as the Recess Committee concerning the encouragement of agriculture on the Continent. A Department of Agriculture was created with an annual grant of a million and a quarter dollars. The Agricultural Organization Society was formed under the energetic direction and inspiration of Sir Horace Plunkett. Coöperative societies and land banks were formed in every direction. An agricultural station has been established in each of the four provinces in Ireland, where farming pupils are taught the latest principles of agriculture, both practical and theoretical. New technical institutes have been erected at Belfast, Waterford, and Limerick. In the year 1910, for the first time in a long cycle of years, 70,000 acres had been added

to the tillage area of Ireland. The poultry industry, thanks to the work of poultry instructors, and to the county committees, has increased by leaps and bounds. In the last six years the increase of poultry exports has been nearly five million dollars. Ireland now exports thirty-one million dollars' worth of poultry and eggs, which is nearly twice the value of the exports of whiskey and stout.

The work of Sir Horace Plunkett's Organization Society has been so successful as to excite against it the wrath of the gombeen man [usurer], and the bitter hostility of his humble servant the Nationalist M. P. The operations of the society, embracing every branch of farming, have spread a network of societies some 900 in number, with about 90,000 members, over the island; and it can boast a turnover of close upon \$15,000,000 last year. During the twenty-two years of the movement's existence, its aggregate turnover has reached the respectable figure of \$125,000,000. The commercial failures have been remarkably few. The work is highly technical and necessarily costly. Each trained organizer costs for his salary, and the traveling expenses and subsistence required to maintain him 300 days on the road, at least \$2500 a year. A central administrative office, acting also as an information bureau, has to deal with an enormous correspondence. No less than £133,000 [\$665,000], of which one-quarter had come from public sources, and three-quarters from the Irish farmers and their friends, has been spent upon the foundation of this movement, which is essential to the economic salvation and social uplifting of rural Ireland.

Add to these evidences of an awakened national intelligence the campaign against tuberculosis, which has in the Countess of Aberdeen the most enthusiastic and weariless of directors. Lady Aberdeen has lived for nothing else, since she and her husband returned to the Viceregal Lodge, but the extirpating of the great White Plague which haunts like a pestilence so many an Irish village. Her work and the success which it has achieved is only one among the many tokens which confront the visitor with the fact that the Ireland of 1912 is not to be confounded with the Ireland of 1892. It is a new land, inhabited by a new people. Hope has descended upon the green hills of Erin, and the Irish, instead of as in 1892 being absorbed in politics, have now a hundred things to think of and keep them busy. How this altered spirit will affect the third Home Rule bill remains to be seen.



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A NEW FREE RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE  
WEST OF IRELAND





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#### A ROW OF LABORERS' COTTAGES OF THE NEW IRELAND

(Erected through government aid and sold to the occupants on the installment plan)

### III. THE ATTITUDE OF THE TORIES

The Liberals remain where they were. They are doggedly, if not enthusiastically, where Mr. Gladstone left them in 1892. How do the Tories stand? Nominally they are as much opposed to Home Rule as ever. But in reality they admit that the old *non pos-*

*sumus* has become an anachronism. During the private negotiations that went on two years ago between the leaders of the Ministerialists and the Opposition when it was attempted to effect a constitutional revision by consent the air was full of the desire of the Tory leaders to meet the Irish more than half-way on the subject of Home Rule. The



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#### ONE OF THE NEW IRISH COÖPERATIVE DAIRIES



overtures came to nothing, but neither Irish nor Liberals have forgotten the eagerness of the brain carriers of the Tory party to make it known to the world that they were quite ready for a deal on the subject of Home Rule. Younger Tories, like the Duke of Marlborough, have made no secret of the fact that the Unionist cause is lost, and that the wise thing to do is to take up a position where the Tory forces would have some chance of success. In the last days of January Mr. Austen Chamberlain publicly declared that:

He thought Parliament was overworked and there was a case made out for an extension of local government. That had always been the Unionist policy, but for Sir Edward Grey to talk about Home Rule as if it were comparable to that kind of devolution for purely local affairs was to talk unworthily.

Between "extension of local government" and Home Rule there is no hard-and-fast line fixed. That blessed word devolution will probably be the bridge between the two. The late Tory Lord Lieutenant, Lord Dudley, and the late permanent Under Secretary, Lord Macdonnell, were busily engaged in 1904, with the approval of Lord Lansdowne, of Mr. Balfour, and of Mr. George Wyndham, in discussing how far it was possible to go in the direction of Home Rule on Tory lines. Mr. Wyndham "borrowed" Sir Antony

Macdonnell, as he then was, from the India Office, and appointed him as Under-Secretary with the status of a colleague. Sir Antony's commission was to work for a settlement of the land and university questions, and then to endeavor to carry through a scheme of "administrative coördination" in Irish local affairs. In a "cipher message," which has never been published, Mr. Balfour approved of this program. The success of the land conference led Lord Dunraven to hope that if conciliation could solve the vexed land question, "it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that by the application of the same principle in other directions Ireland might be rescued from the slough of despair into which she was sinking, and might even be provided with a system of government more suitable to the requirements of the country and more responsive to the wishes of the people."

The Irish Reform Association was accordingly founded, and on August 31, 1904, it launched its devolution scheme. Its report laid down that "while firmly maintaining that the Parliamentary union between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the political stability of the Empire, and to the prosperity of the two islands, we believe that such union is compatible with the devolution to Ireland of a larger measure of local government than she now possesses." The scheme proposed that "control over purely Irish expenditure" to the extent of six millions sterling [\$30,000,000] per annum should be "taken from the treasury, which is now only interested in effecting economies for the imperial account, and entrusted under Parliament to an Irish Financial Council interested in making savings for Irish purposes." It was also recognized that in view of "the great and increasing difficulty which Parliament finds in dealing with the unwieldy mass of business that comes before it," "the special needs of Ireland do not and cannot receive adequate attention," and "some delegation of authority is necessary." It was held that "much of the business relating to Irish affairs which Parliament is at present unable to cope with might with perfect safety and with advantage both to Ireland and to Parliament be delegated to an Irish body to be constituted for the purpose." It was suggested that a statutory body should be set up in Ireland, consisting of the Irish representative peers, the members representing Irish constituencies in the House of Commons, and twenty-four members of the Financial Council, that it should have "authority to promote bills for purely Irish purposes," and that "Parlia-



THE SAME OLD DIFFICULTY TO START WITH

ULSTER: "You say that letther is mint for an H; I say it manes R—an' be the glorious, pious an' immortal mimory av King William, I'll fight till me last breath, before I submit to your shame!"

(It was Ulster which made the first opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule bill. The above cartoon, which appeared in *Grip*, of Toronto, May 21, 1892, was reproduced in this *Review* of August of that year.)

ment should take power to refer to the statutory body, not only business connected with Irish private bill legislation, but also such other matters as in its wisdom it may deem suitable for reference, under prescribed conditions."

It was a very pretty scheme, but it came to nothing. And why did it come to nothing? Because of the uncompromising hostility of the Ulster Orangemen. Lord Rathmore accused Lord Dunraven of having set the ball of Home Rule rolling again and stated that "the Unionist party in Ireland denounced the Dunraven scheme as worse than the Home Rule of Mr. Gladstone." Sir Edward Carson wrote that "for my part, much as I detest the former proposals of Home Rule which have been so emphatically condemned by the electorate of the United Kingdom, I should, I think, prefer them to the impracticable but insidious scheme put forward by the so-called Reform Association."

#### IV. THE VETO OF "ULSTER"

Ireland is divided into four provinces, in only one of which are the parties and the religions equally divided. Leinster, Connaught, and Munster are predominantly Catholic and Nationalist. In Ulster alone do the Protestants amount to half of the population. But even in Ulster there are almost as many Catholics as there are Protestants. The notion that Ulster is all Protestant is one of the most inveterate delusions of our time. What is called Protestant Ulster consists of the city of Belfast, the county of Antrim, and portions of the counties of Down and Armagh,—a small fragment of territory inhabited by 750,000 persons, of whom nearly 200,000 are Catholics. The rest of Ulster, containing the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, Monaghan, and portions of Down and Armagh, has a population of about a million, of whom only 300,000 are Protestants. Ulster sends almost as many Nationalists to Parliament as Unionists.

Protestant Ulster, therefore, being interpreted, means one-half of the population of one-fourth of Ireland. As a geographical and political unit it means Belfast and Antrim, with patches of Down and Armagh. Counted by heads there are not 90,000 Protestants in the whole of Ulster. Of these a certain minority are Liberals and Home Rulers. If we put the Protestants of Ulster at three-quarters of a million, men, women and children altogether, the allowance is probably liberal. It is this remnant of less than three-

quarters of a million who are setting themselves at this moment to defeat not only Home Rule but any method of devolution which would enable the race of the Irish people to govern themselves.

There is something sublime in the cheek of it, something daring in the defiance which this little band of fanatical Protestants has launched against the Government of the British Empire. They have no sense of humor, it is true, or the spectacle of the mouse defying the elephant would tickle them so much they would hardly be able to keep up their heroic pose for laughing. It is, however, no laughing matter.

Whenever Home Rule comes to the front the Orange drum is set beating, and sooner or later there are riots. This time as Home Rule seemed to come nearer than ever steps were taken in advance by Sir Edward Carson. He was a former Liberal Irishman who went over to the enemy when Home Rule came to the front. He has now constituted himself commander-in-chief of the armed forces with which the Ulster remnant has determined to resist Home Rule. In 1886 Lord Randolph Churchill, addressing a great meeting in Belfast, used the famous jingle that if Home Rule were granted "Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right," and ever since then the Unionists of the province have muttered menaces as to what they would do if ever Home Rule should be thrust upon the country by a Liberal Government. There has been great talk of the storing of arms, midnight drilling of farmers' sons; and behind all this there is a rooted determination to place every possible impediment in the way of Home Rule.

The first indication of this temper on the part of the Ulster Unionists was the insolent decision of the Unionist Council not to permit Mr. Winston Churchill to address a meeting of Liberals in Ulster Hall at Belfast. It was the first shot in the campaign, the first warning that the question was emerging from the sphere of politics into that of actual war. The Government, not being willing to force on what would in all probability have been a bloody contest between the troops and the Orangemen, consented to a compromise by which Mr. Winston Churchill, instead of speaking at Ulster Hall to 3000 people, was allowed to speak to 5000 in a marquee erected on a football ground some distance from the center of the town. The success which has followed this first act of war will certainly encourage the recalcitrant minority to persevere in its defiant and militant tactics. It is



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SIR EDWARD CARSON, THE LEADER OF THE  
MOVEMENT AGAINST HOME RULE

not so much that they want to make war as they want to produce an impression that if Home Rule comes in there will be war. This impression they may produce for they have a great dramatic gift, a large supply of strong language, and a fanatic faith in their cause.

What is anticipated is that, should an Irish Parliament be established at Dublin, Belfast,

the people of Antrim, with fragments of Down and Armagh, will adopt a policy of passive resistance and persist in regarding themselves as still an integral part of Great Britain and Ireland. They will refuse to pay taxes, and should matters come to an extremity they will prepare to defend their hearths and homes against an attack.

Orangemen are very ill folk to run away from, but in the past, when they have been met with a firm front and resolute action, they have seldom carried their threats into action. Belfast is much too prosperous a city; it is one of the greatest seats of the shipbuilding industry in the world, and it has far too many intimate relations with the rest of Ireland ever to sever itself from a Home Ruled Ire-

land. Twenty-five years

ago I put the case to the Rev. Dr. Hanna, then a leading Presbyterian minister in Belfast, who had been protesting that Ulster would never submit to Home Rule. When he had finished I

said, "If you are prepared to delimit what is the frontier of Protestant Ulster, and you are prepared to equip and discipline a force which can be guaranteed to shoot anyone who crossed that frontier, you may make any terms you please. You cannot prevent Home Rule being established at Dublin, but Belfast and the appurtenances thereof may be cut out from Ireland and left as a kind of English settlement on Irish soil." Dr. Hanna thought for a moment, then replied, "Never could England so far betray her trust as to hand over Ireland to a Home Rule Parliament. Ulster Protestants will never permit themselves to be severed from the country in which they live. To consent to such an arrangement as you propose would be to hand over the Protestants in the south and north to the uncovenanted mercies of the Catholic majority, depriving them at the same time of the protection which they might have from the presence of the Protestant Ulster group in the Dublin Parliament." After leaving Dr. Hanna I went on to see one of the largest wholesale tea merchants in Belfast. He laughed at the idea of severing Belfast from Ireland. "Why," said he, "there is not a village in the whole island that does not get its tea from Belfast. We import tea for the whole nation, and we are not going to be cut off from Ireland to please anyone." So in the end these religious and economical considerations will dominate. If Home Rule is carried there may be riots, but no rebellion,

and in the end in all probability the Ulster group will hold the balance between the two parties into which the Nationalist majority will speedily split.

## V. THE CRUX OF THE LIBERALS

The ministry which is pledged to bring in a Home Rule bill on what are commonly called Gladstonian lines is face to face with the old problem and a new difficulty. The old problem is how to frame a bill for the government of Ireland by a cabinet composed exclusively of English, Scotch, and Welsh ministers. No Irish Nationalist will take office in a British ministry. British ministers, therefore, have to frame their Irish measures without the assistance of any responsible Irish advisers. The result has been disastrous in the past. It may be disastrous in the future. The fate of the Irish Councils bill in 1907 is a case in point. Mr. Birrell framed this bill, not as a substitute for Home Rule, but as a practical method of meeting Irish difficulties. It was understood that at every stage of its incubation the measure had been submitted to and approved by Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist leaders. But the moment the bill was produced before a representative convention of the nation at Dublin it was condemned with unanimity,—Mr. Redmond being the first to lead off the chorus of condemnation. The real reason for this change of front was his tardy discovery that the bishops would have nothing to do with a measure which handed over the control of primary education to the hands of laymen. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that no private hole-and-corner arrangements with Irish leaders can be relied upon by ministers when framing a Home Rule bill.

Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon have no responsibility, they refuse to accept responsibility, and whatever pledges they may have given to the government they are free to repudiate them if the Irish cat should jump in the other direction. This difficulty might have been overcome if ministers had fully refused to take the responsibility of framing any Home Rule bill, and had refused to take any action at all until the representatives of the Irish people had formulated, not merely their demands in the abstract, but also the detailed scheme of self-government which would satisfy them. When I submitted this suggestion to a Liberal cabinet minister, he replied, "Excellent, logical, and just, no doubt, but Redmond and Dillon will see you d—d before they will face the framing



MR. WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY IN THE BRITISH CABINET

(Whose visit, last month, to Ireland to set before an Ulster audience in Belfast the Liberal Government's propositions for Home Rule roused much hostile discussion and threatened to precipitate civil war on a small scale in the Irish North)

of a bill." "Then," I replied, "we shall wait till they change their minds. It is not a great thing to ask that they should tell us what they want before we try to see what we can do to meet their wishes."

Ministers, however, have framed the bill all off their own bat which Mr. Birrell will introduce this session. They will produce it with fear and trembling, knowing that whatever it contains it will be fought by the opposition, and fearing that, despite all the pains they have taken, it may be rejected by the Irish convention.

The main outlines of the bill are clear enough. There is to be a legislative assembly, called a parliament, with two houses, set up at Dublin. From this parliament will spring an executive government which will undertake the government of Ireland, subject to the supreme control in the last resort of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. The functions of the Irish parliament will be restricted to matters which are distinctly local and national. The Irish members, reduced in numbers, will continue to be represented at Westminster. The one ques-

tion upon which the chief difficulty arises is as to finance. The situation is entirely altered since Mr. Gladstone's time. Mr. Gladstone in 1886 proposed to turn the Irish members out of the House of Commons, while at the same time decreeing that Ireland should continue to pay fifteen million dollars a year into the British exchequer. The revenue of Ireland "as collected" was then estimated at £8,350,000 [\$41,750,000]. Ireland was to contribute, for thirty years, one-fifteenth of the expenditure on the national debt, the army and navy, and the civil list, as it stood in 1886, and besides a contribution to the sinking fund. The contribution to the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom, reckoned on this basis, would have been as follows:

National Debt.....	£1,466,000
Army and Navy.....	1,666,000
Civil List.....	110,000
Sinking Fund.....	360,000
	<hr/>
	£3,602,000 [\$18,010,000]

In 1892 Mr. Gladstone had reconsidered his first proposals, and under the new scheme, which was recast as the bill went through Parliament, the contribution of Ireland to the Imperial exchequer was reduced from eighteen million dollars to five. Even then Mr. Redmond was dissatisfied. But alike in 1886 and 1892 there was never any dispute that Ireland under Home Rule was to continue to contribute to the cost of the army and navy and the interest on the national debt.

To-day that assumption has gone by the board. Instead of Ireland contributing her share to the cost of the Empire, Ireland demands that she shall not only be freed from paying one red cent of imperial charges but that she shall receive a liberal subsidy from England toward the cost of her own self-government! It is this which is the crux of the Liberals. John Bull may be willing, and he has never been very willing, to allow the Irish to govern themselves. It is a different proposition altogether that he should be compelled to pay out of his own pocket for the cost of that operation. As a Tory speaker recently remarked, "We are all familiar with dowries for a marriage, but who ever heard of subsidies for a divorce?"

The one stubborn, outstanding fact is that Ireland, although more prosperous than she has ever been, cannot pay her way, even when she is relieved from any contribution to the British exchequer. This is due to several causes, chiefly to the policy of killing Home Rule with kindness adopted by the Conservatives and to the policy of old-age

pensions and insurance adopted by the Liberals. All the figures relied upon by the Nationalists and Mr. Gladstone as to the possibility of making great economies in a Home Ruled Ireland have gone by the board. Only seven years ago Mr. Redmond calculated that it would cost \$25,000,000 per annum to govern Ireland, and this would leave then ten million dollars as an imperial contribution from Ireland. Contrast this idyllic picture of Home Rule economy with the actual facts and figures of to-day. Mr. Redmond in 1905 estimated the revenue of Ireland at \$35,000,000, of which \$25,000,000 would be required for the cost of its government. The actual cost of civil expenditure in Ireland for the average of the two years 1910-11 was fifty-five million dollars, an increase of 118 per cent. upon the figures of 1889-1890. Of this, old-age pensions accounts for \$14,500,000. The net result of this portentous rise in the cost of Irish government is that Ireland has ceased to contribute anything to the imperial exchequer. As she pays nothing now it would be, of course, futile to ask her to contribute after Home Rule has been established. The elimination of the once-expected Irish contribution simplifies matters, no doubt. But the discovery that on the average of the last two years Ireland only raised fifty million dollars revenue and spent fifty-five has created great searchings of heart among all parties. For if there is now an annual deficit which Great Britain has to meet for five millions a year, how will Ireland face the bill when she is left to go alone, and when, as is inevitable, the development of old-age pensions and the insurance scheme increases the annual deficit by another five million dollars?

Enemies of Home Rule point to these figures and maintain that on their showing the deficit will be fifteen million dollars in 1913. "If Ireland were dissevered from Great Britain and relieved from all contributions to the national debt, the civil list, the army and navy, and foreign affairs, she would start on her career of nationhood" as a bankrupt community. To choke the Home Rule deficit John Bull will have to subsidize the new government to the tune of five, ten or fifteen million dollars per annum. Now John Bull, who was not very keen on Home Rule when Mr. Gladstone promised him that Ireland would pay fifteen million dollars tribute to the imperial revenue, is likely to have an ugly shock when it is proposed that he should contribute \$15,000,000 a year out of his own pocket in order to start Home Rule.

# THE FUR SEALS AND THEIR ENEMIES

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN AND GEORGE A. CLARK

ON the 7th of July, 1911, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan united with the United States in establishing for the high seas a game law for the protection of the female fur seals from slaughter at the hands of the pelagic sealers. The treaty was duly ratified by the Senate on July 24. Russia and the United States, owners of the fur-seal herds, have bound themselves to pay to Great Britain and Japan, having pelagic interests, a percentage—15 per cent. to each—of the product of the regular land sealing, to compensate the citizens of these nations for giving up their pelagic rights, Great Britain and Japan to coöperate in the enforcement of the treaty, which is to run for fifteen years.

This treaty marked the culmination of a long struggle, covering a period of more than twenty-five years, during which time the United States has sought to rescue its fur-seal herd from the destructive operations of pelagic sealing. This form of sealing is conducted in the open sea, when the animals are on their winter migration, or on their feeding excursions, which are made at a length of from one to two hundred miles from the islands. The female seal being heavy with young during the return migration journey, and forced to feed regularly during the summer in order to nourish her young, is the chief victim of the hunting at sea, from 65 to 85 per cent. of the pelagic catch being of this class. The result of this hunting, since its beginning in 1879, has been to reduce the herd from approximately 2,500,000 animals to less than 150,000, its condition to-day. The treaty of July ended this disastrous condition, if Congress will only make the treaty effective by passing the necessary legislation.

## SHOULD LAND KILLING BE SUSPENDED?

But one class of enemies of the fur seal having been suppressed by the treaty, a new one rises at once and claims attention. On August 12, a few days after the ratification of the treaty, Congressman Rothermel of Pennsylvania proposed in the House of Representatives a resolution (No. 277), which, after reciting that the "fur-seal herd of Alaska is in

danger of complete destruction," asked Congress to order the suspension of "all killing of fur seals on the seal islands . . . until the lapse of fifteen years." The treaty was for fifteen years. It bound the United States to pay 15 per cent. each year of its land catch to Great Britain and a like percentage to Japan. With the resolution in effect there would be no land catch. The Government would have nothing to turn over. These nations having bought off their own pelagic fleets would become dissatisfied and withdraw from the treaty. Pelagic sealing would inevitably be resumed.

The Rothermel resolution is probably dead, but the principle now appears in a new form. Congressman Sulzer has introduced in the present Congress a bill to give effect to the treaty of July 7. He finds an active opposition to it, which takes the form of an amendment, sought to be included in the bill, providing for a period of rest for the herd from land killing; this period is again for fifteen years, and the intent is the same—to nullify the treaty. The Rothermel resolution and the *modus vivendi* amendment to the Sulzer bill are clearly movements in the interests of the pelagic sealers and not in any degree or in any way in the interests of the herd. Behind them is the pelagic sealer lobby with a few honest men who have been deceived by the lobbyists—nothing more.

This is evident from the fact that a well-known professional lobbyist, who has for twenty years been most active in the interests of the pelagic sealers, is the chief sponsor for the proposed "zapoooska" or cessation of the killing of superfluous males, a matter in which the pelagic sealers, who kill males and females alike at sea, have always been vitally interested. The same lobby, with the same representative, was behind the Rothermel resolution of August 12 and was conspicuous in the investigation which was conducted, under Mr. Rothermel's chairmanship during the spring and summer of 1911, with a view to discrediting the Government's management of the fur-seal industry while the negotiations for the pelagic sealing treaty were in progress at Washington. The burden of the testi-

mony before this investigation was that over-killing and too close killing had been practiced on the islands by the Government's representatives,—a thing which could not be proven, and which if proven could have no effect on the breeding herd.

If we go farther back in the political history of the fur-seal herd, we find this same professional lobbyist in 1896 advocating the Dingley bill, which had for its object the killing off of the entire herd on land under Government sanction and supervision,—a bill which despite its monstrous provisions passed the House and was only killed after a stubborn fight in the Senate. There is a vast difference between a bill intended to exterminate the herd and a bill to provide a "zapooska" or rest from all killing whatever. That the same man should be found advocating both is sufficient to discredit his present assumed interest in the welfare of the herd.

Going still farther back in the history of the herd, we find this same lobbyist, in 1890, propounding for the first time this absurd theory of the overdriving and overkilling of superfluous males as a cause contributing to the decline of the herd, at that time becoming marked under the steady rise of pelagic sealing. By this dividing the responsibility for the danger threatening the herd between the operations of the Government on land and of the pelagic sealers on the sea he caused the failure of the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration to accomplish the protection of the herd. The representatives of Great Britain, then sole sponsor for pelagic sealing, seized upon this theory and used it in such a way as to confuse the tribunal and lead it to enact a series of regulations which were ineffective and futile, legalizing pelagic sealing, and facilitating rather than restricting its operations. In a review of the condition of the herd under these regulations, made in 1896-7 by a joint American and British commission, the futility of the regulations was demonstrated, land killing was completely exonerated and pelagic sealing made solely responsible for the decline of the herd.

#### THE COMMON-SENSE OF THE MATTER

It may be worth while to consider this theory of overdriving and overkilling. Land killing is confined to the removal of the superfluous males of a race of polygamous animals. It is analogous to the removal of steers from a herd of cattle, wethers from a flock of sheep, cockerels from a flock of chickens. The young males of killable age herd by them-

selves through fear of the older males. They can be driven up and handled like sheep, and without disturbing the breeding seals. The Government makes ample provision for a reserve of male life for breeding purposes, marking and setting aside such reserve each year. It is this rational, normal process of land killing, a process common to handling all domestic animals, that the lobby of the fur sealers would suspend for fifteen years. If such suspension were put into effect it would mean that all the superfluous males would grow up to fight and struggle among themselves, disorganizing the rookeries and causing the destruction of females and young. The same thing would occur on the cattle range if the male calves and colts were allowed to grow up and run with the herd. The removal of this excess of male life will benefit, not injure, the recuperating fur-seal herd. It is the protection of the breeding seals that is needed, and this is provided by the treaty of July 7. The taking of the superfluous males can and ought to continue without interruption.

#### INTERESTS INVOLVED

If this were a matter of mere theory and sentiment, it might be passed by in silence; but the property interests concerned are important. We came into possession of the fur-seal herd with the Territory of Alaska in 1867. The herd then numbered approximately 2,500,000 animals. It yielded for twenty years an annual quota of 100,000 skins, the royalties on which, augmented by import duties on dressed skins brought back from London for consumption in the United States, amounted to \$13,500,000,—nearly twice the total cost of Alaska. In the second period of twenty years, recently closed, in which the destructive effect of pelagic sealing brought the herd to a low ebb, its product has been greatly reduced, but it has still yielded an income of \$3,000,000 in royalties with additional returns from import duties, and if the condition of the herd had remained unchanged in the second period of twenty years, the Government would have received an annual income for that period of \$1,000,000. During the season of 1911, with the herd at its lowest point, its quota of 12,000 skins, under the new arrangement whereby the Government markets its sealskins directly, has yielded between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

It is this property which the Government is trying to save, and which the treaty of July 7 will save, if given an opportunity. It is this



income, beginning at a minimum of \$300,000, with the possibility of steady increase as the herd recovers, to something over a million of dollars in the fifteen years of the proposed "zapooska," of which the pelagic sealing lobby, with its innocent backers of the Camp Fire Club, would deprive the Government. In addition there is the inevitable abrogation of the treaty and the continuance of pelagic sealing. In return for the protection which the treaty will afford, the Government is to pay 15 per cent. of its land catch to the nations whose citizens are to give up pelagic sealing. The advantageous nature of this arrangement will be understood when it is pointed out that during the past fifteen years the pelagic sealers have taken from the fur-seal herd of the United States approximately 300,000 animals, and have marketed their skins at an average price of \$15 each; and to this cash loss must be added the cumulative

loss represented by the death of the 200,000 breeding females included in this catch.

#### MAKE THE TREATY EFFECTIVE!

This waste and loss the treaty ends permanently. It guarantees the future of the herd by binding the interest of the four great nations controlling the North Pacific Ocean in its protection. There remains only to put the treaty into effect by act of Congress and to live up to our obligations under it. The American public have a right to expect and to demand that Congress take the necessary steps and without delay. The pelagic fleets will be sailing from Yokohama and Victoria within the next month or six weeks to prey upon the migrating herd. Until the treaty is effective there is no way to prevent them. Once at sea the vessels cannot be effectively recalled at least for the coming season.

## POINCARÉ AND FRANCE'S NEW "NATIONAL MINISTRY"

BY OTHON GUERLAC

(Formerly New York correspondent of the *Temps*, of Paris)

THE "national ministry," of M. Raymond Poincaré may not be the greatest since those of Gambetta and Waldeck-Rousseau, as some newspaper correspondents have claimed. There can, however, be no doubt that with two former premiers and almost a dozen ex-ministers, the Poincaré cabinet is one of the best equipped and most spectacular that have been seen in France in the last forty years. But the most eloquent test of the new Prime Minister's prestige is that no one seems astonished to have him preside over men like Léon Bourgeois, Delcassé, Millerand, and Briand, most of whom are his seniors in age and any one of whom is at least his equal in talent, experience, and services.

The fact is that M. Poincaré was, by common consent, destined to be Prime Minister, sooner or later. He seemed to prefer that it be later. Honors sought him so early that he could afford not to run after them. Deputy at twenty-seven, minister at thirty-three, member of the French Academy at forty-nine, he is Premier at fifty-one. That is a fair speed even in politics, where fortune

smiles on youth and where generally young men do not hesitate to accept all the honors offered them and even ask for more. M. Poincaré, being by nature a wise young man, husbanded his strength and administered his talents with a prudence and patience that were amply rewarded. Already six years ago M. Fallières had vainly offered him the Premiership. He knew how to serve in turn the interests of his career and those of his country, according to the circumstances. And that is why he has been one of the most successful among the younger statesmen that have fallen heirs to the succession of the founders of the Third Republic.

#### A DISTINGUISHED FAMILY

To identify the new Prime Minister correctly, it is necessary to distinguish him from other members of his family who are likewise in the hall of fame. Lucien Poincaré, his junior brother, is an able physicist and university inspector, and Henri Poincaré, his cousin, who is six years older, is one of the greatest mathematicians living. Heredity





Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

#### THE NEW FRENCH MINISTRY IN SESSION IN THE SALON OF THE MINISTRY OF MARINE

(From left to right: M. Bérard, Fine Arts; M. Guist'hau, Public Instruction; M. Steeg, Interior; M. Poincaré, Premier and Foreign Affairs; M. Klotz, Finance; M. Dupuy, Public Works; M. Lebrun, Colonies; M. Chaumet, Posts and Telegraphs; M. Bourgeois, Labor; M. David, Commerce; M. Pams, Agriculture; M. Delcassé, Marine; M. Millerand, War; M. Briand, Justice; M. Benard, Under Secretary of Finance. Only one Minister, David, for Commerce, and two sub-secretaries, are new. Ten of the entire sixteen are practicing lawyers of high character. Two, Briand and Bourgeois, are former Premiers. Millerand, Minister of War, is a Socialist, and Briand sits as an Independent Socialist)

has accumulated a good deal of gray matter in this family of Lorraine bourgeoisie which in one generation has produced a mathematician, a physicist, and this financier-lawyer and statesman.

The father of M. Raymond Poincaré was a high public official of the department of roads and bridges, and the present French Premier was born in 1860 in the little town of Bar-le-Duc, that is known abroad for its currants, but has other and less commercial claims to celebrity. In the lycée of that city, which the novelist André Theuriet has depicted in several of his provincial stories, Raymond Poincaré won his first spurs. The writer, who spent there two years of his scholastic youth, remembers well the reputation left behind by this brilliant alumnus.

The promising scholar finished his studies in Paris, where he, for a time, hesitated between a university career and the bar. He went far enough toward the former to obtain a degree of "licencié ès lettres," and then devoted himself to the latter, where he immediately won distinction side by side with other men who have since also made their way to fame, both in politics and in the law, like Barthou, Viviani, and especially Millerand, his present Minister of War.

#### BEGINNINGS IN POLITICS

But while Millerand entered politics under Clemenceau in the extreme radical opposition, Poincaré was a moderate who, by family traditions, education, and temperament belonged to the party then in power, namely the Opportunists.<sup>1</sup>

However, he had too acute and too vigorous a mind to espouse the errors and follow the

ruinous policies of his party leaders. And it is no negligible sign of his practical sense, his adaptability, and also his good luck, that he has remained an available man in French politics of to-day, where Radicalism is in majority, where Clemenceau, the opponent of Ferry, is an important factor, and Briand or Millerand, the ex-Socialists, have become indispensable members of cabinets.

M. Poincaré's early career was of the usual kind, and hence very different, for instance, from that of M. Briand. He started at the bar as the secretary of one of the great Paris lawyers, Maître Du Buit. He made a few incursions into journalism, to which he was attracted by his strong literary culture. Then he entered politics under the auspices of one of his provincial compatriots, Jules Develle, a minister well known twenty-five years ago, now retired and forgotten. This was in 1887, in the midst of the Boulanger outburst. Poincaré was on the side of sober common sense, supporting modestly, with the rank and file, the big men who were at that time leading the fight against the military demagogue and his camarilla.



FRANCE'S NEW PREMIER, M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ  
(In this portrait M. Poincaré wears his uniform as a member of the French Academy)

#### PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

As a young member of the Chamber he did not rush into the limelight, but patiently awaited his turn. In French assemblies oratory is rampant and speech-making a national curse; but there is always room for one more financier. M. Poincaré, who had mathematics on all sides of his family, thought he might make his mark by using his facility for figures. Thus his maiden speech was a short, nervous, illuminating little address on the budget, which revealed at the same time a new expert and one more good orator.

Parliaments soon discover the members that are willing and able to do their work,

<sup>1</sup> The Opportunists are now very much reduced in number and somewhat discredited, in spite of their new title of Progressists, since the "affaire" of 1898, in which they played an inglorious part.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Poincaré became presently one of the almost physical enjoyment of an eloquence that carries everybody in its wake.

## POINCARÉ'S RISE AS A LAWYER

During the interregnums of his service to the various ministries, he followed the example of Waldeck-Rousseau by carrying on his lawyer's profession side by side with his parliamentary duties—a very legitimate combination, when it is remembered that the deputies' compensation at that time reached the dizzy heights of \$1800.

In the court-room as in the House, M. Poincaré ranked among some of the greatest himself pleading against some of the former lights of the bar, Barboux, Du Buit, his former master, Waldeck-Rousseau, his model. Some very large civil cases claimed the services of this young ex-cabinet minister, who had the merit of bringing to their discussion wide knowledge of public affairs, his dialectical vigor, besides a very modern, rapid, buoyant oratory that was highly effective.

But more than intricate cases of law, business, and finance, M. Poincaré liked those that were, in some way or other, connected with the world of art and literature.

The case in which perhaps he distinguished himself the most is that of the famous Goncourt will, where he sustained the intention of the novelist to found a society—which has since come into existence under the title of "Goncourt Academy." The literary motive in the case,—his clients being Alphonse Daudet, Huysmans, Rosny, and others,—inspired him to one of his best efforts. French lawyers have, as everybody knows, a wider freedom than their American confrères when it comes to arguments in the court-room.

M. Poincaré on that occasion spoke as a lover of letters more than as a lawyer. I remember going to the court-house, attracted by the subject and the lawyer. What I heard that day was not so much a pleading as a lecture, brilliantly enlivened with literary considerations, clever character sketches, a vigorous and carefully studied portrait of the main figure, Goncourt, with epigrams and even a boyish tilt or so with his opponent, Maitre Chenu, obviously a classmate with whom he grew so familiar that the judge had to reprimand this former minister for his levity! Irony of fate: this address in favor of the Goncourt Academy which he published in his book, *Idées contemporaines*, was to be one of the strongest titles of this literary

one forgets whatever may be his physical

has arrister to the election into the other, the in the Academy, where in March 1910, he in succeeded his compatriot Gebhart, on the tic first ballot by twenty votes: a majority that a many a great writer might envy him.

In spite of his success at the bar, M. Poincaré never forsook politics, unlike Waldeck-Rousseau, who had to be driven back to Parliament by his admirers. He continued to take his share of the legislative work, accepted important duties, became Vice-President of the House, refused a portfolio or two in various cabinets, remaining meanwhile deputy from Meuse, until a more quiet and less hazardous seat in the Senate was offered him in 1903.

#### HIS POLITICAL CREED

He had closely followed the activities of his party and influenced them through his speeches as well as through his writings: for this orator is a first-class writer. He had not hesitated to point out with a frankness that is always heroic in a democracy the mistakes of his friends and those of the régime itself. He refused to follow M. Méline and his group in what he recently called their "obstinate blindness" during the Dreyfus affair, and he delivered in the House, at a time when some courage was needed to do so, a short and pungent little speech in which he "liberated his conscience" from a weight that so many others were then bearing silently.

He did not hesitate likewise to break with that so-called progressist party when it was becoming too conservative. With the younger men of his generation, like Deschanel, and Barthou, he supported the more advanced policy of the new radical cabinets, voting separation of Church and State as well as the income tax, with the bulk of the Republican majority.

To know where M. Poincaré stands to-day and what his real platform is, one need but turn to an article which he wrote two years ago in the *Revue de Paris*, and in which he uncovers with a firm hand some of the secret vices of the present parliamentary system and indicates the most urgent remedies for the ailments of the French body politic.

Like all impartial observers, he sees the greatest weakness of the régime in its electoral system. No one has painted with such grim humor and force the miserable condition of the French deputy—"humble agent" of the

local interests, who enters Parliament with "chains at his feet," and who cannot vote a single big reform of national importance because he is obliged to satisfy the hungry appetites of a voracious constituency. Hence it is not strange that the new Premier should have inserted in his ministerial platform the electoral reform which is to put an end to the tyranny of the small districts, the bargaining for offices, and give the parties a broader representation that will allow sweeping and long-delayed reforms.

M. Poincaré has also too sound an idea of the duties of a modern government not to insist on a stricter discipline among state officials of all orders and a rigid enforcement of the law against the *saboteurs*<sup>1</sup> of all grades that have of late undermined French administration. The following phrase in the Declaration of January 16 has the true Poincaré ring:

A grand republican democracy that seeks to improve its social organization should know above all how to harness its forces of development and submit itself freely to conditions vital to all civilized society. The maintenance of public peace, the rigid repression of crime and offenses against persons and property and the regular and satisfactory working of the public services belonging to the people constitute the elementary duties of all governments.

For the first time M. Poincaré will have charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for which he is certainly as well prepared as the man who just left it. By some mysterious dispensation, he seems to have, of late, felt a sudden call to a more thorough study of foreign policies. The Morocco problem concerned him deeply, and he took an active share in the work of the senatorial committee. A few days before he was called to form the cabinet, he wrote a short letter to the *Temps* about some detail of colonial geography concerning the Congo River, which he had discovered on a German map.

He undoubtedly will be able to bring to a peaceful end the agitation over the Morocco treaty. But, more than that, he is expected so to administer the country that the main conditions of its strength, namely, sound finances, an unimpaired credit, and a well-disciplined army, will assure to France in the affairs of Europe, to use his own words, "a voice worthy of her traditions and of her past."

<sup>1</sup> The term applied to the discontented laborer who intentionally impairs the quality of manufactured products or destroys the machinery and equipment of his employer.

# A PREVENTIVE OF STRIKES

WORK OF THE ANTHRACITE CONCILIATION BOARD

BY LOUIS GRAVES

**A**MONG students of the labor problem there is no difference of opinion now as to the superiority of arbitration over the old cat-and-dog method of settling industrial disputes. The public has grown more and more impatient of the stubborn contests between capital and labor,—contests that are too often prolonged by the pride of the opposing forces while the wants of consumers are neglected, vast investments lie unproductive, and workers remain idle.

Arbitration in specific cases is neither new nor unusual. Every little while we read in the newspapers of some struggle in which a strike is averted, at the last minute, by an agreement to submit all differences to a non-partisan or bi-partisan board of mediators. But there is only one instance of a permanent arbitration court for a large and important industry, to settle disputes that may arise from time to time. This is the Anthracite Conciliation Board, maintained by the mine workers and operators of the hard-coal mining region of northeastern Pennsylvania.

Unusual interest attaches to this tribunal at the present time because the agreement between the mine workers and the operators is soon to expire. It was made in 1909 for a three-year term ending March 31, 1912. In their district conventions the anthracite mine workers have already framed new demands, one of which is that the conciliation scheme shall be radically altered. It is certain, however, that public sentiment will be firmly against any important curtailment of the board's authority. No feature of the Strike Commission's award has met more general approval, and especially is this true in the mining region, where the assurance of steady operation of the mines gives a stability to business that cannot exist if the strike danger is always looming.

When the board was established the plan aroused interest all over the country, for it seemed to be prophetic of a new order of things. Comparatively little attention was paid to it, however, after it organized and proceeded to carry on its work in unostentatious fashion; and there has been no general recognition of what it has achieved in the cause of peace. This achievement is great

not only because of the benefits that have come to the mining industry—though they are considerable—but because the successful outcome of the scheme has set a precedent; it has marked the way for the future.

## GENESIS OF THE CONCILIATION BOARD

The long strike of the anthracite mine workers in 1902 was brought to an end by the consent of the men and operators to submit all questions at issue to a commission appointed by the President of the United States. In his letter of instructions to the commission the President not only bade the members "pass upon the questions in controversy," but he enjoined them to "endeavor to establish the relations between the employers and the wage workers in the anthracite fields on a just and permanent basis, and, as far as possible, to do away with any cause for the recurrence of such difficulties as those which they had been called upon to settle."

It was in response to this that the commission, after disposing of the mine-workers' demands for higher pay, a shorter workday and other advantages, devised what it considered "a satisfactory method for the adjustment of grievances, to the end that strikes and lockouts might be unnecessary." The Conciliation Board, as constituted by the commission, has six members, three representatives of the mine workers and three representatives of the operators. Any award made by the majority of the six is "final and binding on all parties." If the board is unable to make a decision—that is, if there is a tie vote—the question is referred to an umpire appointed by a judge of the third Federal circuit, and the umpire's decision is final.

## THE DECREASING NUMBER OF GRIEVANCES

It was natural that after the trouble of 1902 there should be many sore spots to heal, and during the early period of the board's existence grievances were freely presented. The report for the first three years, 1903 to 1906, showed that 145 had come up for consideration. Of this number 11 were sustained, 8 were partially sustained, and 92 were withdrawn, not sustained, or settled



S. D. WARRINER  
(Vice-president Lehigh Valley Coal Co.)

W. L. CONNELL  
(Independent Operator)

JOHN FAHY  
(Mine Workers)

**THREE MEMBERS WHO HAVE SERVED ON THE CONCILIATION BOARD SINCE ITS  
ORGANIZATION IN 1903**

through the influence of the board. Of the 20 grievances that went to the umpire 4 were sustained. Fourteen of the 150 cases were still pending at the end of the three years.

No testimony to the board's effectiveness could be so convincing as a comparison of the

number of grievances in those first three years with the number in the last five. Only 48 have been presented since the spring of 1906. This decrease is the most significant fact in the record. It is the real measure of the success of the Strike Commission's plan, for it shows to what a great extent the main purpose of the commission—which was to create a better understanding between employers and employees, by removing causes for complaint—has been carried out.

Either employee or employer may be the complainant before the board. Of the 193 grievances presented up



JOHN DEMPSEY  
(One of the mine workers' representatives on the Conciliation Board)



VICE-PRESIDENT W. J. RICHARDS OF  
THE PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL  
AND IRON COMPANY  
(Operators' representative on the Board)

to the time of the present writing, 182 came from mine workers and 11 from operators. One of the 182 was that of an employee against a labor organization. Of the 181 grievances against employers 15 were sustained, 34 were not sustained, 32 were settled by mutual agreement, 32 were partly sustained, 9 were beyond the jurisdiction of the board, 53 were withdrawn for lack of sustaining testimony, and 2 are still pending; 4 were voted upon, the vote was a tie, and no further action was taken. Of the employers' 11 grievances 2 were sustained, 2 were settled by mutual agreement, 6 were withdrawn, and 1 was beyond the jurisdiction of the board. Altogether only 25 cases had to be referred to an umpire as a result of a deadlock.

#### THE AVOIDANCE OF LITIGATION

Public men have had much to say in recent years about the law's delay, the difficulty of obtaining a simple and rapid settlement of disputes in the courts. It is this fault of regular legal procedure that the mediators in the hard-coal region seek first to avoid. It is their policy to discourage litigation, not to prolong it. Always they endeavor to persuade the opposing parties to adjust their differences without resort to a formal argument. By exerting their personal influence, urging one concession here and another there, the members of the Conciliation Board have again and again brought about a compromise. It is this spirit that has justified the word "conciliation" in the title of their body.

It was not with the idea of meddling with all the small details of mining that the Strike Commission created the permanent tribunal. The board is a court of last resort. If a group of mine workers have anything to complain of, the matter is first laid before their foreman. If he does not grant their demands the higher officers of the company are appealed to; and only after this fails does the case "go to court." Similarly, if the employer desires to lodge any complaint against his men, he attempts to get satisfaction first by dealing directly with them.

#### APPEALS TO THE BOARD,—PROCEDURE

Anthracite mining is an intricate science, and the questions laid before the six mediators reflect the great diversity of the problems faced in the hard-coal region. "Dockage" due to a large proportion of rock in a miner's car, the observance of too many

saints' days by the foreigners, the discharge of an employee, a change in the basis of payment when the character of work changes—any one of these or a hundred other things may cause dissatisfaction and lead mine worker or operator to the Conciliation Board. Whatever the trouble is, painstaking efforts are made to get at the root of it and to mete out real, as distinguished from technical, justice.

Once it is decided to appeal to the board, the procedure is simple in the extreme. The grievance is presented in written form, and then the answer. In the event that the mediators cannot bring the parties to compromise, witnesses are summoned and examined and arguments are heard. When all the testimony is in, the members of the board discuss the case among themselves, and, if possible, make a decision. And if a majority of them cannot agree upon a verdict, an application is made to the Federal court for the appointment of an umpire.

One of the rules of the board is that its decisions are retroactive. That is, if an employee complains in a matter of wages and if his claim turns out to be justified, the settlement applies from the day on which the grievance was presented. This retroactive feature removes any incentive to undue haste in reaching a decision, for the mediators know that the time spent in examining witnesses and in discussion cannot cause loss to the mine worker. Despite this encouragement to deliberateness, and despite the intricate nature of many of the problems which the board has to solve, it has proved itself able to settle grievances with despatch. Some cases, it is true, are postponed from meeting to meeting, owing to the non-attendance of witnesses, the difficulty of obtaining evidence, or other causes; and of course the necessity of referring a grievance to an umpire spells delay. But the record of the board shows that the long-drawn-out cases are exceptions—the majority are disposed of promptly.

At present the representatives of the mine workers on the board are John Fahy, John Dempsey, and Thomas Kennedy. The operators' representatives are W. J. Richards, vice-president of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company; S. D. Wariner, vice-president of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company; and W. L. Connell, an independent operator of Scranton. In addition to the regular monthly meeting, special meetings are held, at various places in the mining region, when circumstances demand.



Ordinarily the oral and written testimony of witnesses is sufficient to inform the members of any situation in the mines. Sometimes, however, it becomes necessary for them to make a personal examination. They don overalls, go down into the mine, and satisfy themselves as to the actual physical conditions that have a bearing upon the questions at issue. Or perhaps, as on a recent occasion, they go through a breaker and make an inspection of the quality of coal that the mine workers are sending up from below.

#### STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INHIBITED

The cornerstone of this arbitration scheme is the rule that no strike or lockout shall be declared. Neither party may carry an argument to such a length and then come to the board for a settlement while men and mine are idle. The employers who have declared a lockout or the employees who have gone on strike have no standing before the board. Work must be resumed before a complaint will be received. It is this ironclad rule that insures continuity in the anthracite mining industry, preventing those interruptions which often mark the difference between prosperity and poverty for companies and men alike.

There have been two or three violations of

the rule against strikes. Since the Conciliation Board was created the stream of uneducated, non-English-speaking immigrants has poured into the anthracite region in ever-increasing volume; and these immigrants sometimes get beyond the control of the labor representatives who are charged with seeing that the mine workers' end of the bargain is kept. Such a case occurred a year or two ago when the employees of the Pennsylvania Coal Company quit work. For a time it seemed that the trouble might spread, but finally the men were persuaded to submit their grievances to the Conciliation Board, and matters were amicably adjusted.

The term for which the Conciliation Board was originally created, three years, was extended in 1906 and again in 1909 by agreement between the mine workers and the operators, and the third three-year term expires this year. Whatever may be the outcome of the next series of negotiations, as to other matters, it is taken for granted that no future agreement will fail to provide for a continuance of the arbitration machinery. Its existence is so closely related to the welfare of the whole anthracite region, and to the welfare of all consumers of hard coal, that public sentiment would defeat any proposal to abolish the Conciliation Board.

## A "WELFARE" INSTITUTION ON A NOVEL PLAN

AT Rumford, in Oxford County, Maine, the Androscoggin River has a drop of 180 feet, with a horse power of 54,000. About twenty years ago Hugh J. Chisholm stood on a table of rock overlooking the falls. He saw the great opportunity in that wasted water power, power that would turn wheels, build industries, employ a multitude of work-

men, and create a thriving community. But all this would be impossible without transportation. The nearest railroad could not, however, grasp the vision of industrial development held out by Mr. Chisholm, so he built a railroad himself. Then began the erection of a great plant. The natives looked on at all this construction work being done



WHERE THE POWER IS DEVELOPED FOR THE INDUSTRIES AT RUMFORD FALLS, MAINE





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

...the mills are shut down. His investigation was no longer at Hartford, but extended to other towns similarly situated. He soon realized the lack of opportunity for beautiful recreation and amusement, and mental development. And here again the genius that saw the possibilities of using water power applied to the problem of using that power. He soon arrived at certain definite conclusions. There should be an institution to take up this waste power and turn it into useful channels. Such an institution must meet certain requirements. First it must supply rational, clean amusement. Secondly, there must be opportunity for mental development,—classes for study for those who wish to equip themselves in an industry and for the broadening and enrichment of their minds. And all this must be at the lowest possible cost, in order not to be a financial burden to those who are to be benefited.

The usual way to establish such an institution is to search for a philanthropist who will provide the necessary funds. Another method much in vogue is to inaugurate a popular campaign for subscriptions. Then, very often, after the institution is started, there is a yearly solicitation for funds to meet running expenses. These methods did not appeal to Mr. Chisholm. In the first place

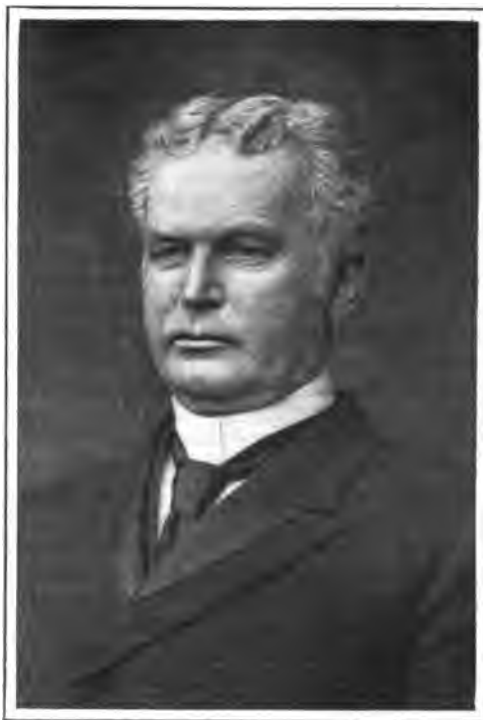
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GYMNASIUM OF THE INSTITUTE

there should not be the slightest suggestion of charity about the institution. It must be wholly without the necessity for endowment, nor must there be any calling upon the members, or the town government, or the citizens, for financial assistance. The members themselves should own and operate it. Absolute equality should obtain as to privileges of membership. This is vitally necessary for the conservation of those qualities of self-respect and independence which are characteristic of American workmen.

The task, therefore, that confronted Mr. Chisholm was to finance and establish an institution along these lines at Rumford. Of course, membership fees alone would not place the institution in a secure financial position. It must have earning powers aside from this source. Why not provide stores in the building to produce revenue? And in order to make the stores desirable and profitable, the building must be located in the central business section of the town. Right here is where the scheme again differs from other enterprises of this kind. Donated sites for institutions of this kind are often away from the town center, where the ground is less valuable, and where stores would not be certain of ready rental on a profitable basis. Now to proceed with his plan, Mr. Chisholm employed an attorney to organize an association under the general laws of the State of Maine. This association was to be called the Rumford Mechanics' Institute. To this organization he leased for one hundred years a piece of land valued at about \$30,000. While the rental is a merely nominal one, the fact that the land is rented and not given outright shows the business basis of the whole scheme. The land is leased on condition that the buildings thereon shall be forever used for the purposes originally intended. The lease permitted the Institute to mortgage the



HUGH J. CHISHOLM  
President of the International Paper Company

land for the purpose of obtaining sufficient funds for the erection of the buildings. When the mortgage had been properly executed and recorded, twenty-year five-per-cent. bonds were issued, with provision for a sinking fund. The three large corporations of the town—the International Paper Company, the Continental Paper Company, and the Oxford Paper Company—guaranteed the principal and interest on these bonds. With this security, the whole issue easily found purchasers at par. The money was forthcoming as needed during the construction of the building. The rental of the stores and the sleeping rooms for club members creates an income sufficiently in excess of sinking fund and interest requirements, so that at the end of twenty years the association will have enough funds to enable it to become the owner of the property. Thereafter the income will be entirely available for the furthering of the objects and the best interests of the association.

On these lines the Rumford Mechanics' Institute came into being. The dedication ceremonies, occurring last fall, attracted attention throughout the State. Eminent citizens—bishops, college presidents, and congressmen—participated in the exercises,



THE BOWLING ALLEY

congratulating the community and the founder on the establishment of such a splendid institution. And a goodly building it is, one of the best of the kind in a land that can fortunately boast of many "welfare" institutions (in connection with Young Men's Christian Associations and railroad companies) though these have been erected by different methods.

The purposes of the Institute are "the promotion of the mechanic arts, the diffusion of scientific, mechanical, industrial, and other useful knowledge; instruction in architecture, chemistry, and other scientific and industrial pursuits; literary and social intercourse among, and the physical, mental and moral development of, its members, and the construction and maintenance of a home for any and all of the above purposes." It is equipped in accordance with all these objects. There are billiard and pool rooms, card rooms, bowling alleys, gymnasium, lecture and class rooms, and assembly hall. No intoxicating liquors are sold on the premises, and no wagers are permitted in connection with games of any sort. Were these prohibitions merely in the by-laws of the Institute, it is conceivable that they might, at some time, be removed, should an unruly element ever gain the ascendancy. So Mr. Chisholm has guarded against this contingency by making these provisions part of the lease of the land. Meetings for political, religious, or labor union purposes are also barred, thus eliminating the possibility of wrecking the institution on such rocks of discord as are sometimes occasioned by religious, political, or industrial differences. A model set of by-laws has been adopted.

The management of the institution is in the hands of a board of governors consisting of twenty members of the association chosen annually, this board electing the executive officers. Males of eighteen years and over are eligible to membership. The admission

fee is one dollar, and the dues five dollars a year, payable semi-annually. The women also are to enjoy the various privileges of the Institute. They have their "Auxiliary Association," for social and literary intercourse, instruction in domestic science, and for physical exercise and mental development. The women have the use of the rooms of the Institute at specified times. For the young children also, down to the age of thirteen, amusement and instruction will be provided.

The institution as a whole, in its inception and management, seems to have been most wisely planned, and may well serve as a model. In these days of increasing interest in the welfare of wage-earners, and the wide study of the differences between capital and labor, such a simple and practicable plan for the establishment of a "welfare" institution deserves publicity. Indeed, one of the objects uppermost in Mr. Chisholm's mind in creating this Institute at Rumford was the cultivation of more intimate relations between employer and employee. The establishment of such an institution is a valuable contribution to the solution of our social and industrial problems and the improvement of our citizenship. It is especially appropriate as the crowning achievement of a successful business career. Mr. Chisholm first harnessed the water power of the Androscoggin and founded a series of industries, a thriving community, and a beautiful residential park. Now he is harnessing man power in its leisure hours and is helping to build a civilization. Rumford Falls—the prosperous manufacturing center—is a great monument to the constructive genius of an American capitalist of industry. But the Rumford Mechanics' Institute is a far finer monument, for it testifies to the spirit of brotherhood, to the desire to aid in uplifting humanity, and is an acknowledgment by one man that he is his brother's keeper.



STRATHGLASS PARK. THE MODEL RESIDENCE SECTION AT RUMFORD FALLS

# THE MOVING-PICTURE SHOW AND THE LIVING DRAMA

BY ROBERT GRAU

**I**S the moving picture crowding out the old-time stage? Is science and mechanical art, by the production of miles upon miles of fascinating films, encroaching on the "legitimate" drama—in fact, revolutionizing the theatrical business? Whether this be true or not, it is nevertheless a fact that the producers and managers who cater to the entertainment of the American public in this second decade of the twentieth century are not exactly burdened with prosperity. In fact they find their positions more unstable than at any time since those early days when the amusement calling was regarded as exceedingly precarious, and when few theatrical managers had arrived at the dignity of a "business office."

The number of "stars" whose brilliance and drawing power attract the public is smaller to-day than at any time in the last thirty years. More than a score of players of the first rank who started out on tour in the fall of 1911, have been forced to abandon their enterprises, and many of these now find themselves for the first time without an engagement. Recently, at the Lamb's Club, in New York, (composed mostly of players and their friends), as many as eighty-five well-known actors sat down to what they called a "hard-luck" banquet, to discuss their misfortunes. And the diners were mostly popular favorites, whose names have been featured many a time on bill boards and electric signs. A further impression of the conditions existing may be gained from the fact that in a single week in December

of 1911 seventy traveling combinations were forced to close their season's labors. Moreover, in New York City, where all the compelling attractions of the country are congregated, fully one-third of the theaters have been able to escape financial disaster only by a resort to moving pictures. In fact, hardly a week goes by that some theater management, having become weary of facing deficits, does not install a moving-picture machine, thereby avoiding bankruptcy.



From the *Sphere*, London

TAKING MOVING PICTURES FROM THE COWCATCHER OF A RUNNING LOCOMOTIVE IN THE ROCKIES

## THE "OPRY HOUSE" NOW GIVES MOVING- PICTURE SHOWS

One may form some idea of the conditions which caused a drastic curtailment of the list of potent stars and the premature closing of seventy road companies, when it is stated that there are more than fifty towns, with populations ranging from ten to forty thousand, within 150 miles of New York, that are unable to offer a single stage to a company of real actors. In all these cities the local managers, tired of tempting disaster along the usual lines, have turned their "opry" houses into theaters of cinematography, with the result in nearly every instance of transforming their losing ventures into "gold mines." Even the few theaters in cities of this class that have not been wholly given over to moving-picture shows, turn to these entertainments whenever there are no visiting combinations. This policy prevents,—or at least lessens,—the losses of the local management.

Contrast with this depressed condition in the theatrical world, the prodigious pros-

perity of the picture-play business. Exclusive of the film manufacturers of Europe, there are in the United States some thirty studios producing photo-play films. The product of these concerns goes to 17,000 theaters throughout the country. In the one year between November 1, 1910 to November 1, 1911, 234,000,000 feet of film were placed on the American market. And the output is constantly increasing. As for the picture show houses, they are multiplying like mushrooms, almost overnight, in nearly every city in the country. In New York alone, with its 600 picture show places, the most conservative estimate places the daily attendance at 4,000,000. The flood of humanity that visits the moving picture houses is said to be six times greater in volume than the coming patronage of all the regular theaters. In every phase of the industry,—production, exhibition, and patronage,—development is proceeding with enormous strides.

It has come to be a battle of money and brains, the theatrical managers on one side and the film manufacturers on the other. The former are in the position of untenability in that they are seeking a solution of their problems, whereas the newer interests—the moving-picture men—have solved their initial problems and are now engaged in improving their environment and raising the standard of their offerings. The number of theatrical producers is now the smallest in twenty-five years, while the moving-picture magnates are yearly increasing. A dozen different manufacturers have a capital of more than a million dollars each. The Cines Company of Rome has ten millions invested, the Kinemacolor Company has six millions, and the same total is available to the Pathé Frères of Paris and New York.

#### THE COST OF A "SILENT DRAMA"

The progress of the "silent drama" has been on an unparalleled scale. In fact, some of the developments in this field in the last few months have utterly amazed the prominent theatrical managers and producers. As recently as two years ago, these gentlemen were inclined to regard the moving picture as a temporary fad; but when such offerings came as the Kinemacolor pictures of the English Coronation festivities, and it was observed that the public willingly paid regular theater prices to see the wondrous spectacle, they marveled. One of the foremost of these, William A. Brady, thus expressed himself: "If the manufacturer of a photo-play

can afford to spend \$100,000 for a single offering on the screen, he has us beat many a mile, for that is just twice as much as it cost to produce Ben Hur, a play that has run twelve years." This enormous sum has in fact been spent on more than one film production. The "Dante's Inferno" pictures cost even more than this, while "The Fall of Troy," "The Crusaders," "Cinderella" and "A Tale of Two Cities" all cost from \$25,000 to \$75,000 each.

#### HIGH QUALITY IN PICTURE PLAYS

As illustrating the trend of the silent drama, it is significant that the Milano Film Company of Italy, which evolved the "Dante's Inferno" pictures, now announce the completion of a photographic spectacle from Homer's "Odyssey." This immense production involved an expenditure of \$200,000, and was two years in preparation. It is comprised in three "reels," which means that there are about 3,000 feet of film, requiring a full hour to run. This photo-play, "The Return of Ulysses," was written by no less a distinguished personage than Jules Lamaitre, a member of the French Academy, and was reproduced by a company of well-known players. Thirty artists were engaged in producing the scenery and paraphernalia, while the *mise en scene* is said to have involved the services of over two thousand persons, including a score of players and pantomimists of established repute on the Italian stage. This series of film will be exhibited within two weeks, and to protect the producing company from piracy, the services of William J. Burns, the famous detective, have been secured. Perhaps the most serious competition to the living stage will result from the advent of the "full play" film producers. Heretofore the photo-play has been a brief affair averaging about twenty minutes to unfold. But in the United States and abroad the "special release" is coming forth with a vigorous impetus. Madame Rejane and the Parisian Company have rendered before the camera Sardou's "Madame Sans Gene" in its entirety, and New Yorkers will be enabled to view this spectacle at the same time that Bernhardt's "Camille" is presented, the two offerings being disposed of to exhibitors as a single five-reel production, constituting one entertainment.

In France and Italy, the picture play is being developed on a very high-class scale as to authors, actors, and elaborateness of staging. The best plays are chosen, and eminent

authors write the scenarios. Not only have Lemaitre and Sardou been engaged in this work, but also Anatole France, Henry Lavedan, and others. It is this activity abroad and the certainty that American film manufacturers will follow along similar lines that has caused the conversion of so many theaters into photo-playhouses. In Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport, three cities of the first grade, theatrically speaking, the one theater in each still remaining to the theatrical syndicate is no longer available to the traveling companies. All three, on the same date (January 29, 1912), reverted to William Fox, the moving picture magnate. Thus even Yale's own town will be denied to the Maude Adamses, the John Drews, and the players under the directions of Messrs. Frohman, Klaw and Erlanger, and their various allies.

The amazing thing about the cinematograph industry is that even the most expensive productions are seen for only a single day in the ten thousand or more picture theaters, the only exception to this rule being where the pictures are exhibited in vaudeville theaters as numbers on the program. Here they are shown for at least a week and sometimes longer.



BEHIND THE SCENES

(Partial rear view of the scene presented below, showing the canvas and scantling construction)

#### THE ACTOR AND THE PICTURE SHOWS

But the star actors who have found their vogue with the public waning, have not hesitated to avail themselves of the gold-



#### TEACHING ENGLISH LITERATURE BY MEANS OF THE PHOTO-PLAY

The battle of Shorebytown, from Stevenson's "The Black Arrow," with costumes, weapons and environment faithfully reproduced. The construction work of the buildings is shown in the rear-view picture at the top of the page. (An Edison film)



From the Moving Picture World, New York

SARAH BERNHARDT GIVING HER REPRESENTATION OF "CAMILLE" BEFORE THE CAMERA FOR A MOVING-PICTURE PLAY

laden opportunities resulting from the advance of the very inventions which seem to have brought about the adverse conditions in their profession. It is, in fact, the actor who makes possible the prosperity of the film industry, for he is absolutely necessary to the original production of the photo-play. And indeed it would be a decidedly heart-rending situation on "The Rialto" were it not for the employment thus furnished for the actors. The film manufacturers now employ over 400 players permanently.<sup>1</sup> Nor do these represent, by any means, merely the rank and file of the stage. The roster of one prominent film-producing concern contains no less than fourteen actors and actresses who were, last season, members of Charles Frohman's companies. In a single reel recently the writer recognized four players whose weekly salaries in recent years have never been quoted in less than three figures.

Some famous stars have succumbed to the inducement offered by the cinematographic companies. Mabel Taliaferro received more money for posing for the "Cinderella" pictures for the Selig Company, than she

has earned as a star for an entire season's efforts. Among other celebrities in this country who have become allies to the camera man, may be named McKee Rankin, Sydney Booth, Mildred Holland, Nat C. Goodwin, Charles Kent, Mary Fuller, and others. The "star" phase of the motion-picture business, however, is as yet in its infancy. But it is not to be doubted that the same craze that resulted in advanced vaudeville is now in the process of evolution in the newer field. In Europe, some of the greatest players have posed before the camera without apparent loss of grace or dignity. Rejane, Jane Hading, Mounet-Sully and the younger Coquelins, are all "photo-players." Even the great Sarah Bernhardt has consented to the reproduction of Sardou's play "Camille" on the screen, with the divine one herself as "Marguerite Gautier." Fifty thousand dollars was reported to be the inducement held out to the great French actress. Another year should witness the entrance of so many well-known players into the newer field that the difference to the theater-going public between the real and the mechanical drama will tend to be visibly diminished.

Already one may gaze on the spectacle

<sup>1</sup>An article on "Posing for Moving-Picture Plays" will be found on page 371 of this issue.



of crowds paying one dollar each for reserved seats to see such special film presentations as the "Kinemacolor" and "Dante's Inferno." Surely the same public, accustomed to stand in line for hours to secure seats to see the great Sarah Bernhardt in the flesh at \$3 each, will not be unwilling to pay at least one-third as much to see her artistic triumphs portrayed on the moving-picture screen. Undoubtedly there is a tremendous population in this country to whom three dollars is a prohibitive price to see even a Bernhardt. An English writer recently asked Madame Bernhardt if she did not consider her capitulation to the camera man as a retrograde movement in her eminently artistic career. "I am playing for posterity," responded Sarah; "art is always art, no matter where or what the environment. What would we all give if the art of our own Rachel could have been preserved in this manner? And who does not regret that science and invention could not have been resorted to in the days of Kean and Garrick, that we might now be enthralled by them?"

Perhaps the most important achievement in the field of cinematography, however, comes from Italy, where the great Tommaso Salvini, whom Charlotte Cushman pronounced "the greatest actor the world ever saw"—now over eighty years of age, has consented to present his sublime portrayal of "Othello" before the camera. Here indeed is something worth while, and if it is really true that the ponderous Italian's talents are still unimpaired, then the advent of this series of film will be worth waiting for.

#### FORTUNES IN THE PHOTO-PLAY BUSINESS

In Chicago two men started, a few years ago, to make film. Between them they had \$10,000. These men were Messrs. Spoor and Anderson. To-day both are millionaires and their annual income is prodigious. In the same city, George Kleine, an erstwhile optician, started in a few years ago on the motion-picture movement. To-day he is a rich man, controlling a majority of the output of European manufacturers. Mr. Kleine is conspicuous in every effort to raise the artistic level of cinematography, and educational films are his hobby. In Philadelphia, Sigmond Lubin, also formerly an optician, entered the film field in 1895 in a small way. To-day he is not only a millionaire, but one of Philadelphia's most public-spirited citizens. About eight years ago a man named John Rock was wont to go about the country, in



TOMMASO SALVINI

(The distinguished Italian actor, whose famous portrayal of "Othello" is to be preserved for posterity by the moving-picture camera. This portrait was taken during one of Salvini's American tours about thirty years ago. He is now eighty-three years of age.)

the smaller towns, with a camera and a few reels of film. He had for a partner an opera-house manager from a small New England town. Rock saw profits ahead and wanted to expand his operations; his partner, however, had no faith in motion pictures; so they parted. The country manager is still at his "opry" house, and Rock is a millionaire.

There are so many cases of this description on the operating side of the industry that a separate article could be devoted entirely to this special phase of the subject. It is quite the same on the exhibiting side of the business. The meteoric rise of two men is especially noteworthy. Five years ago a middle-aged man was operating a penny arcade in Harlem. He noticed that the craze for moving pictures was greatly reducing his receipts, so he promptly shifted to the newer field. That man was the Marcus Loew of to-day. In just five years he has become a millionaire. He owns, leases or controls forty theaters, one-third of which are in the greater city. In the last year he has erected two palatial theaters, involving an outlay of nearly two million dollars. In none of Mr. Loew's



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

1914

...the average price being three years Mr. Rosenquest has a picture. Truly it is an amazing illustration of a public knowing what it wants.

## THE RISE OF THE SMALL STOCK COMPANY

Paradoxical as it may appear, it is quite possible that the moving-picture show, while not making inroads on the "legitimate" stock drama, will, in due course, while un-  
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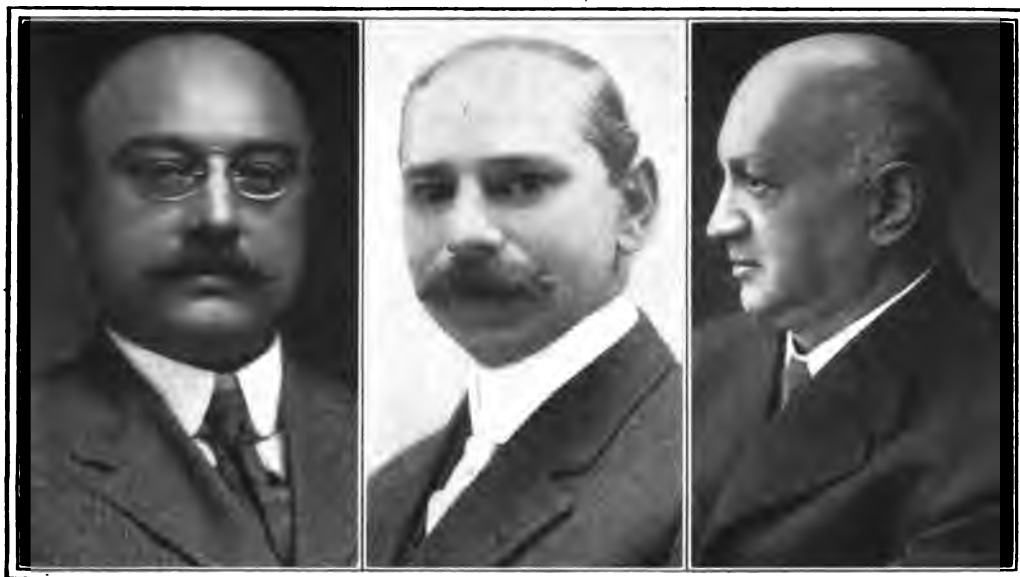
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ENACTING A SCENE FOR A CIVIL WAR DRAMA  
(In the foreground is the camera with the director of the show to the right)



MR. GEORGE KLEINE  
(of Chicago)

MR. MARCUS LOEW  
(of New York)

MR. SIGMUND LUBIN  
(of Philadelphia)

### THREE MONARCHS OF THE MOVING-PICTURE WORLD

way productions in recent years have, in fact, been scored by actors and actresses recruited from these organizations.

#### MARVELS OF THE FUTURE

Looming up on the horizon, a still greater menace to the old-time stage and its people, there appears the so-called "talking picture," a synchronization of the cinematograph and the phonograph, in which electrical science plays an important part. Already in London and Paris the talking pictures are a craze. So promising have been these reproductions of plays and operas that two of our most prominent producers, Charles Frohman and Henry W. Savage, competed for the American rights. "Quo Vadis" has been "photo-played," with the spoken parts taken by the phonograph, while "Pinafore," "The Mikado," and the "Chimes of Normandy" have also been produced on the screen, their tuneful strains proceeding from the "canned orchestra." A more ambitious and promising scheme, however, seems to be that undertaken by the New York Philharmonic Society, with the collaboration of President J. Stuart Blackton, of the Vitagraph Company. This will be no less than the production of the famous operas, the actions and scenes appearing in moving-pictures, while the classic music of the composers is rendered by good orchestras. This will be tried out in some of the

large cities first, and if successful, may well lead to the popularization of the best works of the masters, and the general enjoyment of what is now for many thousands an unattainable luxury.

Thomas Alva Edison has also turned his inventive genius in the direction of a mechanical theater. The "Wizard of Menlo Park" has announced, simultaneously with this writing, the completion of the "Edison speaking pictures." Very recently, too, Mr. Edison uttered the prophecy that within a very short time the workingman will be able, by laying down his dime at the modern theater of cinematography, to enjoy grand opera and dramatic productions, with sound, dialogue, color, and action, all scientifically produced,—a complete conquest, apparently, by science, of the art of musical and dramatic entertainment.

Can anyone wonder that the theatrical managers regard their business situation seriously, or that new methods must be found to compete successfully with the prosperous proprietors of picture show houses? These gentlemen had for awhile consoled themselves with the hope that, like other crazes and fads, the vogue of photo-plays would be short. But the moving-picture business is now in its seventeenth year, and the development in the last three years has been far greater than in the fourteen preceding. Moreover, there is no indication of a recessionary move-

ment in the near future. On the contrary, the next two years should record the zenith of achievement in this most lucrative field of public entertaining.

While the older and more dignified of the public amusement caterers are reducing prices for seats, and resorting to strategy to induce public patronage by the sale of their seats *en bloc* to cut-rate agencies, the photo-play operators are improving their productions and raising their prices of admission. How high the moving-picture men are aspiring is evidenced by the fact that on the very day the abandonment of the New Theater,

in New York City, was announced, a motion-picture magnate offered to take the building at a rental of \$125,000, a year, and another expressed to the writer his willingness to purchase the property outright, without loss to the original backers. While such offers may at this time be declined, it is not prophesying too much to say that it will be in just such magnificent playhouses, that the photo-play of the future will be presented, reproducing, for the masses, with all the latest inventions and the refinements of science, the splendid art of the Bernhards and the Salvini.



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#### ULYSSES RELATING HIS ADVENTURES TO THE KING

(One of the scenes in the moving-picture play founded on Homer's "Odyssey." This classic is typical of the high grade of subjects being chosen for representation in photo-plays)

# THE FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF OHIO

BY HENRY W. ELSON

[Professor Elson, the author of the following article, is himself a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention and has taken a prominent part in its deliberations. The amendment substituting a three-fourths majority jury verdict for unanimity in civil actions bears his name. A native of Ohio, Professor Elson holds the chair of history and economics in the University at Athens. He is the author of an important "History of the United States," of many chapters in the text of the "Photographic History of the Civil War" (Review of Reviews Company), and of various other historical works.—THE EDITOR.]

IT seems a strange contrast that the American people cling so tenaciously to the federal Constitution and change so readily the State constitutions. The federal Constitution has stood the test of a century and a quarter, and to-day it is far more deeply rooted in the heart of the people than it was during the early decades of its operation. It is true that we have amended it a little and we have twisted it in places to suit our changing conditions. Our fifteen amendments are in reality only three. The first ten, adopted in 1791, are really but one, constituting a bill of rights. The eleventh, adopted a few years later, is of no importance. The twelfth, dealing with the Electoral College and adopted in 1804, may be considered the second, while the last three, registering in organic law the results of the Civil War, constitute a third.

Aside from this we have changed the Constitution to a limited extent by practice. We govern by parties and we have built up a cabinet, neither of which was contemplated by the fathers who framed the Constitution. We have relegated to the skeleton closet the discretionary powers of the Electoral College; we have witnessed the United States Senate taking over some of the powers of the House in the matter of revenue bills, and the House has a little more to do in the enforcement of treaties than was at first intended. In a few other respects custom has modified or shaped our public policy; but in most respects the Constitution is as vital to-day as in the earlier days, and even more so.

Some political writers have taken the ground that our federal Constitution is not only fossilized, but actually superseded by custom. The view is incorrect. Let any State attempt to pass an *ex post facto* law, to create an order of nobility, or to lay a tariff on goods from a sister State; let Congress attempt to put a duty on exports, to abolish the Presidential office, or to perpetuate its

own existence for a day, and we shall quickly see what a living power the federal Constitution is. And the significant fact is, that no considerable class of the people have any desire to throw aside our present Constitution and frame another, though all agree that it should be amended in some respects.

The States, on the other hand, have been quite free in casting off their old clothes and donning new suits. There is but one State whose present constitution antedates that of the nation—Massachusetts, 1780. A few others, also in New England, still bear the Colonial stamp, though adopted since the federal Constitution was adopted. A majority of the older States, however, have changed their respective constitutions three or four times, and some still more frequently. Five or six have done this in the past twenty years: New York, 1894; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; Virginia, 1902; Michigan, 1908. Oklahoma adopted her first in 1907 and the new States of the Southwest still later.

The present constitution of Ohio is her second. It was adopted in 1851 and has been in force more than sixty years. Though greatly antiquated in some respects, it has been amended but slightly, the reason being that it is exceedingly hard to amend. A proposed amendment, voted on at a general election, must, in order to be adopted, receive a majority of all the votes cast. As great numbers of voters neglect to mark their ballots at all in this particular, and, as every blank is counted a negative, it is next to impossible to amend the Ohio organic law.

The present constitution provides that the people may decide every twentieth year whether or not to call a new constitutional convention. At the end of the first twenty years they decided to do so and pursuant to their call a splendid body of men met in 1873. The presiding officer was Morrison R. Waite, afterward chief justice of the federal Supreme

**Court.** On the floor was George Hoadley, afterward Governor of the State. The convention sat for many months; it framed a fine instrument—which the people rejected at the polls by a large majority. The trouble lay with the farmers' views on the taxation question. The constitution of 1851 forbids the legislature to classify property in any way for purposes of taxation. The new one permitted it. The farmer believed the owner of stocks, moneys, or securities of any sort should pay as high a tax rate as he on his land. Classification? Discrimination against him? He would have none of it, and the new constitution was buried beneath the rural vote. The farmer did not foresee that he was driving the intangible property to cover—more than 90 per cent. of it—and that, after all, he would have to bear more than his share of the tax burden.

Another twenty years passed and the people decided not to call another convention. But at the end of the next twenty years they reversed this decision and voted to call the Fourth Constitutional Convention of Ohio.

#### THE PERSONNEL

A more representative body of men could not readily be found than this convention, which began its session on January 9, 1912, to be continued probably far into the summer. Of the 110 delegates, about forty-five are members of the bar and of these at least half have served in Congress, on the bench, or held State office. About thirty are farmers, but not of the "corn tassel" variety. With few exceptions they are men of intelligence, of wide experience, and are quite up to date on the great public questions of the time. Four of the delegates are college professors, two or three of whom have been life-long students of constitutional development and of the fundamental problems of political science. Three are clergymen, five are physicians, one is a capitalist, and there is a sprinkling of bankers, business men, and craftsmen.

Politically, the Democrats are far in the lead, they having a plurality of seventeen over the Republicans. Three are Socialists and three Independents. The preponderance of Democrats over the Republicans is purely accidental, as party lines were ignored in the elections. In the proceedings there is no partisanship visible. On the whole the convention is composed of strong, serious men, carefully sifted from the five million inhabi-

tants of the State. An old newspaper man said to the writer that this convention is far and away superior to any State legislature that has sat in the same capitol in forty years. Many of the men are well-known throughout the State but none perhaps has won national fame—unless we except Walter F. Brown, the Roosevelt manager of Ohio, and Judge Worthington and Judge Peck of Cincinnati, both of whom were long associated on the bench with President Taft.

For its presiding officer the convention selected the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati, long associated with the late Tom Johnson of Cleveland as a Single Taxer, and the leading advocate of the Initiative and Referendum. The convention has heard addresses, by invitation, from President Taft, Governor Harmon, Judge Lindsey, of Denver, and by the three newly-elected mayors of Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Toledo. Invitations for addresses have been extended to three others—W. J. Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, while motions to invite three others—Eugene V. Debs and the two United States Senators from Ohio—were voted down.

#### PUBLIC INTEREST

Never, perhaps, has a constitutional convention attracted a more wide-spread public interest throughout a State than has this one. City dailies and country newspapers make extensive daily reports of the proceedings under glaring headlines. In some towns weekly meetings are held, on Saturday evenings, the people of all classes coming together and talking over with their delegate the questions that were before the convention during the week. The convention, whether its work be accepted or not, will prove a great educator to the people.

#### THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

The Ohio convention will attract national attention chiefly because it will be the first of its kind east of the Mississippi to consider seriously certain vital questions of governmental policy, which have been confined hitherto for the most part to the Pacific and Rocky Mountain States. Chief among these are Woman Suffrage and the Initiative and Referendum. Many of the clear-thinking in the State are of the opinion that it is a most unfortunate time to make a new constitution because the public mind is in such a state of unrest, there are so many fads and fancies

afloat, that it will be difficult to write a constitution without some of them creeping in.

The Woman Suffrage question will not probably occasion a serious debate, as it seems to be generally agreed that it will be submitted to the voters as a separate proposition and be added to the constitution only in case they accept it.

The Initiative and Referendum, on the other hand, will occasion a debate the most exhaustive perhaps ever held in this country on that subject. A majority of delegates are believed to be in favor of the innovation in some form, but scarcely two agree as to the exact form. Others, and among them some strong leaders, oppose it altogether and a battle royal is fully anticipated. This question, if adopted by the convention in some form, as it probably will be, will doubtless be submitted separately also, that it may be accepted or rejected on its merits and not imperil the whole work of the Constitutional Convention.

One other thing will doubtless receive separate treatment at the hands of the people—the matter of licensing the liquor traffic. It will be remembered that Ohio<sup>\*</sup> has no license clause in the present constitution. The traffic exists only on the sufferance of the legislature. On this subject the Anti-Saloon League and the brewing interests have locked horns for a fight to the finish. The former desires to bring about prohibition, local or State-wide, or, as a second choice, to maintain the present conditions; the aim of the latter is to secure constitutional authority for licensing saloons and thus to take the matter out of the hands of the legislature and of the local communities. This subject attracted more attention in the campaign than any other and it will take more of the convention's time than it deserves.

Other great questions will be threshed out by this convention. One is the school question. Ohio humbly confesses that she is a back number in the matter of her public schools and the unanimity of the confessors is so great that there can be little debate, except as to details.

Still farther is Ohio behind in road-building. The chief cause of this is the fact that the farmers of 1851, who framed the present constitution, had a Jeffersonian fear of a public debt and to make sure that such an evil should not befall them or their children they forbade the legislature to authorize the issuance of State bonds in excess of \$750,000 for any purpose whatever. These men acted on the principle that if the old mud roads were good

enough for their fathers they were good enough for them—and for their posterity. They did not foresee the necessities of our times and their action has proved a great handicap to the development of the State. Far different is the present sentiment. The convention will have little difficulty in authorizing the issuance of fifty or sixty million dollars for road-building.

Other important subjects to come before this convention are Municipal Government, the Judicial System, and Taxation. As to municipal government, there is a strong plea from the cities calling for self-government, home rule. This will doubtless be granted. The commission form of city government will be authorized, but not enforced. Each city, if present indications can be trusted, will be enabled to govern itself in its own way, subject to certain relations to the State, to debt limitations and the like. The judiciary and taxation subjects will bring out various plans, but there is no indication at this writing as to what will be the outcome.

#### THE FUNDAMENTALS

All the above-mentioned questions are merely questions of public policy, dealing with methods of procedure, on the assumption that the principles, the foundations of government bequeathed us by the fathers, are flawless and too sacred to be disturbed. Is it so? Should a mere State constitutional convention attempt to do more than apply the old principles to Twentieth Century conditions and ideals? Should it attempt to grapple with the roots, to examine the foundations? Can it hope for the respect of the public if it has the temerity to touch those sacred things that have come from the far past and that are revered as fixed and unchangeable? Well, the Ohio convention will take the risk of making itself ridiculous. It has now three proposals on its list (all introduced by the same delegate) that will deal with the fundamentals. None of these is a new suggestion. The serious application on so large a scale is new in this country.

One of these comes under the form of the Short Ballot. It is well known to the observing that the common voter finding a half dozen or more names on his ballot must vote blindly for all except one or two of the leading candidates, or he must vote blank. He is too busy in making a living to make himself acquainted with the qualifications of the candidates for the minor offices. We have asked the voters to do what they cannot do,



and the political boss steps in, organizes his machine, names their ticket for them and gets control of the government. This is a fundamental defect in our form of government and a partial remedy lies in the short ballot. Let the people elect the governor; let the governor appoint the minor State officials and hold them responsible for their conduct as in the case of the President and his Cabinet. Apply the same principle to the municipal government. Such is the short ballot, and there is much reason to believe that the Ohio convention will adopt it.

Another of the proposals constitutes an attack on our legislative system. It provides for a single-chambered legislature, with the membership greatly reduced in numbers. Why has every State a bicameral legislature? For two reasons: Because we inherited it from England and from the colonies. Why did they have it? Because society was of different classes and each chamber represented a class. We are now all of one class and have no such reason. Second, because it was at first believed that one branch would prove a check and balance on the other. Seldom has this proved true in practice. Far more frequently has one chamber hid behind the other, shifted the responsibility for a bad act to the other. Hundreds of times has an unwieldy two-chambered legislature passed acts that could never have passed had it been composed of a few trained, mature men conscious that they were acting in the limelight of the public gaze. This matter will be debated before the Ohio convention.

#### JURY VERDICTS IN CIVIL CASES

The third of these fundamentals was an attack on the jury system with its thousand years of sacred tradition. The proposal was that in civil cases a three-fourths' majority of a jury may render the verdict. This has been adopted in some form in several States—and by the Ohio convention. It chanced that this proposal was the first to be reported out of committee. It came before the convention in the second week in February and after five hours of solid debate (which Judge Peck pronounced equal to any debate he ever heard) it passed by a large majority. It is known as the Elson Proposal and the writer of this article is gratified that he was instrumental in helping to bring about this vital change that will mean so much in the future jurisprudence of Ohio. The subject will come up again, for final reading, but it is not

probable that this decision of the convention will be disturbed.

This debate was able and exhaustive and a few of the main points will doubtless interest the reader. The opponents of the change were not numerous, but they fought ably and valiantly. After it was decided not to include criminal cases, their chief argument lay in the hoary age of the jury system in its present form. "What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us." Why trample on the traditions of the past? Who are we that we should disturb this ancient institution which has come down inviolate through the ages? It was also argued by able jurists that they had seldom or never known of an instance of a jury being tampered with.

The opposite side was aggressive from the first. It was agreed that the jury system is perhaps the most important single contribution of the British nation to the world of human government. But, if defective, why forever suffer annoyance from its weak points merely because it has been long in use unchanged? One delegate gave an elaborate history of the jury system from far back in Anglo-Saxon-Norman days when it displaced the Ordeal and the fiat of tyrannical kings. He showed how the conditions of the times made a unanimous verdict necessary and that after those conditions had passed away the custom remained and so had continued in England and America to this day. Germany, and nearly all the continental countries of Europe, in adopting the English jury system, abandoned this feature and do not require a unanimous verdict, even in criminal cases.

The most telling argument, however, lay in the citing of instances of jury bribing. It was shown that in a certain big city a great traction company had an organization for the sole purpose of fixing jurors to serve in damage suits against the company. A poor widow, for example, whose husband is killed by defective machinery in a factory while attending his duties, seeks redress in the courts. Is it fair that she must secure twelve men to give her a verdict while the corporation, with but one man, can "hang" the jury and render the trial abortive?

A yea-and-nay vote was taken at the close of the debate and the measure was carried by a great majority—94 to 11. This innovation has attracted the favorable comment of the press, not only in Ohio, but throughout the country. Three members of the Supreme Court of New York have put themselves on record in approval of this action of the Ohio convention.

# THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM

BY THOMAS SELTZER

**I**N every part of the world we see the Socialist parties active in all important reforms for the improvement of the condition of the people. In Germany, under the name of immediate demands, they work for a graduated income tax, against excessive armaments, oppressive taxation and increased cost of living, against imperialism, and for the advancement of the peace of the world. In France they fight the battles for justice in the Dreyfus case, for the separation of State and Church and for the general amelioration of the lot of the workers. In Belgium the Socialists build with the best art of the country a magnificent temple of Labor, the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels, and through the People's University give the workingmen an opportunity to widen their horizons by a knowledge of science, literature and art; they organize a wonderful system of co-operative establishments, which by largely abolishing the middlemen's profit raises the standard of the workingman's life; and they are now forcing the liberals to coöperate with them in the struggle to obtain full manhood suffrage.

## THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

Germany has always led in the Socialist movement of the world, and until recently it seemed impossible for any other Socialist party even to approach it in power. But of late the remarkable spread of Socialist sentiment in the United States, the steady and rapid growth of the Socialist organization, its many municipal victories piling one upon the other in the brief space of two years, the increasing number of Socialist representatives in the State legislatures, and finally the appearance of the Red Specter in Congress itself seemed to augur such a phenomenal landslide that for a moment it was thought American Socialism would outstrip the German Social Democracy. Then came the German election of January, 1912, giving the Socialists 110 members in the Reichstag and more than four million and a quarter votes. And the American Socialists rejoiced that their prospects of leadership were made more difficult than ever.

The real strength of the German party is

far greater than its representation in the Reichstag. With the election districts properly apportioned the German parliament would now have 212 Socialist members instead of 110. The discrepancies in proportional representation are so great that equal suffrage in Germany is practically no more than a myth. Thus, for example, in the last election the Conservatives returned seventeen delegates to the Reichstag with a total vote of 186,213, while in one district the Socialists elected but one delegate with a vote of 162,717, almost as large as that of all the seventeen Conservative districts combined.

The history of the German Social Democracy has been one uninterrupted, continuous growth since its birth in 1875 when the Lassallians and the Marxists united. So steady and unswerving has been its purpose, so uniformly has it proceeded from one victory to the other, so futile have proved all the direct attacks and stratagems of its enemies that in contemplating it one wonders whether one is in the presence of the movements and actions of men of flesh and blood or in the presence of some inexorable natural phenomenon.

With eagle eye the Social Democracy watches all the passing events, ready to jump into the fray and seize every advantage and follow it up. It tests everything with the touchstone of its ultimate goal and thus, as a general rule, escapes the danger of mistaking a quick temporary advantage for a permanent gain and of choosing the former in preference to the latter. In this way, with no actual majority in city or state it has brought about more effective popular reforms than in any other country. Its method has been to exert unceasing pressure on the other parties. And its unwearying criticism has compelled respect because the people have given it the stamp of their approval in each succeeding election. "By increasing your membership you can make more noise in the Reichstag, that is all," was the taunt the government group aimed at the Socialists upon their latest victory. But long experience has taught the German Socialists the virtue residing in their noise, and they calmly replied: "We will make a noise. It will



force the government to grant the people the power to make the laws in Germany."

By a queer irony of fate the German Empire, which boasts of the most splendidly equipped and disciplined military army in Europe, is also the home of the best disciplined and organized army of Social Democrats, with a camp in each city, town and center of population, meeting at fixed intervals to transact business and finance the party from the regular dues paid mostly by wage workers. At the national congress of Jena, it furnished statistics of its strength. It had 530,000 members in 1907; 587,000 in 1908, 633,000 in 1909, 722,000 in 1910; and 836,000 in 1911. It has an annual income of about \$275,000.

This political army is buttressed by a vast organization of labor unions almost equal in strength to the British trades-unions. Unlike the American trades-unions the German unions are thoroughly permeated by the Socialist spirit, are based on collectivist principles and are so closely affiliated with the political movement that they may be relied upon in any emergency to throw all their strength into the Socialist party. In 1909 their number had grown to 1,852,000, their receipts to \$12,000,000.

There are doctrinal divisions among the Socialists of the Fatherland. How could it be otherwise among Germans who must get down to first principles, to the philosophy of the thing, even before they decide to drink a glass of beer. Despite their fusion thirty-seven years ago, the two currents, Lassallianism and Marxism, still run strong alongside each other, and recently another tendency was added, the revisionism of Bernstein. But the hard practical sense of the German always rises superior to the clash of theories, and when the call for action sounds, they march united, each man inspired by the one great aim, the overthrow of capitalism and the ushering in of the Social Democracy.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF GERMAN SOCIALISM

There is no doubt that German Socialism is at least as revolutionary as American Socialism. In Germany itself this is a fact very well understood by both sides. Before the by elections the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in a last effort to prevent the stampede toward Socialism raised the warning that Socialists believe in the politics of "the class struggle, the Social Revolution and the brotherhood of nations." The Socialists made no attempt to deny it. On the con-

trary, in the face of the by-elections still to be held, they declared through Kautsky, one of their leaders, that they plead guilty to the charge. It is this very sort of politics, he said, that had developed their extraordinary strength at the last election.

Perhaps the most cogent testimony to the revolutionism of the German Social Democracy is that supplied by Hervé. Hervé is a fiery French revolutionist now serving a term of imprisonment for his energetic fight against militarism. He is a strong believer in mass action and rather contemptuous of parliamentarism. At one of the International Socialist Congresses he taunted the German party with being nothing but a "voting and counting machine." But their magnificent display of power last January satisfied even his impatient revolutionary heart, and he now pays his respects to the German party. In his organ *La Guerre Sociale* he admits that its method of opening the road to the Social Revolution is more effective than the French labor movement. "I see now," he says, "that this machine can be turned against the Kaiser and his retinue and I wish we had as effective a machine in France. The heavy battalions of the German Social Democracy march methodically forward, they make no mistakes, no false maneuvers, and occupy city after city, village after village. They are preparing a new Sedan for the Kaiser, a new republic for the Germans. And the Kaiser knows it. The German victory is not only a triumph for German liberty but also for the peace of the world. . . . So I am beginning to ask myself whether from the revolutionary point of view we in France with our big phrases of insurrection, direct action and sabotage are not mere children beside the German voting Socialists."

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Universal suffrage is still a very important issue in many European states. The fight for it is carried on almost exclusively by the Socialists, and in some countries they have met with signal success. The latest victory gained by them was in Sweden. The methods employed there were almost the same as those which won the popular vote for Austria. The Socialists frightened the lukewarm Liberals and even the Conservatives into action. They carried on incessant agitation, and as a last resort made use of the general strike. In Austria the immediate result of the granting of the suffrage in 1906 was an increase of the Socialist representa-

tion in parliament from eleven to eighty-seven. In Sweden in the recent election they augmented their representation in the Riksdag from thirty-five to sixty-four and helped to elect several Liberals besides.

The problems and conditions springing from the struggle for more thoroughly democratic institutions which the Socialists in some countries of Europe still have to face, do not exist for us in the United States. On the other hand, the many years of Socialist activity in Europe in advance of the United States have brought about certain social and industrial legislation and reforms still considered revolutionary in this country. It is upon the introduction of these reforms that the American Socialists are now bending all their energies. Victor Berger, the lone Socialist in Congress, introduced a very moderate bill for pensioning workmen. He did it as a mere propaganda measure knowing it would not yet be passed—not with one Socialist Congressman. Contrast this with the situation in Europe. In Germany every workman earning less than five hundred dollars must be insured not only against old age but also against accident and sickness. Laws of a similar kind have been passed in France, Belgium, Italy, Austria and, more recently, in England. Speaking of the effect of the compulsory insurance law in Germany, Hunter says:

One no longer finds broken-down workmen suffering from tuberculosis, chronic rheumatism, or other forms of invalidism, or maimed and injured so as to be incapable of further labor, or weary and exhausted veterans, still forced to maintain a tragic and futile struggle to earn the necessities of life. To all these unfortunates, pensions are granted at a cost of over \$100,000,000 a year.

Recently the German Socialists have been endeavoring to improve the compulsory insurance law with a growing chance of success since their remarkable victory at the polls in last January.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN EUROPE

In all other forms of labor legislation Europe, from the Socialist point of view, is far in advance of the United States. Most European countries have Socialistic laws for the protection of workmen in mines, factories and workshops, for effective sanitary regulations, for the prevention of female employment in trades particularly injurious to women. There is persistent agitation to raise the age at which children may begin to work to fourteen and to provide for a half-day at work and a half-day at school between

the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The labor laws are as a rule actually enforced, the result, it is said, largely of the watchfulness of the Socialists.

The Socialist administrations of Milwaukee, Schenectady, and the various other American cities that have turned "red" within the last two years will have to grapple with problems many of which were solved by the Socialists in hundreds of European municipalities twenty years ago. Municipal gas, electric, and telephone service, municipal car-lines, laundries, slaughter-houses, and lunch-rooms for school children, are common in Socialistic cities. Municipalities are acquiring more and more land for the building of houses and renting them directly to the poorer classes, thus doing away with land speculation and the unearned increment. This movement is particularly vigorous in Germany, where the Socialists have succeeded in wiping out the worst slums that disgraced Europe, not through direct legislation of their own, but through the pressure they brought to bear upon the other parties. For in Germany the election laws are such that with few exceptions, the Socialists are unable to elect their tickets even in cities in which they are overwhelmingly in the majority. Another method adopted by the German party of discouraging speculation in real estate is by taxing transfers and sales of land.

#### GROWING SOLIDARITY OF SOCIALIST PARTIES

Perhaps the most significant move in the direction toward Socialism is the pensioning of the unemployed, a radical Socialist measure gradually making its way throughout Europe and already in full working force notably in certain cities of Belgium and France. Half of the fund is supplied by the workmen, half by the municipality. In France even the national chamber has voted subventions to the fund.

With their rapid growth all over the world the Socialist parties have manifested a marked tendency to heal the breaches between the various factions in their ranks, which differ on certain points of theory. Even where they still cling to their particular theoretical tenets, they find it easy to unite in practice. The American and German parties have been comparatively free from dissensions. The French parties, with the exception of the Independent Socialists, united in 1903; but the combined forces still have to contend against the Syndicalists, who believe in

direct action rather than political action. In England there has been a wide gap between the Social Democratic Federation, the extreme Marxian wing, and the Independent Labor party, which so far has supplied the chief Socialist strength and is closely affiliated with the trades-union bodies. An attempt at reorganization, however, is being made. The Federation, part of the Independent Labor party and several independent groups, such as that under the leadership of Grayson and the Clarion Scouts, have united under the name of the British Socialist party. Since the Independent Labor party, spurred on by the growing unrest among the British laborers, is tending more and more toward the left, and since the Federation has signified its desire to surrender its impossible policy by merging in the British Socialist party, the day when England will have one united Socialist party does not seem remote. As for the Fabians, they will probably continue to do valiant service for Socialism by attracting attention with their brilliant sallies, but they will never stoop to so prosaic a procedure, which utterly lacks originality and has become vulgarly common, as to join a regular Socialist party. In Canada, also, where the Socialist party showed increased strength in the last election, its two wings, the eastern

and the western, have just united into one solid body.

Turning to Southern Europe we see in the new little republic of Portugal, and in Spain, with its revolutionary and industrial struggles, the Socialist parties stirred to new activity. In Switzerland, Socialism has a national representation of nine with a vote entitling it to about three times that number. The Italian party is at present torn by various factions. It is confronted, moreover, by a Syndicalist movement as strong as that of France and marked by the same distrust of parliamentary methods, the same strong leanings toward the general strike and direct action. In the extreme East we see the Socialists of Greece, the Balkan States and Turkey preparing to hold a united congress in Constantinople for the purpose of presenting a solid front against any attempt upon the integrity of Turkey.

Even in the far East, on the continent of Asia, in India, China, and Japan, Socialism is raising its head threateningly. The Japanese party, strictly Marxian in its tenets, has had a severe tussle with the authorities since its organization in 1901. Recently the Mikado's government crowned it with martyrdom by executing some of its leaders.

#### THE STRENGTH OF POLITICAL SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD

COUNTRY	YEAR	VOTE	SEATS		PERCENTAGE OF SEATS
			Total	SECOND HOUSE Socialist	
Germany	1912	4,250,000 <sup>1</sup>	397	110 <sup>2</sup>	27.71
France	1910	1,106,047	584	76 <sup>3</sup>	13.01
Austria	1911	1,060,000	516	82	15.31
Australia	1910	669,681	75	44 <sup>4</sup>	58.66
United States	1910	641,789 <sup>5</sup>	391	1 <sup>6</sup>	.25
Belgium	1910	483,241	166	35 <sup>7</sup>	21.08
Great Britain	1910	373,645 <sup>8</sup>	670	42	6.27
Italy	1909	338,885	508	43	8.46
Sweden	1911	170,299	165	64 <sup>9</sup>	38.79
Finland	1911	321,000	200	87	43.50
Switzerland	1911	100,000	170	9	5.29
Denmark	1910	98,721	114	24 <sup>10</sup>	21.06
Norway	1907	90,000	123	11	8.94
Holland	1909	82,494	100	7	7.00
Spain	1910	40,000	404	1	.25
Bulgaria	1911	13,000	189	1 <sup>11</sup>	.52
Argentina	1908	5,000	120	—	—
Servia	1908	3,056	160	1	.62
Russia	1906	—	442	17	3.82
Greece	1910	—	207	4	1.93
Luxemburg	1909	—	48	10	20.89
Turkey	1908	—	196	6	3.06

<sup>1</sup> 35 per cent. of total electorate.

<sup>2</sup> In addition, 194 Socialist representatives in the State Legislatures.

<sup>3</sup> The French Chamber has also 21 Independent Socialists.

<sup>4</sup> Laborites not Socialists. The Labor party in Australia leans strongly toward Socialism. It also has a majority in the Senate, 23 out of 36.

<sup>5</sup> Socialist party 607,674, Socialist Labor party 34,115.

<sup>6</sup> Also 23 representatives in 5 legislatures.

<sup>7</sup> Also 7 senators.

<sup>8</sup> Independent Labor party 370,802, Social Democratic Federation 2843.

<sup>9</sup> Also 4 senators.

<sup>10</sup> Also 4 senators.

<sup>11</sup> Also 5 Socialists elected through a coalition with a peasant party.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES

IN recent years the American periodical press has devoted a steadily increasing proportion of space to the treatment of political topics. Discussion of political and economic problems now goes on so continuously in the pages of our magazines that the approach of a Presidential campaign causes no very marked change in program. With few exceptions, the magazines have adapted their editorial policies to the demands of their readers and have not lagged behind the daily newspaper in providing articles that have a direct bearing on current public movements, social, economic, and political.

Yet it is only a few years since a veteran magazine editor declared that no magazine appealing for a general circulation in this country could enter the domain of politics! So great has been the change of view on the part of those who direct the policies of our leading periodicals that some of them would now assent without question to the very reverse of this veteran editor's proposition. They would say that no magazine can now hope for a general circulation in this country that does not in some way concern itself with current politics. The active support that some of the popular periodicals have given to the Progressive movement during the past four years is an instance in point. In the not distant past, such a thing would have been inconceivable.

As the quadrennial campaign draws near, the personalities of the potential candidates bulk large in the pages of the leading periodicals. The magazine searchlight is turned on, and the party leader who can escape the pitiless revelation of half-forgotten peccadillos is fortunate indeed. In these days every prospective candidate knows full well that his sins will find him out. It is not only the "muck-raking" magazine that the politician has to dread. When the dignified pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* are opened to so rigorous an examination of a man's official record as that to which President Taft is subjected in the February number, the aspiring candidate of lesser fame may well take heed.

The writer of the *Atlantic* article (which appears unsigned) approaches his task in a kindly spirit. He pays an evidently sincere tribute to the President's "unaffected sim-

plicity and kindness, his genial face, which is the outward sign of an inward and spiritual grace, the magnanimity and charity of the man." He declares his full belief in Mr. Taft's unpretentious and genuine democracy. He gives him credit also for the possession of courage, two conspicuous instances of the latter quality being his signing of the Canadian reciprocity agreement and his advocacy of the arbitration treaties.

It is in the rôle of politician that Mr. Taft has made his most serious mistakes, in the opinion of his friends. The *Atlantic* writer admits that such a charge against a statesman may be interpreted as praise, but he contends that when such a man feels compelled to take a hand in the political game he ought not to be a bungler at it; "and that, unfortunately, Mr. Taft has more than once shown himself."

When he has to confess a mistake or change a policy, he does it with a rude jar that brings the country up standing. The famous Norton letter about patronage was one of those gratuitous and ghastly blunders that make the flesh creep. No, in all such ways, it must be conceded that Mr. Taft is no politician. And it is to be feared that he is not, either, in the higher sense in which a President who is at once leader of his party and spokesman of the nation ought to be, an excellent politician.

He ought, for example, to have a sure instinct for what will hit the country between wind and water. He should be sagacious enough to know at a glance what sentiments or measures will "go," and what will fly back like boomerangs. Mr. Taft has given few evidences of having that kind of divining rod in his possession. Quite the contrary, he has frequently appeared blissfully ignorant of the fated popular effect of what he was doing or urging. Lord North said of a certain bill laid before the ministers: "I don't know what you call this, but it ought to be named a bill to knock up this government." The Payne-Aldrich tariff was obviously a bill of that description, and yet the President did not discover that it was—did not, that is, until too late. He light-heartedly played with the political dynamite that had been placed in his hands, and was all unaware until the explosion came. Then, indeed, he manfully set about endeavoring to repair the damage. But the wound inflicted upon his own repute for sound judgment was then past healing. He had given his fellow citizens a test of his political sagacity, and, after that, nothing could make them believe that he really understood them. This, in a political leader, was worse than a crime.

In the President's writings as a whole the *Atlantic* critic finds little movement and

slight facility of expression. This lack, he says, is not wholly a question of style. "Grover Cleveland was also a lumbering writer, with a legal pen, but somehow intense convictions and beating energy seemed often to be conveyed by his clumsy expressions. We rarely catch this in Mr. Taft. His party long since ceased to look to him for piquant phrases or words that are half battles."

President Taft can pass ably upon men's arguments, but their hearts he frequently shows that he is unable to read. "He seems often to stand like one puzzled by the passions of his fellow citizens. Their interests he thinks he can perceive, and their reasonings he can analyze; but when they show that they are guided by deep feeling, he appears baffled. Yet the impetuous part of human nature a public man must be able to understand and to get into touch with, even if he does not exemplify it himself, or else he will never do the work of an inspiring leader. It is in such knowledge of men and times and circumstances, as in prescient and interpreting imagination, with a capacity to take fire and to set on fire, that Mr. Taft is most wanting."

In concluding his article this writer finds that psychologically the President "has failed to hit it off with his fellow countrymen, and that is far more disastrous to a public leader than to have made a botch of it politically. It is far too early, and it would be much too cruel, to say that Mr. Taft has had the misfortune, in Bacon's phrase, of attending the funeral of his own reputation, but he would be the first to agree that the high hopes (he himself would call them exaggerated hopes) which the people had of his presidency have not been met. Allowing as much as in fairness should be allowed for the unforeseeable mischances of politics, something of fault and failing in the President himself remains."

#### Underwood, a New Leader from the New South

Reviewing in *McClure's* the career of the Democratic House leader, Oscar W. Underwood, Mr. Burton J. Hendrick apparently finds his assignment an entirely agreeable one, and in his appreciative words concerning this new type of Southern statesman he clearly reflects a widespread popular conception of the man; for the country, it must be admitted, is pleased with Mr. Underwood, and in the main seems quite well satisfied with the way he has managed the business of Congress thus far.

Beyond question, this Democratic House differs from all its predecessors, and this

Democratic majority differs from all earlier Democratic majorities within the memory of the present generation. It has a new representative character, and it has achieved harmony and efficiency as a legislative machine. The man chiefly responsible for this transformation is the gentleman from the Birmingham district of Alabama. Mr. Hendrick tells us that this leader, who a year ago was hardly known outside of legislative circles in Washington, might be taken for a prosperous Wall Street broker more readily than for what he really is, a Southern Democratic Congressman who has risen to the leadership of his party after eighteen years' service in the House.

There is little about Chairman Underwood that suggests the old-fashioned Southern statesman. He does not clothe himself in the traditional habiliments of public life in the South — the long-skirted black coat, the soft slouch hat, the white expanse of shirt bosom, and the black string necktie. Instead, he wears a carefully pressed "business suit" of the latest fashion; and the general atmosphere, from the closely matted and parted brown hair, the smooth-shaven face, the keen hazel eyes, to the neatly shod feet, is one of orderliness and modernity.

Even when Mr. Underwood speaks, there are few suggestions of the South. Only the faintest traces of the Southern accent remain; and he never indulges in the high-flown speechifying for which Southern leaders were once distinguished. Mr. Underwood's remarks are as concise, as directly to the point, as well brushed as his clothes; he never gets excited, never pitches his voice in a high key; instead of florid figures and "oratory," he simply gives the House facts, statistics, schedules, arguments, legislative and economic history. In his office, at the headquarters of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Underwood is likewise the easy, compact, direct, and approachable business man. There are no accumulations of papers and no dust upon his mahogany; every book, every document, every chair is in its appropriate place. Mr. Underwood, during his working hours, is never hurried, never disengaged; he always has plenty of time to discuss public matters, but he does it concisely, methodically, without telling stories or indulging in small talk.

Mr. Hendrick looks upon Chariman Underwood as "an invaluable link between the North and the South"; for while the Underwood family is a Southern family, it has been a family with Unionist and anti-slavery opinions, and while the old contentions have passed into oblivion, the son, by his associations and record, is a brilliant representative of the new South.

#### Governor Harmon on Special Privilege

The *Outlook* publishes an authorized interview with Gov. Judson Harmon of Ohio. After recalling the fact that 552,000 citizens

of Ohio had voted for him at the last election, the Governor exclaimed:

"Think what that means! More than half a million in my own State said to me, 'Harmon, we take you at your word. We believe that if we put you in the Governorship you will do the best you can for everybody in Ohio, big and little, rich and poor, treating everybody alike, and that's what we want.'"

The Governor straightened up and his gray eyes snapped. "Oh, I tell you," he exclaimed, "the people of this country are tired of special privilege, and they're just as tired of it for the little chap as for the big fellow. There's a lot of prating about special privilege for the big fellow, but once you get in a place like this you find out that there are a lot of little fellows who want special privileges for themselves, and they come to you to get them. And right there is where the call of the people—the whole people of the State, not just those who may have happened to vote for you—comes in; there's where public office is a public trust as well as in the big cases.

"The people want men in office whom they can trust not to do more for one than for another. They want to feel that there are none who can go to the Governor and by special appeal get a favor which others do not enjoy. That is the personal application of special privilege, and avoiding it is the hardest thing a man in office has to do. But that is just what he is elected to do, and it is the call of the people that gives him the inspiration to face his task and fulfill his duty to the uttermost."

### The South's Representation in Republican Conventions

No Republican who takes an interest in the national conventions of his party should fail to read Judson C. Welliver's article in *Munsey's* for February on the methods by which the Republican delegations from the Southern States are secured.

The first fact that Mr. Welliver encountered in the prosecution of his researches was that about half the votes necessary to control the Republican party in a national convention represent the political machines of eleven Southern States, no one of which has cast an electoral vote for a Republican Presidential candidate since 1876.

What kind of people constitute these machines in the Southern States? Mr. Welliver says that they are government officials almost exclusively, that the machines themselves are nothing but "brokerage corporations dealing in federal patronage" and that they are kept alive for no other purpose than to deal in these offices.

In the Republican National Convention of 1908 there were 980 delegates; majority necessary to do business, 491. The eleven Southern States sent 240 delegates.

In the national convention of the present

year there will probably be 1072 delegates, requiring 537 to control. The same Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—will have 252 delegates.

How this arrangement works out in practice was well illustrated in 1892, when all the Southern delegates supported President Harrison for renomination against opposition that came from Northern States in which the electoral votes must be secured if the party was to win. Harrison was made the party's candidate; defeat at the polls followed.

To-day a parallel situation is presented. Mr. Taft controls the Southern machinery, because he has the giving of the jobs. Without effort or argument, without thought of issues, merits, or deserts, his managers expect the South to line up with half the votes needed to nominate him. If they can get one-third of the delegates from States that have even a chance to go Republican in the election, they can force his renomination. It is the 1892 situation in exact replica.

This condition, fraught with menace to-day, as it has been fruitful of disaster in the past, arises from the inequitable, archaic, indefensible method of apportioning representation in the national convention. Every State is entitled to twice as many delegates as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. There are no exceptions. There is no effort to distribute delegates in proportion to the party strength in different States; no thought of making representation *represent*.

South Carolina cast in 1908 just 3963 votes for Mr. Taft. But for the office-holders who maintain the pretense of organization as an excuse for claiming the offices, there would be no Republican party in the State. Yet South Carolina has two Senators and seven Representatives in Congress; therefore it sends eighteen delegates to the Republican convention.

Connecticut, which cast 112,815 votes for Taft in 1908, will have only fourteen votes in next year's convention. Fewer than four thousand Republicans in South Carolina have more to do with naming a candidate than 112,815 in Connecticut. Yet the Connecticut Republicans are real Republicans, with something to contribute to the party, while the South Carolina Republicans have nothing to give to the party, but *everything to get from it*.

In the convention of 1908, a motion to change the basis of representation so as to reduce the representation of the Southern States came within a few votes of adoption. In the convention of 1912, there will be a renewal of the same effort. There is little doubt that the reform would win if the full truth about the Southern Republican machines were understood by the public—if the sordid, degrading facts were all made plain.

Mr. Welliver's comparison of the list of delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1908 with the "Official Register" of government employees shows that about 80 per cent. of the delegates held government

### President's Address

## AMERICAN DISPARAGEMENT OF THE JAPANESE

ONE of the most remarkable and interesting features of the present time is the attitude of the American public toward the Japanese. This attitude is a result of the commercial success of the Japanese in the United States. The Japanese have been successful in their business, and this success has led to a widespread belief that the Japanese are a superior race. This belief is based on a number of factors, including the fact that the Japanese have been successful in their business, and that they have been successful in their military and naval efforts. This belief is also based on the fact that the Japanese have been successful in their scientific and technological efforts. This belief is a result of the fact that the Japanese have been successful in their business, and that they have been successful in their military and naval efforts. This belief is also based on the fact that the Japanese have been successful in their scientific and technological efforts.

As a representative of such honorable and successful enterprises like those of President Jordan, Mr. Jordan in his address at Clark University, printed in the *Popular Science Monthly*, dwells on the widest circulation. As to the origin of these misrepresentations concerning Japan, he says:

After the Russian War, when America's attitude of Russia was believed to be one of aggression, a series of anti-Japanese articles were published in various American newspapers. Who wrote these articles and who paid for them I do not know, but their various half-truths had an unfavorable effect on public opinion. All sorts of half-truths were revived and followed in

the same way with those "higher" authorities. The story of Mayor Hiram - succession right to break the hold of the machine in Cincinnati's government is a most sufficiently exciting to make a good story. His campaign last fall for the mayoralty was a success, though it was by the President of the United States, who is a Cincinnati man, who resulted in the complete triumph of the machine element and the retirement of a season at least of Cox and his associates. Mr. Turner's article tells how this was achieved.

public opinion, as represented in the press, is hostile to Japan. Regarding the question of Japanese immigration to Hawaii and San Francisco, he remarks:

The Japanese are not spontaneously colonists. They will go to other lands for study or for trade or for higher wages. But they go with the hope to return. The Japs went to Hawaii solely under the incentive of higher wages. When Hawaii was annexed by the United States the shackles of their wages were thrown off and the same impulse of higher wages carried them on to San Francisco, Seattle and Vancouver.

There was and is a very great demand for Japanese men among the orchardists of California. No other labor has been adequate and available and it is not easy to see what the fruit interests are to do without Japanese help. In this work the European laborer has scarcely entered into competition. A large portion of the Japanese laborers avoided the orchards and established themselves in the cities where, as laundrymen, restaurant keepers, draymen, carpenters and the like, they entered thus into competition with the American laborers, the most of whom in San Francisco were recent immigrants from Europe.

In this condition of affairs, a definite agreement was made with the Katsura Ministry of Japan, that no passports for America were to be issued to Japanese laborers, that the responsibility for discrimination should rest with Japan, and that all holders of Japanese passports should be admitted without question. This agreement has been loyally and rigidly kept by Japan.

In reference to "the ancient falsehood that Japanese banks employ Chinese tellers because they cannot trust their own people," President Jordan observes: "Of all the banks in Japan only one, The Yokohama Specie Bank, which does a large Chinese business, has ever had a Chinese employee."

In the San Francisco "school affair," which was "unfortunate, although in itself of no significance whatever," Dr. Jordan is

President Jordan deals with certain speculations concerning which American



not certain that the sending of Japanese children to the "Oriental School" was a violation of the treaty; but, whether or no, he considers it to have been a mistake to have made the matter one of international diplomacy.

The extravagance of the press in both nations stirred up all the latent partisanship in both races involved. On the one hand the injuries to the Japanese children were grossly exaggerated. On the other hand, gratuitous slanders were invented to justify the action of the school board. This action was finally rescinded at the request of the President of the United States, who uttered at the same time a sharp reprimand to the people of California.

The net result of the whole affair was to alienate sympathy from Japan.

Last year the troublesome "fur seal" question was settled by treaty with Russia, Japan, Canada, and the United States; and "there is not now a single cloud above

the official horizon as between the United States and Japan." The Japanese are fond of saying: "The Pacific Ocean unites our nations. It does not separate." Naturally, President Jordan is severe upon the purveyor of war rumors.

War scares are heard the world over. The world over they are set going by wicked men for evil purposes. In general the design of purveyors of international slanders is to promote orders for guns, powder and warships. There are other mischief makers, who hope to fish in troubled waters . . . Japan recognizes the United States as her nearest neighbor among western nations, her best customer and most steadfast friend. Her own ambitions and interest lie in the restoration of Korea, the safeguarding of her investments in Manchuria and in the part she must play in the unforetold future of China. For her own affairs she needs every yen she can raise by any means for the next half century. For the future greatness of Japan depends on the return of "the old peace with velvet-sandalled feet," which made her the nation she is to-day.

## IS WAR ESSENTIAL TO HEROISM?

THE late Professor William James wrote, a few months before his death, a remarkable monograph which he entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War," and in which, while admitting that war was "absurd and impossible from its own monstrosity," he practically maintained the necessity of providing an equivalent for war after war itself should have become a thing of the past, the assumption being that the closing of "the supreme theater [war] of human strenuousness" would mean the banishment of the strenuous or the heroic from human life. This assumption of Professor James—shared, it may be added, by many other prominent writers—is challenged, in the February *Forum*, by General H. M. Chittenden, who contends that when Professor James refers to the theater of war as the "supreme" one of human heroism, he "should, in justice, refer to that other theater, far more important, which never can be wholly closed." For the heroic quality is "latent in human nature. War cannot create, nor peace destroy it. It is there awaiting its opportunity. Life may pass without such opportunity even once presenting itself; but that does not negative its presence." The discussion, interesting in itself, by reason of the subject, is rendered additionally so by the fact that, on one hand, we have the professor, the man of peace, arguing for the practical necessity of war, and, on the other, the soldier advocating the claims of peace.

General Chittenden posits two conditions, omitting incidental ones, as essential to any act of heroism: "the motive for the act must be good, worthy, or noble; and the act must involve voluntary self-sacrifice."

In other words, the hero gives up, or offers to give up, or voluntarily risks the loss of, something dear to himself for the accomplishment of what he believes to be a worthy purpose. While heroism, in its deeper meaning, is properly an attribute of moral courage, it is universally associated in the popular mind with physical courage. This is very natural and in a sense very just, for its ultimate expression is sacrifice of life. . . . "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." And so, the world over and in all ages, a willingness to give up one's life . . . has commanded the homage and admiration of men.

Now, as General Chittenden himself has described it, war is "the supreme catastrophe to human life." The soldier going to battle "goes where the insurance companies will not follow him." Those who go away to the dangers of sickness, exposure, fatigue, to say nothing of fighting itself, "are invested by their neighbors with an aroma of heroism of which nothing but cowardice or dishonor can ever thereafter deprive them." But if the halo of heroism which rests upon a soldier's life be drawn aside, it will be found that in general the two conditions, or one or other of them, of heroism as set forth above, are lacking. "Wars of the Panama Canal sort, not Gravelotte or Port Arthur, are admirable."

So far as he [the individual soldier] serves unwillingly or under compulsion, as is the case with the great majority in most wars of long duration, the element of *voluntary* self-sacrifice is lacking. Such service may entitle him to sympathy and lasting consideration from his government, but it has not the heroic quality. . . . To such service the term "heroic" cannot be applied in its true sense, as it can, for instance, to the conduct of an officer who stands by his ship and goes down with her to save others when he might have saved himself.

But while every deed in war is written large on the page of history, the "humbler and quieter sphere of private life affords even more and keener opportunities for the display of true heroism."

The physician or nurse who voluntarily goes into a plague-stricken district, the miner who braves the firedamp to rescue his imprisoned fellows, the crew who stand at their posts while their vessel is sinking, the fireman who scales a tottering wall to save a human life, the patrolman who enters a den of desperadoes at imminent personal risk . . . is as much entitled to the commendation of heroism as a soldier who does his duty in war can possibly be.

The most striking feature of General Chittenden's paper is perhaps the somewhat novel point made by him, that heroism is no longer to be confined to the individual, but is applicable to the state as a whole. "There is work on a grand scale worthy of the highest devotion of a nation's efforts. There are battles to be fought—with nature and with man—not less important than the battles of old, though their fields of action may not be baptized in men's blood." As a concrete example is cited our war of 1898, whose purpose "was wholly altruistic." The general goes on to say:

Since that time we have undertaken another war—for it is not a violent stretch of fancy to

apply this term to the conquest of Panama. It is a war against the obstacles of nature, against disease and pestilence, its purpose truly national and worthy, and its magnitude beyond the resources of any lesser agency than the government. Its cost is about the same as what the Spanish War would have cost, if managed on an efficient basis. The number of men, with the length of time engaged, make a greater amount of service than the armed struggle required.

Now while these two great and necessary tasks fell to our nation to accomplish, the second is by far the more valuable and inspiring as an example for the future. It is constructive without involving destruction. Instead of accomplishing a work through the agency of armed conflict with all its debasing accompaniments, it proceeds on exactly the opposite principle. There is greater efficiency, equal earnestness and devotion, a higher moral tone, and with it all a combination of effort which the most thoroughly organized military movement would find it difficult to surpass. . . . Incidentally, and perhaps most important of all, is the definite proof which this enterprise furnishes that government—the agency of a people acting collectively—can grapple with great civil problems as efficiently as with military. As an object lesson in many ways it stands foremost among the mighty achievements of history. As an example of national heroism—the making of a great sacrifice to accomplish a worthy purpose—it may rank with the most righteous wars.

This superb example of national effort should become a mighty bulwark of the peace cause, for it effectually refutes the militarist claim that without war real concentration of national energy is impossible.

The conquest of the evil side of human nature in all its public phases, the myriad legions of graft, social problems of tremendous magnitude,—all these await the earnest energy of minds now devoted to the problems of war. The true age of heroism "will not be that of Alexander or Cæsar, or Napoleon," but one in which the virtues of militarism will find a higher expression, while its vices, especially the horrors of war, will be laid aside.

## THE CHURCHES' NEED OF THE EFFICIENCY ENGINEER

HUXLEY once characterized science as "trained and organized common sense." Recently the business man is having his common sense organized and trained to work in ways similar to those of science. And beyond the field of business into which the scientific method is now pressing, writes the Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Dike in the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago), lies still another which it must of necessity soon enter. Dr. Dike refers to "that presented by the organization and work of churches, especially those of the

more independent type, but in some degree all of them; at least all the Protestant churches." He adds:

The scientific method has long been at work in biblical study and theology, stimulated and compelled anew by the influence of the evolutionary theory, . . . but, strange to say, it has made little progress in the kindred study of church organization. . . . But no one who reflects on the subject can fail to see that the same motives that have driven us to a large use of the scientific method in matters of religious thought will inevitably compel us to take it with us into the problems of practical

religious work. In fact this has already taken place to some extent in general religious work outside the local church organizations. The contention of this paper is that it must take place within the local churches themselves.

In illustration of the existing need, and as fairly representing the condition of the organization of the greater part of the churches of considerable size in more than one denomination and to some extent the situation in most Christian bodies in the more progressive parts of the country, Dr. Dike cites from a report actually made to a Congregational church "in a more than usually intelligent community." This report said in part:

Let us look at the composition and constitution of this church. It has a pastor, a board of deacons, a clerk, a treasurer, three committees of its own and two joint committees with the ecclesiastical society. Within the last few years it has had connected with it fifteen or more different organizations and societies that are so far related to the church that their meetings are held with it and their reports made to it at the annual church meeting. . . . There is also an ecclesiastical society, so called, which is the legal representative of the church. . . . A very few of these bodies are in constitutional connection with the church. . . . Your committee cannot tell how many of the women of the church interest themselves in one or more of their societies for missionary work or how many are in none. Nor have we inquired how far the several committees overlap each other's field, nor where they support each other best or possibly interfere with one another's work. At present there are no organizations for men only. . . . There is no general business committee or executive board through which the church and many of these agencies can easily be kept in close touch with each other. . . . Besides the inevitable inefficiency of this generally loose organization there must be a considerable waste of time by the pastor and others in getting the right persons together for various purposes.

This situation is much like that in a factory which had from time to time introduced different machines to meet real or supposed needs, and had run them all at top speed with little regard for the precise amount and quality of work from each machine which the general objects of the factory required. Yet

nobody tries to keep in touch, nobody can, with this variety of independent effort but the minister. There is no central board nor anything else that can act as a clearing house for all these activities. The overworked minister is distracted with the effort he feels he must make to know something about all of them. He feels that he is made a "Jack-at-all-trades." And yet men of affairs, accustomed to methodical systems by which they have the oversight of their own business easily arranged and carefully distributed, do not lift a finger to secure like efficiency in their own churches.

Applying the comparative method, the weakness of the existing situation is more clearly seen. Whereas business, civic affairs, and education have each passed from the original stage, through that of differentiation, into a third stage—that of social development, and are now busy with the task of reorganization in social wholes, to increase their efficiency, the average church of to-day is still "in the second stage, confronting the need of entering the third, but yet hardly conscious of the fact."

Probably neither business nor civil affairs nor education ever carried the practice of individualism in work and organization to the extreme which has been reached in many churches. Nowhere else probably have the waste and inefficiency resulting from this chaotic condition become so great as it is in the field of religion. . . . It is easy to see that at present the church is far behind the times in ordinary organization and seriously lacking in efficiency. . . . Certainly there is a field for the efficiency engineer in the church if anywhere. . . . The teamwork of a baseball nine or of a football game ought to bring shame to the face of the intelligent church member when he compares it with the crude coöperation of his church societies.

Dr. Dike emphasizes the fact that the church is in the same field with business, the school, the municipality, the corporation, and that therefore it has within it all the essentials of their problems." He holds that it is a sad thing for the church and for society if the church fails to see this and to act accordingly.

Here is a fundamental reason why the church should increase its efficiency by scientific methods—it loses its touch with society and its power over society if its spiritual power is not expressed in the thought and language of society itself as these appear in social laws and methods of work. If the church would have society listen to its message, it must itself hear the message which society has for its own ear.

As Dr. Dike quaintly puts it, the task of the ecclesiastical engineer may not be so easy as that of the efficiency engineer in directing the laying of brick; but he has it on his hands nevertheless, and if this is true he can and must perform it.

Mistakes of course will be made. Empirical methods will be mistaken for science and even crude rule-of-thumb procedure will hold the field in many places. But it is not hard to see that the present need, the demand of business men who feel keenly the lack of efficiency in the present chaotic character of church organization, and the sweep of the modern scientific movement as a whole will in time change the entire situation. For the situation, discouraging as it appears to be from one point of view, is in reality one of the greatest promise.

## ROYALTY'S OPENING WEEK IN OTTAWA

A COMBINATION of new faces in government chairs and a brand-new Governor-General of the Royal Purple helped to make Ottawa the capital of capitals during that opening week in November of last year. There were three distinct functions in the week's ceremonies: the election of the Speaker of the House of Commons on Wednesday afternoon, the formal opening on the following day, and the drawing-room on Saturday night. In the *Canadian Magazine*, Mr. A. Lambert Wheeling gives an amusing account of his experiences in "assisting" at the several events. Of the election of the Speaker he says:

We crowded into the gallery of the House to hear those three portentous knocks of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, his command that the Commons attend the Governor-General in the Senate Chamber, and to see those elaborate bows that are the envy of fat men. In the scramble we got a seat in the gallery and saw the House fooled. It wasn't the Governor-General who received them, but his deputy, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick. It was a mean trick to play them; but they didn't appear a bit disappointed when they were told that the Governor-General did not see fit to summon Parliament until a Speaker was appointed. Accordingly the members of the House and myself rushed back to get that bit of formality over with to please his Royal Highness. . . . It was the first official meeting of the man who had lost a forlorn hope and the other who had been given his chance and had taken it. . . . Laurier sat a little lower in the chair facing south, in spite of the more-than-formal applause that greeted him from the benches. The jaunty, debonair air was lacking, and there was no substitute handy. No mere man could calmly ignore the cold spot around his temples where the laurel wreath had worn a groove for fifteen unchallenged years. And when he rose to the Premier's nomination of Speaker, Laurier, the affable, the sunny, had lost his smile—no not lost it, merely lost control of it. It was there, flickering around to show that it was in, but not at home to strangers.

At the formal opening on the following day a bargain counter is a mild demonstration compared with that rush to that gallery. The Senate Chamber was "a fit frame for the fine old men who appeared on the center of the floor in every black costume from the business suit to evening dress."

Behind them sat the wives and "unmarried daughters" of the Senators and members. The rules called for that, but many an "unmarried daughter" had "Mrs." before her name outside the walls.

All was expectation. Six red-gowned judges entered before the Governor-General and tried to look comfortable on a round cosy seat in front of the throne.

Presently the subdued booming of a cannon announced the arrival of the Governor-General, and it was more than mere form that brought the crowd to its feet as the Duke entered, leading the Duchess. Some of the women spectators rather favored the two pretty little pages in red coats, with black velvet and lace cuffs, and Miss Pelly, the lady-in-waiting, was really worth more than a second glance; but the Duke and Duchess, who walked slowly up the aisle with their right hands touching, were the emblems of the authority that reigns at Ottawa and farther away in England. The strain of silence remained until the Governor-General had taken his seat, and the accent of the French Speaker of the Senate was a welcome relief as he announced to the "Gentlemen of the Senate" that "his Royal Highness the Governor-General," etc. It was rather a pleasing little touch that the Duchess should show her superiority to the position of mere figurehead in the ceremony when she coolly removed the Duke's glasses from a small case she carried and handed them to him to read the Speech from the Throne. And after the man in the Field Marshal's uniform had read in quiet English and perfect Parisian French, raising his hat at each mention of the two Houses, she reached over and, taking his glasses from his hand, replaced them in the case.

But *the* event of the week was, of course, the drawing-room. Every conveyance in Ottawa was expected, according to agreement, to report at six different places at one and the same time between six and nine o'clock. Mr. Wheeling was fortunate in the matter of getting to the House. Coming back—that was another story.

Presentation at the drawing-room is simple, but elaborate. You haven't much to do yourself, but there is much ceremony in connection with it. Outside the brass bar at the back of the room a red-coated man takes one of your cards and tosses it into a waste-paper basket that is already nearly full. Then to the strains of an orchestra in the lobby you march in single file up the chamber between two rows of red and blue-coated officers. Near the throne your other card is taken by an aide, who passes it to another, who does likewise, and when it reaches the fourth man your name is shouted out in a tone that makes you wonder if that was what your parents intended. And then, although you have not been able to see how the one ahead of you made his bow on account of the crowding soldiers, you sidle across to the Duke, endeavoring to combine a front view with a side step. You bow, goodness knows how! You sidle along until you face the Duchess and bow again. By this time you are morally certain that you didn't do it right the first time and must make an alteration in this one, with the result that you don't wait to back off, but fling yourself among the soldiers on the other side like the prodigal son returning to his father. The next step is to go up into the gallery if you can get there, and laugh at the bows that follow.

For brilliance of color and dress, for grandeur of scene, for number of people who are willing to stand half a day, for variety of forms, the drawing-room of 1911 stands as a record in Canada.

## DICKENS AND JOHN FORSTER

**F**EW biographies have been read with greater interest by an expectant public than the "Life" of Charles Dickens by John Forster, which Wilkie Collins once humorously described as "the life of John Forster with occasional anecdotes of Charles Dickens." The appearance of the Memorial Edition of this work affords Mr. George H. Casamajor in the *Bookman* (New York) the opportunity to give a sketch of the relations of the great novelist and his great biographer. That Forster is entitled to this characterization, no less a critic than Thomas Carlyle admitted when he estimated that, through the "Life," Forster took "rank, in essential respects, parallel to Boswell himself, though on widely different grounds." Dickens and his biographer, who were about of an age, first met at the house of Harrison Sinsworth in London toward the close of 1836.

To Forster, Dickens took amazingly from the very first. It was only a short time after the two men had begun to see each other constantly that the young novelist wrote, "I look back with unmingled pleasure to every link which each ensuing week has added to the chain of an attachment. It shall go hard, I hope, ere anything but death impair the toughness of a bond now so firmly riveted."

The basis of the friendship was the heartfelt gratitude of an author to a critic who sympathises with and encourages him. In truth, Forster was the first to proclaim Dickens' genius, and the only one of the critics to maintain this attitude throughout the novelist's productive years.

Forster took a sort of proprietary interest in Dickens, regarding him in a sense as his "discovery." Dickens, as was to be expected, portrayed his friend and mentor in his writings, though apparently Forster did not detect the fact.

Although Forster examined proofs of everything Dickens wrote, criticized and discussed them, the last thing to catch his eye would have been any description of himself; nevertheless he appears unmistakably now and then in the novelist's pages. The character of John Podsnap in "Our Mutual Friend" contains most of these descriptive touches, and the circle of intimate friends chuckled with glee over what had passed the censor, whose dignity would have been greatly offended if he had realized there had been any such portraiture. The following characterizations were declared by those who knew to be absolutely true to life: "Mr. Podsnap settled that whatever he put behind him he put out of existence." "He had, however, acquired a peculiar flourish of his right arm in clearing the world of its difficulties." "As so eminently respectable a man, Mr. Podsnap was sensible of its being required of him to take Providence under his protection. Consequently he always knew exactly

what Providence meant. Inferior and less respectable people might fall short of that mark, but Mr. Podsnap was always up to it."

Forster in 1835 had been engaged to marry Letitia Landon (L. E. L.), but the match was broken off, and he settled at 58 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, pictured in "Bleak House" as the chambers of Mr. Tulkynghorn. In 1856 Forster, who had come to be regarded as a confirmed bachelor, surprised his friends by marrying the widow of Henry Colburton, the publisher. The marriage was a very happy one, and within two years of it Forster was called upon to arrange the disrupted household of his friend. Mr. Casamajor gives the details of the conditions of Dickens's domestic troubles at some length, but lack of space prevents their notice here.

As years went by a change came over the relations between Forster and Dickens,

although "the toughness of the bond now so firmly riveted" of which the latter had written in the early days, was never weakened. On reaching middle life, Forster, as Edmund Yates has expressed it, "was almost as much over as Dickens was under their actual years." Forster's natural temperament had caused him to age more rapidly than the buoyant, light-hearted Dickens. He had been made a member of the Lunacy Commission, and the official work was very harassing. Besides, he was now falling into ill-health, and in his later years was a martyr to gout in the chest. It is, therefore, only natural that we cease to find him the preferred companion of Dickens's "lighter hour"—a place which was now filled by Wilkie Collins. Forster did not believe he would live to perform the task of writing his friend's biography, but as a matter of fact he survived him for the space of six years.

The first volume of the "Life" appeared in 1872, the second in the following year.

The first volume contained one great surprise—it amounted to a sensation—not only for the public but for Dickens's closest friends. A secret of his early life, hidden from his wife even, was revealed. Some of the details of David Copperfield's pathetic youth were now known to be autobiographical. Murdstone and Grinby's wine warehouse was really Jonathan Warren's shoe-blackening establishment. At the age of ten, while his father was in the Marshalsea Prison for debt, Dickens had worked at Warren's for a few shillings a week. In after years the novelist became exceedingly sensitive in regard to this experience—it was his skeleton in the closet—and Forster alone of his circle knew the facts, which had been communicated in an autobiographical sketch.

Even the Dickens family, when they learned of the episode, wished the matter touched upon as lightly as possible, but Forster, always resentful

of interference, printed the story in Dickens' own words. And yet it seems as if retrospection must have clothed the incident, for Dickens, in more importance, and developed more self-pity than it really deserved. It is not difficult to imagine the boy as reconciled to his lot, and enjoying the small sum placed at his disposal. Forster believes that the experience really did him harm by sharpening the fierce individualism which so often marred his genial nature, but others have thought him the gainer by this early contact with some of the sterner realities.

The present edition, in honor of the Dickens centenary, is described as a delight to all who love him. The text stands unchanged but the great mass of illustrative matter makes it as complete a pictorial as it is a written record of the novelist's career. Hundreds of portraits and views depict the people he knew, the scenes he described, and the places in which his life from the cradle to the grave was spent.

## THE LOVES OF CHARLES DICKENS

ENGLISH biographers, much inclined to see in their heroes only superior geniuses, are wont to ignore their private life, the revelations of which might, they fear, tarnish an illustrious renown. Moreover, the definition of love, according to certain English authors, differs sensibly from that commonly given by French writers. Quite recently a British psychologist asserted that all that was not unique was not love—a fine conception demanding that love should be a perfect and definitive transport; but is it a truly human one?

The souls of modern creatures, by turns skeptical, inquiet, sad, and haughty, are they not subject to love, to hate, to forget, and to love anew—perpetually beginning over and over again until the last passion asserts its supremacy and the ripened mind is no longer illusioned? M. Paul-Louis Hervier, who thus writes in the *Mercur de France*, applies his remarks to the biographers of Charles Dickens, who, he asserts, did not care to examine his life from the amorous point of view. Were they afraid that they could no longer portray the novelist under the characteristic traits so long familiar? Dickens is known to have been a very honorable man, an indefatigable worker. His whole life was one continual succession of struggles and labors. But not one word of love does one glean from his English biographers. Now Dickens possessed a heart that was susceptible to all the emotions, to gratitude, to strong affection, to pity; and this heart spoke many times from the day when as a young man he fell in love with a golden-haired girl until the day that he died, exhausted through having miscalculated his strength in relentless combat, waged in order to gain a competency for the children whom he adored.

M. Hervier fails to see why a study of the amorous sentiments of the great novelist should injure his fame.

One seeks in vain in his life-details those intrigues, those caprices, those almost daily adventures with which certain French writers have complicated their existence. As vainly does one search for commonplace love affairs in his times of poverty and for easy conquests in the time of his glory, when a public idolatry environed him and he was the most widely read author in all England. This is doubtless why the biographers, especially John Forster, never studied the love affairs of Dickens. His life lacking all piquant incidents of an amorous nature, they did not care to delve in it. . . . Let us, therefore, raise the veil, and do so with so much the less hesitation in that nothing will be disclosed to shock or offend the admirers of the great English romancer.

M. Hervier begins by recounting a boy-and-girl affair of the early youth of Dickens. His father had recently come to reside in Chatham. Charles was but five or six years old, "a lovely, merry boy whose beauty was praised by the dames of Chatham." Little Lucy, the daughter of a neighbor, a girl "with magnificent hair which fell in golden tresses on her young shoulders," became his playmate, and "many happy years followed." Lucy of the golden locks was never forgotten.

Why this simple anecdote? To prove that it is well sometimes to study the inner sentiments of a writer, as they serve to explain certain of his works. This Lucy became the inspirer of Dickens. We find her with her golden hair in no fewer than five of Dickens' novels.

We now come to a more serious affair. Dickens, having learned stenography, was trying his hand at reporting. He made the acquaintance of a bank clerk named Kolle who was smitten with the daughter of a Lombard Street banker named Beadnell. A friend of Kolle's paid court to another sister. In course of time Dickens was presented to the Beadnell family and met a third sister, Maria. Dickens was at this time exceedingly lonesome, and, doubtless, following the dictates of his brain rather than those of his



heart, he emulated the example of his two friends and "attached" himself to the fair Maria. Concerning the progress and ending of this lovemaking, M. Hervier says in substance:

Certain letters published by Prof. George Pierce Baker of Harvard in his little book, "Charles Dickens and Maria Beadnell," recently printed for private circulation, prove that "David Copperfield" is a more complete autobiography than had been generally supposed; for all the love adventures of David were those of Dickens himself. They prove also that Maria Beadnell was the original of Dora Spenlow in "David Copperfield" and of Flora Finching in "Little Dorrit." Dickens received his congé from Maria's parents, the young lady was sent off to Paris, and the separation was complete. For four years Dickens continued to hope, but at the expiration of that time a coldly worded letter from the young lady put an end to his projects. In 1836 he married Kate Hogarth; in 1845 Maria wedded Henry Louis Winter. Dickens and Maria met again, and he has recorded the interview in "Little Dorrit" in these words: "Flora, always tall, had grown to be very broad too and short of breath; but that was not much. Flora, whom he had left a lily, had become a peony; but that was not much. Flora, who had seemed enchanting in all she had said and thought, was diffuse and silly. That was much. Flora, who had been spoiled and artless long ago, was

determined to be spoiled and artless now. That was a fatal blow."

M. Hervier deals somewhat fully with Dickens's married life, recounting the advent into the household of Mary Hogarth, one of the two sisters of Mrs. Dickens, who ultimately became the novelist's confidante; her sudden death (May 7, 1837) and its effect on Dickens, to the extent of delaying the appearance of the "Pickwick" numbers; and of the installation at Gad's Hill of Georgina Hogarth, Mrs. Dickens's other sister, Mrs. Dickens remaining in London; and concluding with the following passage:

In all this one is forced to a conclusion which is entirely to the honor of the novelist. He had great need of affection. As a child the little Lucy of the golden tresses was his preference; later, Maria Beadnell seemed to him to be the oft-dreamed-of sharer of his solitude; after his marriage with Kate Hogarth, who proved a brave mother but indolent and without force of character, Mary became the joy of his existence; finally, later in life when suffering had seized upon a worn-out frame, he appealed to the devotion of his sister-in-law Georgina, faithful attendant, quick and kind. Nothing in this record hinders us from concluding with the English biographers: "Dickens was a truly honorable man."



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#### AN OLD DICKENS PAINTING JUST BROUGHT TO LIGHT

(From left to right the characters represented are Sam Weller, Pickwick, Little Nell (in foreground), Barnaby Rudge, Fagin, Dickens, Oliver Twist, Quilp, Micawber, and Bill Sikes. William H. Beard's canvas showing the novelist and his characters, painted in 1870, and popular as an engraving)



## THE IRISH THEATER AS AN EXPONENT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

IF any one is entitled to speak for or of the Irish Theater, it is surely Lady Gregory. In season and out of season she has labored for its welfare; she has been in the fullest sense its "guide, philosopher, and friend"; she has stood bravely by it in its hours of trial; and has rightfully shared in its many successes. Consequently the short article from her pen in the *Yale Review* on this subject is of more than ordinary interest. Where Irish literature is concerned, observes Lady Gregory, the nineteenth century was a chilly and scanty one. Miss Edgeworth's novels, delightful in themselves, were, as regards the life of Ireland and the people of Ireland, "patronizing, artificial, taking a bird's-eye view of a simple peasantry, grateful for small mercies, and an impulsive, prodigal landlord, who, repentant, leaves the husks of London, and wins Heaven in eating his own mutton at home." In the same patronizing strain wrote Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall. As for songs, the only ones belonging to Ireland heard by Lady Gregory in her childhood were the melodies of Thomas Moore.

The ten or twelve years that followed the outbreak of the land war in Ireland were supposedly barren ones; yet all through these years "a group of scholars had gone on with their work of translating the old Irish manuscripts, the mass of which material had found its way into the poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson and Aubrey de Vere." Charles Stewart Parnell died in 1891, and "in the quarrels that followed and the breaking of hopes the imagination of Ireland was set free." Lady Gregory thus describes the inception of the movement that found its exponent in the Irish Theater:

It was soon after Parnell's death that the miracle happened. The Gaelic League was set on foot by Mr. Douglas Hyde. It was a movement for keeping the Irish language a spoken one, with, as a chief end, the preserving of our nationality. Meetings were established through all the Irish-speaking districts, where men and women, boys and girls recite poems and stories and songs in the Irish tongue, and were given praises and rewards. That does not sound like the beginning of a revolution, yet it was one. It was the discovery, the disclosure, of the folk learning, the folk poetry, the folk tradition. That culture, that tradition of learning had never been forgotten. Poems were still being made that were a part of a lyric literature that had existed in Ireland before Chaucer was born, and was there in gentle Spenser's time. . . . The excitement of the discovery was enormous. . . . I set to work to learn Irish. . . . It was the Irish speaker who was envied.



AUGUSTA, LADY GREGORY, ONE OF THE LEADERS IN THE REVIVAL OF THE IRISH THEATER

The Irish Theater was caught into the current, and it is that current, Lady Gregory believes, that has brought it on its triumphant way.

It is chiefly known now as a folk theater; it has not only the great mass of primitive material, of primitive culture to draw on, but it has been made a living thing by the excitement of that discovery. Mr. Yeats himself was swept into the current. . . . Mr. Synge was caught in. . . . In his return to Ireland just at that time of imaginative awakening he found fable, emotion, style.

In the same number of the *Yale Review* appears an appreciative article by Mr. Charles A. Bennett on the plays of John M. Synge, who died three years ago in Dublin at the age of thirty-seven. Synge's writings, which have been published in four volumes, consist of poems, translations, some fugitive prose pieces, and six plays. It is by his plays that he will be remembered. Like W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory, he drew his inspiration from the people and the soil of Ireland. But his work, says Mr. Bennett, rises to a higher region of attainment than that of his contemporaries.

It has the quality of greatness, and it is great because it has strength. . . . Synge grasps reality. His peasants are creatures of passion and joy. He gives us a fearless picture of their lives. He is often terrible, most terrible in his humor; often savage even to brutality; but the same fierce energy gives an unknown depth to his tragedy, and lights up with an almost unnatural brightness places of beauty in his work. . . . It is his power of presenting what he sees without disguise that stamps his work. . . . We are among a people who are still close to earth, with something savage and untamed in their natures, running to violence, quick to change from reckless joy to a hopeless despair.

Of "The Playboy of the Western World," the presentation of which by the Irish Players has given rise to so much unfavorable criticism and to unprecedented scenes of hostility on the part of the audiences, Mr. Bennett writes:

It is riotous with the quick rush of life, a tempest of the passions with the glare of laughter at its heart. Christy Mahon, the Playboy, comes to a village in the West of Ireland with a great tale of the way he murdered his father. "He was a dirty man, God forgive him, and he getting old and crusty, the way I couldn't put up with him at all." At first he is reticent and mysterious, but when he finds himself greeted as a hero by all, spoiled and made much of by the girls, his timidity yields to bravado: he waxes eloquent and moves thenceforth in a mist of glory. To Pegeen only, "a girl any moon of midnight would take pride to meet, facing southwards on the heaths of Keel," does he show himself with all the wild poetry of his loneliness and his love and the splendor cast about him by his deed. But in the midst of his joy, the father he was supposed to have murdered, but had only stunned, "with the tap of a loy," appears, seeking "to have the life" of his son—and Christy's fame is in the dust. All turn on him, even Pegeen whom he had won, and the play ends in the wild scene where Christy and his father are driven out as rogues and liars.

It is hard to convey anything of the reckless movement of the play. One has to feel its riotous exuberance. But in spite of the lack of restraint, the frank brutality, and the fierce joy of this peasant life, there is no unsureness of artistic treatment. The characters of Christy and Pegeen are splendidly conceived. The very violence of their natures, set off so strangely by the gentle in them, makes them great figures.

All that Synge thought and felt when he lived among the natives of the Aran Isles he has conveyed in his "Riders to the Sea," which is "without doubt his greatest achievement." It is not so ambitious as "Deirdre of the Sorrows"; it lacks the richness of "The Playboy"; but "within its limits—it is a brief play of one act—it is perfect." Synge had no "ideas" to impart, and he did not set out to teach anything. For him "the end of the drama was reality and joy, and he found both in the life of the peasants of whom he wrote."

### Acting of the Irish Players

A sympathetic and appreciative estimate of the work and art of the Irish national theater and the Irish players appears in the *Bookman*. The writer, Clayton Hamilton, says of their art in general:

Their acting is so different from ours, in aim, in spirit, and in method, that there can be no profit in arguing as to whether it is better or whether it is not so good. Their stage-direction is elementary and casual. They are sparing of gesticulation. They care far less than we do about making appealing pictures to the eye; and they care far more than we do about the delicate, alluring art of reading. They never move about the stage unnecessarily, in the fancied interest of visual variety; often, for long passages, they merely sit still, or stand about, and talk. But, with them, the lines are all-important. Their plays are written eloquently; and they repeat this written eloquence with an affectionate regard for rhythm and the harmony of words. Character, not action, is the dominant element in the Irish plays; and it is therefore not surprising that the Irish Players are inferior to our own in representing rapid and emphatic action, and superior in the deliberate and gradual portraiture of personality. All the Irish players are what are called, in the slang of the theater, character actors. But they draw their portraits mainly by the means of speech, and rely far less than we do on make-up and facial expression. With them, as with their authors, the drama has returned to literature.



THE LATE JOHN M. SYNGE, THE IRISH PLAYWRIGHT  
(Whose drama, "The Playboy of the Western World" has attracted world-wide attention to the revival of the Irish dramatic movement)

## IRELAND TO BE SAVED BY INTELLECT

AT the moment when the Irish players are presenting, for the first time in this country, the plays of W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, the late John M. Synge and others, and the Liberal government in Great Britain is having serious troubles in making the Irish accept Home Rule, it is particularly interesting to read the kindly essay on "how God is to save Ireland," by the well-known Irish painter, John Butler Yeats, father of the playwright. This essay, which appears in the *Independent*, sets forth the Yeats ideal: that it is much more important to consider how to live than to study how to make a living.

"Ireland," says Mr. Yeats, "is to be rescued neither by Belfast nor by England, neither by priests nor by parsons, but by its artists." The Irish home, Mr. Yeats insists, is infinitely superior to the English home, because the Irish are a healthy people. They have "not brought up generations of children in the awful conditions of the manufacturing towns of prosperous England—the weak hair, the bandy legs, the physical droop, that stamp so many poor Englishmen to-day, we have escaped. We are, of course, out at the elbows, and little regarded in the world's esteem, but our eyes are bright, our limbs clean and straight, and our voices musical." He goes on to say:

If the Englishman's idea is ostentation, and the Scotchman's idea is to win some sort of social pre-eminence, the Irishman, the true Irishman, does not want to get on and does not value well-being; he desires to save his soul, for he is an Adam who has not quite forgotten his Eden. In the past he has not been allowed to "get on," and so perforce he has learned to suck out of life its inner sweetness.

There is no man who lives in closer intimacy with nature and life.

Saving one's soul is an evil phrase and smells sourly of Nonconformist circles, but the Irishman would also save his soul, not by starving it, which is the Protestant idea, but by feeding it full and banqueting it on happiness—above all, on the happiness to be found in affection between human beings, wife and children and friends, and in all the fugitive delights of human intercourse.

My proposal, therefore, is this, that in Ireland we change nothing, only, whereas now men go about in rags, I would clothe them in purple and fine linen, and in place of smoky cabins I would give them palaces; these garments and these palaces to be made out of the cheapest material, to wit: the finest thoughts of the understanding and the finest feelings of the heart.

In prosperous and famous England I would alter everything—alter ideals, denounce hopes, and show Englishmen that they are worshipping evil where they think they are worshipping good. I would shut the factories and I would shut also the churches, the chapels, and the schools. In short, I would pull down the whole edifice.

In Ireland I would change nothing, or almost nothing. These men and women in their stony fields, these people in rags with their beautiful dreamy eyes and their hands without purpose, as I myself have seen them in Galway and elsewhere; the villages spreading in the sunshine beside streams which commerce has not yet polluted. This nation indeed lies asleep and awaits the magician.

Ireland has the idleness, the conversation and the religious instincts that characterized the Elizabethan age, Mr. Yeats contends. "But who will teach us to love truth for its own sake, who will infect us with the intoxication of truth?" And, he concludes: "My cure for 'the woes' of Ireland is freedom of thought and the intoxication of truth, and my gift to her would be an unshackled intellect: as you have it here in America."

## ITALIAN APPRECIATIONS OF KRONPRINZ FRIEDRICH WILHELM

WHEN the late King Humbert visited Berlin, a small boy of ten at the foot of the grand staircase of the Imperial Schloss gravely presented his four younger brothers to the royal guest, who said to the Kaiser, "Why, he's a man already!"

The Kronprinz's public disapproval of the Chancellor Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's policy after the *Panther*-Agadir incident was at first severely judged as a breach of military and filial discipline. But there seems to be a feeling among Italians of eminence that the Kronprinz's energetic action was a neces-

sary supplement to the Imperial Chancellor's pacific moderation, if the Hohenzollerns were to retain their people's affection. The *Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence) in an editorial comments:

After the Moroccan agreement, the Anglo-French public and press not only failed to perceive that the annulment of the treaty of Algeciras had brought several clear advantages to Germany and nothing to Great Britain, Russia and Austria, but they made a still graver *faux pas*. Forgetting the precept not to triumph too soon after a favorable event, they yielded to the easy delights of much open jubilation over the imaginary diplomatic de-



THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE AND PRINCESS IN FRONT OF THEIR VILLA  
(The Prince's trophies of the chase are displayed on the board)

feat of Wilhelm II. This jubilation wounded deeply Teutonic vanity, and as a natural consequence Berlin felt the necessity of a demonstration that wise moderation is not always a sign of cowardly compliance. The nationalist party did not need much encouragement—it was enough that they were allowed to speak. But, on the other hand, it was imperative that the imperial house should not remain aloof from the patriotic clamor, and since the Emperor could not protest against himself, the heir to the crown was the person best fitted to unite the dynasty with the nation in this salutary reminder to those beyond the Germanic frontiers. An imminent risk of a European war? A tremendous hostage to the future? No. The Kronprinz is not the Kaiser of to-day, nor in all probability of to-morrow, since Wilhelm II is in the prime of life. To youth much is permitted, and, considering the reason that actuated the "august impulse," it may be safely assumed that the Kronprinz did not have insuperable difficulties in obtaining pardon, even from the Kaiser. And all the more, if one reflects that if the banquet given by Wilhelm II to von Bethmann-Hollweg with such apparent solicitude served to show that the Kaiser keeps faith with his peace-loving Chancellor, the impulsive act of the Crown Prince served admirably to silence as if by magic a jubilation beyond the frontiers not devoid of danger, and heightened the prestige of Germany with ally and enemy alike.

As King Humbert remarked, Italy seems to echo, "He's quite a man," and Signor Casabino-Reuda in the *Lettura* (Milan) gives a lengthy account of the Kronprinz's boyhood and family life, and of some of the incidents

and characteristics which have helped to make both himself and the Kronprinzessin so popular with the most advanced Liberals as with the most reactionary parties. It is not generally known that the Kronprinz is an excellent joiner, and at Potsdam has a complete workshop. He has specialized on cane- and umbrella-handles, which he presents to his friends or to charity bazaars; but the Society of Workers in Ebony, in Berlin, has in its collection several highly wrought columns presented by their maker, the Kronprinz. The Prince's fame as a sportsman has somewhat cast into the shade his artistic tastes. A pupil of Ahna, he is an exquisite violinist. The musicales at the Potsdam palace are of frequent occurrence, and not only the chief singers of the Court Opera but the most famous artists visiting Berlin are among the guests. But the greatest attraction for Friedrich Wilhelm has always been the opera and, of later years, the drama.

When a bachelor, he was almost a functionary of the Court Opera. He went to the rehearsals, stood behind the scenes during the performances, chatted familiarly with the singers, and even with the chorus and the stage-hands. After his marriage to Cecilia of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Kronprinz's lively interest for the ultra-modern *Deutsches Theater*, directed by Professor Max Rein-

hardt, again excited apprehension in ultra-conservative circles, and even called forth a respectful rebuke from the semi-official *Reichsbote*. Indeed, the entire independent conduct of the Crown Prince, his open sympathy with the workingmen's unions, his speech at his wedding festival, full of warm fraternity, his great simplicity of manner and known aversion to flattery, have all leaned heavily on the balance-side of the Liberal party. But last summer at Königsberg, when he accepted the honor of *Rector magnificientissimus perpetuus* conferred on him by that University, his short address revealed his political ideal: "We desire an increase of our national German feeling to oppose the currents of international influences which threaten to undermine our healthful national character." The address provoked protest

from the Socialists which even reached the Reichstag, but the Prince and the people at large were at one. But the most important of his political actions was his suggestion of the voyage to the Extreme Orient, which shows that the Kaiser's *Weltpolitik* will have a resolute ally in his successor.

Of the Kronprinzessin, Signor Casabino-Reuda tells the following anecdote. At the first Court ball in which the young Mecklenburg princess took part, the Grand Master of Ceremonies asked her, according to etiquette, with whom she desired to dance. The Princess's dark eyes lightened maliciously, and with a vivacity inherited with her supreme elegance from her Russian mother, she answered: "With whom? Why, with whoever invites me. Just as the other ladies dance. We shall see if I'll be a wallflower!"

## WHERE ITALY'S HISTORY IS MADE

ONE noted as a significant item in the daily news recently that His Holiness Pope Leo had specially provided for the families of those members of the Papal Guard who were called upon to join the troops embarking for service in Tripoli. More aloof from political life and the national pulse beat than the Pontiff perhaps is the eminent art critic Signor Michele de Benedetti. And now in the *Lettura* (Milan) we read with curious sympathy the eager pride with which Signor de Benedetti proves the large part Italian art and Italian culture can claim in the busy weaving of the fabric of statecraft that must

accompany the battle flag at the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—the Palazzo della Consulta.

La Consulta. It is one of those words that through special circumstances have taken on a peculiar significance, almost a personality of their own. In modern political history, for instance, *Quai d'Orsay* stands for French foreign policy. The "Sublime Porte," which is the seat of the Foreign Ministry, stands for Turkey, the "White House" for the presidency of the United States, and so on. We have "La Consulta," and the name, like the building, is of papal origin. Before 1870 indeed, it was "The Tribunal of Counsel and Office of Bulls" installed in the seventeenth century palace built by Fuga for Clement XII



IL PALAZZO DELLA CONSULTA

(Italian Foreign Office Building, where so much of the history of Europe during recent years has been made)

that is still so imposing and yet charming in the light caprice of its arches over which wreath marble garlands of impetuous figures, trophies and coats of arms. When the public buildings were distributed as public offices, Visconti-Venosta, true artist as he is, obstinately preferred it to the Palazzo Valentini, which was first destined for the Foreign Office.

La Consulta was indeed worthy to become the seat of the new birth of Italian policy, and though adapted to the needs of such a ministry, it has never assumed the vulgar and dismal aspect that seems to stamp nearly all government buildings. On the first floor, besides the Minister's departments and those of the Under Secretary, there are several reception halls decorated lavishly with gold and damask and paint in the taste (or lack of it) that prevailed in interior decoration about thirty years ago. But such apartments should be, as these are, sumptuous



A STATE CONFERENCE IN THE ITALIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

(In the center of the picture Marquis di San Giuliano, Foreign Minister. To the right, Signor Bruschelli, private secretary to the Minister)

and impersonal, and if anything surprises it is the few pictures, particularly of foreign painters, bought at recent expositions (the commandante Primo Levi's finger must have been in this pie!) These show in the purchaser a taste and discernment as exquisite as rare. Consider the paradox—a ministry where art is understood! On the top floor there is a magnificent library of more than sixty thousand volumes and spacious halls for study.

The urbane and learned Cav. Pasqualucci, who presides here, is far from supposing that his peaceful and serene sway is contested and strangely disputed—by the Pope! But if one consults the last regulations for the Papal Guards, one reads: "The top floor of the Palazzo della Consulta, at the Quirinal, is reserved for the members of the Guard!" With the present difficulties of homeseekers in Rome it would not be incredible one fine day, or evening rather, to hear that the Papal Guard had gone to sleep—in the library of the Italian Foreign Office. But until now the evening visits have been paid once or twice a week by the ambassadors of other countries and their official households to dinners or teas relieved by musical programs. But behind this screen of agreeable and elegant hospitality goes on the tremendous daily labor of La Consulta for that greater Italy composed of our countrymen scattered by millions over the globe.

One sees in the present personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the fallacy of the commonplace that men of culture are seldom

men of deeds. For the Marquis di San Giuliano, born at Catania in 1852, mayor, deputy, Under Secretary and twice Minister,—once of Posts and now of Foreign Affairs,—has not only been occupied with the zeal of a historian and scientist in all the urgent questions of international polity, and traveled and written pamphlets upon them, but he has never concealed his passion for art, his enthusiastic study of Dante and his culture of letters—other than those of his constituents. To make matters worse, a youthful indiscretion of

his was the acceptance of an inspectorship of ancient monuments and excavations; and finally, when of riper years, he added to the ancient laurel that *ad honorem* offered him by the University of Oxford.

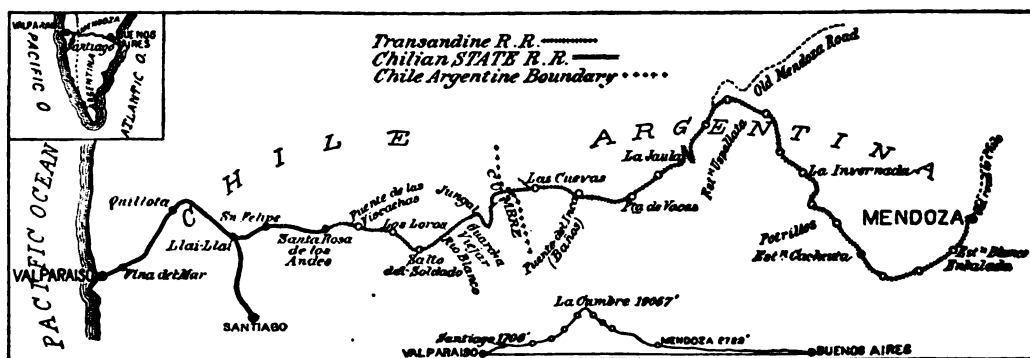
And the Marquis has chosen as Under Secretary Prince Pietro di Scalea, of the ancient Lanza family of Sicily, tainted too by the same malady of impassioned literary and artistic culture. Prince Pietro was formerly professor of the history of art in the Palermo Institute, where he founded a most interesting museum. He is also the author of a monumental work on Sicilian antiquities, a brilliant lecturer and contributor to reviews and popular society man—with all the qualities, in short, that would seem to militate against his success as a political figure in the democratically modern sense. Yet the Marquis di San Giuliano because of his deep culture knows how to weigh the pros and cons of every move and the Principe di Scalea's ardor, inexorable will and steady energy in the public cause have been at the very root of his multifarious literary activity. How many profit from Carlyle's saying, "After having read Homer, all men feel themselves heroes." Among the other members of the staff are the Comm. Contarini, who values perhaps more highly than his political ability his knowledge of music, and until recently Mario Lago, a young secretary who found time to exercise his talents in the fields of the drama, the novel, and in art criticism.

But that these artists and men of letters are working for their country's glory, Signor de Benedetti concludes, is the moral of his story. "That we had the Roman Empire and the Venetian Republic and discovered America, and that we are the native land of the fine arts, is true enough; but remember the greater humiliation and the *nessum maggior dolore* of Dante if the future is less glorious than the past has been. We, the artists, have left to the marketplace the banal reminders of that fictitious people who boasted of their happiness in having no history. We believe in a right valuation of the present, and we have firm faith in our national future."

## THE FIRST COAST-TO-COAST RAILWAY IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE first railway in South America from the Atlantic to the Pacific is now an accomplished fact; and the *Scientific American* considers the engineering feat as "one which will rank among the most remarkable achievements of the world." Fifty-two years ago a scheme for a Transandine railroad was prepared for the Royal Geographical Society of London; but the inception of the undertaking recently completed dates from 1873, in which year the Argentine Government granted a concession to the two brothers, John and Matthew Clark, to build a railway across the Republic to the Argentine-Chilean frontier. The REVIEW, in its issue for April, 1909, gave an account of the progress of the work to date and the number for March, 1910, contained a description of the tunnel at the summit of the Cumbre Pass. The *Scientific American* furnishes some interesting details of the work of construction which all tend to show the enormous difficulties of the undertaking. On the Argentine section of the line, from Mendoza to Uspallata, "natural obstacles and other defects intervened so continually that, in the opinion of several eminent engineers, the further progress of the railway was considered to be very improbable." On the Chilean side, the construction was divided into three sections, the first of which, from Los Angeles to Juncal, was opened for traffic in February, 1906. Beyond Rio Blanco the grade becomes increasingly severe, running as high as 8 per cent. Between Rio Blanco and Juncal there are three avalanche sheds, to protect the trains from the enormous masses of snow which collect upon the side and are frequently precipitated upon the line. . . . Section two is that between Juncal and Portillo in an exceptionally mountainous and wild district. This second section was opened in June, 1908, well within the specified time.

It was in the last part of the third section, that from Los Andes to La Cumbre, that the most noteworthy engineering feat was accomplished. This was the great spiral tunnel, perhaps one of the longest of its kind and most difficult of construction in the world. The summit tunnel has a length of 9906 feet, and in addition there are short lengths of artificial tunnel at each end, viz., 105 feet on the Chilean side and 338 feet on the Argentine side. The Transandine tunnel lies at an elevation of about 10,500 feet, nearly 1500 feet higher than the highest carriage road in Europe, that over the Stelvio Pass, and more than 3500 feet higher than Mont Cenis, St. Gothard and Simplon Passes. In



THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY IN SOUTH AMERICA

(Showing the route from Mendoza, Argentina, to Valparaiso, Chile)





A STATION ON THE TRANSANDINE RAILWAY

(Uspallata in Argentina, 5600 feet above sea level)

cross section the tunnel is a replica of the Simplon tunnel, the internal area inside the lining being 273 square feet.

The skill with which the work of boring was carried out is seen in the fact that when the two forces, working from opposite ends, junctioned on November 27, 1909, the difference in level was but  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch, and the difference in line  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches only. The maximum number of men employed on the Chilean side was about 640, and on the Argentine side from 800 to 900 were usually at work.

The physical difficulties to be surmounted were often great.

The rock on the Chilean side was of a much more uniform character than that on the Argentine side. From the tunnel entrance to about 200 feet from the boundary line the rock on the Chilean side was a hard volcanic sandstone, very much fissured with veins of feldspar. Near the boundary line the rock changed to a reddish claystone, which was comparatively soft, but which gradually hardened for a distance of about 400 meters and again gradually became softer. Through it ran numerous veins of conglomerate ironstone and almost pure feldspar. The rock, with the exception of the red claystone, proved very difficult to drill, the large number of joint planks tending to make the drill-bits skid and jam and causing endless trouble.

Many will wonder where the traffic to pay the interest on the undertaking is to come from. In this connection the *Scientific*

*American* writer, Mr. F. C. Coleman, points out that Chile is "more important than the Pacific slope was before the completion of the first transcontinental railways of North America," and that "the first and for some time to come the only link between two such countries as Chile and Argentina must necessarily find considerable traffic."

As Buenos Aires is the main gate on the Atlantic coast of this highway, so is Valparaiso the gate on the Pacific side. From this fine port steamers sail to all parts of the world: The distance to Panama is 2610 miles, and from Colon to Plymouth, 4520 miles—a total of 7130 miles. From Valparaiso to New Orleans, via Panama, the distance is 3970 miles by existing lines of steamers. This brings New York very close to Buenos Aires. The west coast of South America, the Central American States, the United States of North America, Canada, and Australia, have all been brought closer together by the opening of this new transcontinental route.

As regards passenger traffic, and particularly tourist traffic,

much can be done with such remarkable scenery to attract visitors, not only from Argentina, but from the United States and Europe. The globe trotter, tired of India, Khartum, and the Victoria Falls, can find something quite new in the Cordilleras. The railway passes comparatively close to the Aconcagua, 23,000 feet high, and through a pass which for extraordinary formation and colorings vies with the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona.

## COLOMBIA'S COMMERCIAL REVIVAL



SEÑOR CARLOS E. RESTREPO, THE PROGRESSIVE  
PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA

COLOMBIA is in the process of commercial rebirth. In the year 1909 she had no fewer than three presidents. Rafael Reyes, who in his young manhood had, with his two brothers, ventured among savage tribes to explore the little-known country toward the Rio Negro (losing one brother by fever, the other being eaten by cannibals), and who had subsequently "led the troops of Colombia against the Liberal revolutionists under Uribe-Uribe, had been rewarded with the presidency. He made the office a dictatorship and, casting Congress aside, and overriding the constitution, turned thief and devoted years of authority to looting the people who had fought for him, to amass a private fortune. At the last, compelled to flee the country, he had "run away to Paris to live on

his hoard of stolen money." To succeed Reyes, General Valencia was chosen; but his rule lasted for a few months only, and before the year had expired the Congress had elected Señor Don Carlos E. Restrepo as President. On July 15 following Señor Restrepo was confirmed as President for the full term of four years. He is a lawyer of wide experience and an author of enviable reputation, a prominent resident of Medellin, the capital of Antioquia, a city of 60,000 inhabitants, which, nevertheless, can be reached only on muleback. During the comparatively short time that he has held the reins of office he has fully sustained his previous reputation of being one of the most progressive and modern of South American statesmen. Writing in *Harper's Weekly*, Mr. John L. Mathews has nothing but praise for President Restrepo's administration thus far.

From the outset he has worked to cure the ills under which his country is suffering. Its foreign credit was almost ruined; its taxes had been taken from the treasury without repairs to the roads or any other interior improvements such as they are intended for; the mule trails, the railroads, everything that involves use of public funds, was in bad condition; and, most of all, the people were suffering under the exactions of the monopolies. His first work was to restore the departments in their traditional outline; to give them their names and their capitals and their governors as they desired; and to permit them to retain from the taxes the proper portion for internal improvement. More than this, they are permitted now to borrow capital funds, and his own Department of Antioquia has borrowed on its good bonds \$3,500,000 at low interest to complete its railroad. The departments restored, he turned over to them the liquor monopoly in their territories to operate or abolish them under local option. The hide monopoly he wiped out by an edict and made cattle-raising again a profitable business. The river monopoly suffered the same fate, and competition among the steamers was re-established. Colombians educated in American technical schools were called to the operating and building of state-owned railroads. The emerald-mines, long operated in a desultory manner and subject to continual robbery, were leased entire to a big English syndicate on a royalty basis, with the agreement that modern machinery shall be installed and emeralds valued at \$2,000,000 taken out each year for twenty years. The old game of selling concessions to the best bidders is wiped out.

It is, however, in the restoration of Colombia's public credit that President Restrepo is rendering the greatest service to his country. This he is doing in two ways: with foreign loans and the internal revenues.

Colombia is flooded with paper money—"shin-plasters"—in which the peso or dollar is worth one cent; or rather a gold dollar is worth \$103, or thereabouts, in paper. The pound sterling is

worth \$500 in pesos, which is the established basis of exchange under the new government. The new President, however, has secured a law setting aside a certain sum from the revenues every year to buy up and retire these paper pesos—or more simply, to destroy out of the treasury a certain amount of revenue that is paid in them, without reissue. This is expensive, but necessary. It is intended to raise them eventually to the usual silver value, fifty cents. In place of paper, nickel coins of one, two, three, and five pesos, and silver coins of ten, twenty-five, and fifty, are being issued. Restrepo is borrowing at five per cent. instead of twelve per cent. (with a seven per cent. "rake-off"), which Reyes paid, and for the first time the treasury has a surplus. In the matter of the public debt he has taken a firm stand. It is to be systematically retired as fast as possible, and the interest is to be paid. Therefore he has set aside \$120,000 a month from the customs dues at Cartagena and Barranquilla, and in addition all the consular fees received abroad, to go to a London depository and be paid on the public debt. Already, it is reported, Colombia has been offered \$50,000,000 at five per cent., and Antioquia has borrowed \$3,500,000 at that rate.

No Colombian president could, however, be expected to rest on an official bed of roses.

The people of the country on the whole, impetuous and passionate, supposed at Panama to be on the verge of a new revolution, are in fact watching Restrepo every minute, discussing him in undertones, waiting, fearing, hoping, uncertain whether he is honestly doing this or just trying to deceive them.

The Liberals and the Conservatives both claim him. Uribe-Uribe, the popular editor of the Bogota *Liberal*, formerly a brilliant soldier in the revolution, now a leader of his party, devotes his columns to urging Restrepo to continue in the Liberal path. It is the strongly clerical element that is rabid against him, fearing his influence. Colombia still pays the Vatican \$80,000 a year; but this will soon be discontinued, and the priests fear their power over the schools and over elections will be at least diminished. That is why, wherever there is an election, one finds a dozen of them consulting with the local Conservative politicians and going out to secure the Catholic vote against Restrepo's adherents.

Personally, President Restrepo is generally admired. Being already wealthy, "he is in office for honor, not for gain, and is apparently moved by deep patriotism and guided by firm honesty as well as sound business sense."

## A SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT TURCO-ITALIAN CONFLICTS

THE Turco-Italian war has summoned to new activity the Order of Malta, and many must have read as if in a dream of the Crusaders the report that a hospital ship of the order had followed the Italian army and navy to Tripoli and to Benghazi. How venerable and august a rôle the order has played in the past is fully realized in reviewing its history as told in an editorial in the *Lettura* (Milan).

The order still retains the name it really received ten centuries ago from one Gerard and one Raymond de Puy—the name of the Knights of St. John in Jerusalem. This name was from the Church of St. John the Baptist, near which they had their first stronghold and where they remained for two centuries. These knights were warrior pilgrims and forerunners of the Crusaders, obliged by a religious vow to receive the sick in their hospitals, to defend pilgrims and merchants in the Holy Land, and also to fight back the Mussulmans who from Arabia were striving to join forces with the Turks from Mongolian Asia. The religious, military, and nursing order had the care of the German knights and the superintendence of a hospital founded in the ninth century by the Order of Amalfi, called Santa Maria Latina. When the Mahometans took Jerusalem, the knights were expelled. They took refuge in Phoenicia, went with Ermengarde d'Aps in 1191 to Acre, which they held for a century, and then in 1291 to Cyprus. Betrayed by Henri de Lusignan and pursued by the implacable hatred of the Turks, they decided,

together with the Templars, to man a fleet and seize the island of Rhodes. Led by Folco di Villaret, the Grand Master, in 1310, they attacked Rhodes, and occupied it, engaged in continuous fighting for two hundred years, and went commonly by the name of Knights of Rhodes.

The Knights Templar was another military order which consecrated itself to the task of exterminating the Turks. In two hundred years their power and military courage made them feared, and in 1312 they were ordered to disperse by the Pope and by the King of France. The bulk property was given to the Knights of Rhodes, who had hospitals and inns for the knights when traveling over all Europe. At Rhodes, the Knights had to withstand a famous siege in 1315, which was the occasion of the foundation of another relic of the anti-Turkish feeling in Italy. A decoration was founded by Amadeus V of Savoy which became afterward the Supreme Order of the Holy Annunciation. If the Savoy motto "Fert" means *fortitudo egiro Rhodum tenuit*, it was derived from the glory of the ancestor who defeated the Turks at that siege. The knightly order that first bore that motto inscribed on its collar of fifteen love knots and fifteen golden roses enameled seven in white, seven in red, and one in white and red, is an Italian one. So the war-cry of the Italian army "*Savoia*" is not new to Turkish ears, and it always rang out for their discomfiture and defeat.

The Knights of Rhodes were besieged in vain by Mahomet II, and it was reserved for Soliman the Magnificent to expel them from their island. The caliph took a year to win with 200,000 men and 400 ships against 600 knights and

4500 soldiers under the Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle Adam. The Knights were betrayed by one of their number, but the Mussulmans themselves had such respect for their valor that they gave them life and liberty with their treasure, their arms and their books. The Sultan said to the Grand Master, "I regret to force so admirable a Christian to leave his house." This occurred in 1522. The order wandered from Candia to Messina, Baia, Rome and Viterbo till Pope Clement VII of the Medici bargained with Charles V for Malta for the order.

The Emperor stipulated that the order should maintain at its expense a garrison at Tripoli, and Soliman himself offered to restore to them Rhodes if the Knights would help him to reconquer Egypt. The order induced Charles V to give up his demand, refused the Sultan's offer, and obtained in 1530 the islands of Malta and of Goza, where they grew more powerful than ever, armed the most powerful fleet that existed before Nelson's, and built those fortresses that England found it opportune to take possession of as soon as she could.

The order held the island of Malta for 270 years, had its own mint, fought the Turks, destroyed Mussulman ships from Turkey and Africa, and conquered territory and massacred pirates. The order's sovereignty extended practically over the entire Mediterranean, and it had ambassadors to Rome, Madrid, and Vienna; the Grand Master had precedence of all except reigning monarchs, and before the Maltese standard—the white cross on red field—all the other standards had to salute, and the Maltese was not obliged to return the salute—a supreme sign of pride and power perhaps unique in history. Meanwhile, another military company disputed with Malta the empire of the seas and the honor of ridding Christendom of the pirates. In 1569 Cosimo I of the Medici created the naval and military, noble and religious Order of Knights of St. Stefano. The Knights wore the habit of the Templars and had for crest the red Maltese cross and a magnificent seat in the palace built by Vasari,

which was the Tuscan naval academy. This order fought in twelve galleys at Lepanto, freed in less than a century 15,000 Christian slaves, took 20,000 Turkish prisoners, took Scio, Bona, Prevesa, Lapazzo, Finica; furnished with Turkish cannons all the Tuscan forts and gave the cannons to melt for the statue in bronze of Cosimo I and of Ferdinand I in Florence on the Piazza dell' Annunziata and on the Piazza della Signoria. The San Stefano knights were purely decorative in the eighteenth century and were suppressed in the middle of the nineteenth. Their only trace is their curious monument of the four captive Moorish slaves at the feet of Ferdinand I before the Naval Academy at Livorno.

Sad days, too, came to the Maltese Knights when the French Revolution abolished them and despoiled them of their property, and in 1798 Napoleon took their islands. He found there 2500 cannon, 35,000 guns, 1200 barrels of gunpowder, fortifications, food supplies and three millions in gold and silver. In 1800 England took Malta from France. Impoverished and robbed, the order was dying out, but in 1864 it was invited as a sovereign at the Congress of Geneva which founded the Red Cross. Returned to the modern mission of hospital association and aid, the order revived its first and truest mission. Still divided by languages or nations governed by bailiffs, the order has its lawful knights of eight noble quarterings, of honor of four quarterings, and hospitals, ambulances for sanitary service in war, chaplains and sisters of mercy. Every bailiff's province is divided into priories and minor priories. The order has still a treasury at Malta and the extremely valuable archives at La Valletta, the fort founded by one of their Grand Masters in the sixteenth century, besides a house of Ladies of the Order, and charitable missions scattered around the entire Mediterranean. There have been thousands of generations of soldiers and sailors of Italy who have followed the Maltese Cross banner in all the Mediterranean battles, and it has well deserved the right to protect Italy's sons, wounded or sick, in its post of honor in the present conflict.



UNIFORMS AND HERALDIC INSIGNIA WORN AT DIFFERENT TIMES BY MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF MALTA



ACTORS AT YALE REHEARSING "THE CRITIC"

## THE SCHOOLS AND THE DRAMA

**T**O-DAY in half a hundred schools and colleges may be seen the new dramatist in all stages of his or her development, from the veriest tyro to the "finished" product. Recently the following four questions were asked of eighty representative educational institutions, namely:

1. What courses do you offer in the study of the drama? Or in dramatic composition?
2. What plays have been produced by your students in the last five years?
3. Have you a dramatic club?
4. What plays have been given for you by professionals?

Fifty-five replies were received; and these form the basis of an article in the *Sewanee Review* by Miss Eleanor Sheldon, who says that the answers to the first two questions show that

courses of drama study fall naturally into two groups:—the old-fashioned type, in which drama is approached in a literary way with almost no relation to the theater; the newer type, which concerns itself with dramatic theory and technique, especially as exhibited in the modern play.

The adoption of such courses was reported by one-third of the fifty-five institutions; and, as was to be expected, the courses themselves present considerable variety. Thus:

At Harvard and Radcliffe "The Drama from the Miracle Plays to the Closing of the Theaters," and "The Drama from 1642 to the Present Day" are among the courses given. A course in modern

drama, dealing with the leading literary plays from 1660 to the present, and one in contemporary drama, dealing with stage plays in Europe and America, are given at Yale. At Cornell there is one in "Dramatic Structure"; at Leland Stanford, one in "Modern Drama"; at Chicago, one in "The Study of Modern Drama"; at the University of Washington, one in "Contemporary Drama," etc.

Courses in dramatic composition are naturally rare, but they are perhaps the most significant of all as a measure of the keenness of the increased interest in the drama. At Tufts College one-, two-, and three-act plays are being written; at Cornell a weekly two-hour course in play-writing is given; at Bryn Mawr both graduate and undergraduate courses involving detailed study of dramatic technique and practice in dramatic composition are offered.

At Radcliffe and Harvard Professor Baker's classes have been unusually successful. It appears that when the news of the student playwrights at Harvard got abroad, "New York managers laughed at the idea that college students could produce plays worth the acting"; but Mr. John Craig offered a prize of \$500, to be awarded annually for the best play from any of Professor Baker's students at Harvard, or at Radcliffe, and this prize was first taken by Miss Florence Lincoln's play, "The End of the Bridge," of which 108 consecutive performances were given. The *Boston Budget* said of this play:

At last it has been proved that academic instruction in the arts is not without its practical value. Miss Florence Lincoln, the author of "The End of the Bridge," has accomplished what may fairly be said to have never happened before in

the history of the drama. A college student without practical experience with the stage, and of course with a limited knowledge of life and human character, has nevertheless constructed and written a play that is human and convincing. From the very first the general theater-going public has realized that there is a play that is worth being seen for its own sake.

Professor Baker does not guarantee a playwright as the net result of every student who feels an impulse to write plays; although he does maintain that a dramatic composition is built according to logical laws of form, and that these laws can be taught. Results certainly justify his claim; for a considerable number of plays are announced each year from his classes at Harvard and Radcliffe, and recently three plays by Harvard men were being presented at the same time in New York, namely "The Scarecrow," by Percy Mackaye; "The Faun," by Edward S. Knoblauch, and "The Boss," by Edward Sheldon.

Many of the fifty-five institutions reported the production annually of plays of the lighter sort, of which the "Mask and Wig" productions of the University of Pennsylvania are perhaps the best known. As Miss Sheldon remarks, "Such shows have no significance for serious college drama. Their wide occurrence and evident hold upon college sympathy is indeed the most discouraging fact, and the only one contained in the reports."

A valuable phase of dramatic activity is to be found in the clubs presenting plays. Of these one of the most interesting is the Yale Dramatic Association, whose purpose from the beginning has been

the production of plays of educational value, especially of plays possessing great historical and

artistic value, but not apt to appear on the public stage. Yale magazines and the New Haven papers testify to the excellent results of this aim. The Association has produced one of "The Samuel Shepherd Plays," Heywood's "Fair Maid of the West," Sheridan's "Critic," Goldsmith's "Good-Natured Man," Ibsen's "Pretenders," and plays by Wilde and Pinero. The productions have been marked by great historical accuracy and by something like real dramatic finish.

It has also accumulated more than \$10,000 as the nucleus of a fund for the building of a Yale theater. Harvard already has a Dramatic Club, the advantage of a college theater as a dramatic workshop.

Of old plays, the Elizabethan are the most popular with college producers, but the supreme favorites seem to be the 18th-century plays "She Stoops to Conquer," "The School for Scandal," and "The Rivals." In recent years the number of Greek plays produced has been increasing. Often the acting versions are prepared by members of the faculty. Mention must also be made of the performances of professional companies under college patronage, although these of course are not, strictly speaking, academic drama. The Ben Greet and the Coburn Players figure prominently in the reports; and Maude Adams's production of "Joan of Arc" at the Harvard Stadium and Margaret Anglin's reproduction of Sophocles' "Antigone" in the Greek Theater in California rank by themselves.

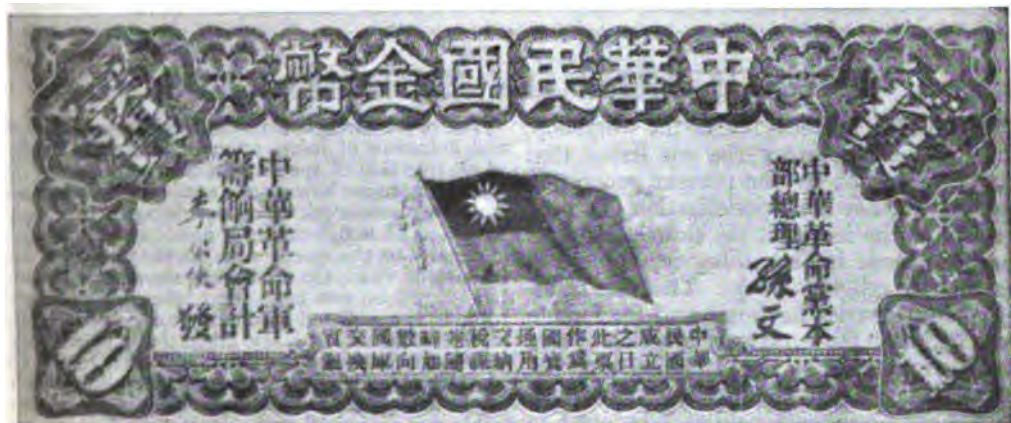
Miss Sheldon considers that "on the whole the investigation has shown that our colleges are well abreast of dramatic activities outside. College authorities seem to recognize more and more the usefulness, if not the necessity, of producing plays to illuminate the history of drama, the life of a period, and the art of play-writing."

## THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

AN organization having thirteen million paying members, every one of whom has received a liberal education, and more than 95 per cent. of whom have acquired some degree of proficiency in a foreign tongue, is a pretty strong organization to have to contend against. And when, added to this, the principles of the institution have the sympathy, however secret, of upward of 250,000,000 persons more, and the financial support of many of these, no wonder that any movement initiated by the organization should be able to accomplish great things—even the overthrow of an old-established

government. In the February *Sunset*, Mr. Walter Bertin Clausen relates the history of the revolt in China, his account being edited by Sun Fo, son of the revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yat Sen; and, citing the facts given in the foregoing paragraph, he states that the system of government for which the agitators are working is that of a socialistic democracy, the party planks being: Free speech, free religion, no taxation without representation, liberal education, and compulsory education to all classes, universal suffrage, and absolute control of the government by the people." The father of the





THE CHUNG HWA REPUBLIC PRINTED \$2,000,000 OF THIS CURRENCY IN SAN FRANCISCO LAST YEAR FOR CIRCULATION THROUGH THE WESTERN UNITED STATES; \$10,000,000 IN GOLD NOTES, PRINTED IN PARIS IN 1907, WAS SUBSCRIBED FOR IN EUROPE AND CHINA

movement is acknowledged to be Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and his experiences while an exile from China are most graphically described in the article under notice. Mr. Clausen says:

For two years the movement progressed with great success and secret meetings were held in all the large cities of the Yangtse Kiang valley and in the seacoast provinces. In 1895, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, fired with premature confidence in the strength of his party, made plans for the capture of Canton. The plans were completed, stations effected and ammunition secured, when spies of the Manchu government, who had secured entrance to the meetings, caused a trap to be set for the leaders. In the big meeting on the eve of the planned uprising the plotters were surprised by a military raid of Manchu officers. A mob battle ensued and some fifteen revolutionists and Look Ho Tung, one of the leaders, was captured; Dr. Sun Yat Sen and others escaped during the mêlée, and made their way out of the city under the cover of darkness. Look Ho Tung and the captured revolutionists were executed.

With his activities discovered to the government, Dr. Sun Yat Sen was forced to flee the

country. He reached Hongkong that night and the following morning he boarded a boat to Japan. A price of \$35,000 was set on his head, and this had now been increased to \$75,000 before the throne promised clemency to the rebels.

He stayed in Japan for several months, making his headquarters among the Chinese students in Tokyo. From there he spread the propaganda of the revolution among the students, and three months later began a tour around the world.

In the course of this tour Dr. Sun Yat Sen visited every continent. San Francisco was chosen as the temporary headquarters of the Young China party in the Western world, and Paris as the European headquarters. Of Dr. Sun's sojourn in London we read:

Most exciting was the kidnapping effected by the agents of the Manchu government while Dr. Sun Yat Sen was staying in London. He was held prisoner for nearly two weeks at the Manchu Imperial Legation, and finally getting out word of his imprisonment to an English physician who had been his instructor in Hongkong College, he secured his release through the Premier of Great Britain.



But the real organization of the republican movement was not effected until August, 1905.

At this time, three thousand Chinese students assembled in the Jim Kawi-Jue—town hall—of Tokyo, Japan, in a big two days' meeting. This was the first meeting of its kind ever known to have been held by Chinese people.

From this meeting students were detailed to every part of the globe, and especially in China, and so the greatest movement of revolutionary organization in the history of the world was begun.

The flag which had been made by the martyr Look Ho Tung was adopted as that of the new party.

The emblem of the republic, destined to replace

the yellow dragon, is a sun with twelve points, which denotes the twelve periods of the day and night. The colors were red, blue and white, denoting liberty, equality and fraternity.

The Chinese republic that is to endure may not be established upon exactly the lines projected by the organization which has owed so much to the Provisional President, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. History, however, will credit him with having organized the revolt which triumphed last month when the Manchu dynasty formally gave up the throne. In our editorial department we tell the story of the final days of the Manchus, and mention some of the problems that will confront the republican régime.

## MISSIONARIES IN THE MAKING

WHILE in business life, in the workshop, in the laboratory, the one lesson that has been learned by the present generation has been the need for specialization, it would seem to be the fact that the slowest progress has been made in the all-important field of training for religious work. That the training of missionaries for home and for foreign work had been far too largely identical, was a condition reported by the Commission on the Preparation of Missionaries to the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910; and the commission recommended to the conference that "it should institute a Board of Missionary Studies, the general purpose of which shall be to supply guidance and to render assistance to missionary societies in the preparation of missionaries for their work." Within a year of the close of the conference, boards of study had been formed in Great Britain and America. Writing in the *International Review of Missions*, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin says that "it is almost universally recognized that the language of the people to whom the missionary goes must be acquired before he can take up responsibility for mission work." "Every tongue is a soul," according to the Arab proverb; and to understand the soul of a people is the missionary's first task. But the acquisition of the native language is only one of several requisites of the modern missionary; and the board of study, while leaving each missionary society free to train its candidates in its own way, furnishes such information and guidance as may from time to time be requested. Dr. Hodgkin's article indicates several ways in which the English board of study can render help. For example:

The board can become a clearing-house for ideas and a bureau of information in reference to the whole question of special missionary training. It is amazing to see how largely each society has been ignorant of the work others are doing in this matter. . . . Wide differences of opinion are apparent in regard to the question as to the point in his training at which the missionary should go abroad. It is urged, on one hand, that when his ordinary training is completed he should at once proceed to his field of labor. It is also urged that a missionary who comes out fully prepared, and even ready, to speak the language, is sure to make blunders which would be avoided if he were to live a year or two in his new surroundings before undertaking active work. An Indian missionary insists that at all costs the concluding period of training, a year at least for all missionaries, shall be on the field.

Another question which the board will deal with is that of training schools on the field. The China Inland Mission has had for many years one for men at Nanking, and one for women at Yangchow; and these are regarded by the mission as "an almost unqualified success." It is now proposed to have a central training school for all China. In India, matters are not so far advanced; but a proposal has been made to the Church Missionary Society that their new missionaries should be placed during the last years of training at the Divinity School, Allahabad, where they would work alongside Indian students.

The English board of study, consisting of 100 members, has for its secretary the Rev. Canon H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D., who has for thirty-five years been a missionary in the Punjab. The American board, consisting of thirty-six members, with Principal Douglas Mackenzie of Hartford Theological Seminary as its chairman, has been appointed subject to the final confirmation of the next Annual Conference of Foreign Mission Boards.

## POSING FOR MOVING PICTURES

"DRAMATIC art? Bah! Anybody can stand up and make faces in front of a camera!" This is a dramatic critic's opinion, but is also a popular impression of the art of posing for the production of photo-plays. And yet, says Lida Evandel, in the *Moving Picture News*, even if this were the only qualification, many prominent actors could not pass the test, for they depend for their success largely on a magnetic personality and a pleasing voice, both of which, unfortunately, are lost to the camera. Experience and ability, however, far from being the whole equipment necessary for the photo-play actor, are only the starting point.

In addition, the director wants to know if he can ride well, not only in approved city style but also in Wild West fashion; can he swim, dance, skate on ice and rollers? Is he a good swordsman, pugilist, sailor? Can he row a boat, run an automobile, and has he a license as a chauffeur? The very latest demand is that he be an aviator, in case he has to elope with the heroine in an aeroplane. Besides the requirements of the director, if he is a wise man, he will have his life heavily insured before he joins the mob of a moving-picture company.

Of course there are always skeptical individuals in the audience, who not only believe that everything shown on the screen has been faked, but who take pains to enlighten their neighbors. "You take it from me," said one of these doubting Thomases, apropos of a drowning scene, "that's nothing but a tank in a studio. The man's only walking on the bottom of it. You can bet he's no more swimming than you an' me are right now." "That aeroplane," he proceeded, as the next picture appeared, "is nothing but a few pulleys and sheets put together to fool the gullibles; but I'm wise to all them tricks."

As a matter of fact, however, acting for the moving-picture play is often no tame studio affair, with faked-up properties, but is done in a natural outdoor setting, and is full of vivid and dangerous realism, often involving injuries and sometimes death for the actors. Take for instance the production of the pictorial version of the life of Boone, by the Republic Film Company. The most dramatic parts of Boone's life were selected for representation, and as such episodes in the career of an American frontiersman were naturally full of action, it is obvious that there was real work ahead for the photo-play actors. The setting chosen was in the New Jersey woods. At the very outset, the production was delayed because the 75 Indians

hired for the play declined point-blank to expose themselves in aboriginal warpaint, feathers and breechcloth on a cold, raw day. Finally, the weather permitting, the prairie schooners, loaded with emigrants, with their children and household utensils, started off. Of course, the Indians attacked the party, "as per schedule," and the wagons were driven wildly through the woods, bumping over rocks and other obstacles, the women shrieking with real fright, and begging the men to drive more slowly, but there was no let up until the film was finished. Then, of course, the Indians set fire to one of the canvas wagons, precipitating a scramble among the women folk of the pioneers to see if any of their belongings were in that particular wagon, and, all the while the fire was going, the women had to stay close enough to the blaze to be seen in the picture and yet keep themselves from being burned. The fort, which it took five men a week to build, was burned by the Indians in a few minutes, the former occupants choking and sputtering in the thick smoke so that the camera could record the frightened expressions on their faces. When the smoke of the battle cleared away, some real casualties were counted.

The Indian who had scaled the fort to set it on fire had fallen and nearly broken his arm; it was swollen and black for days afterward. A hot cinder from his firebrand fell upon the neck of one of the defenders of the fort, and slid down his back through the loose open collar of his rough shirt. One of the women who fired an old-fashioned shotgun had been kicked over by it, while a half-breed was so badly burned by powder, it was hard to tell what had been his original color. An Indian was shot, it was thought for a time, quite seriously. The director constantly admonished the white men to shoot in the air and not kill any Indians. The settlers were warned to look out for the spears and arrows of the Indians, and yet instructed not to move from the positions the director assigned them where arrows fell thick and fast. In one of the scenes an Indian rode down a steep hill at a breakneck pace; while doing so his horse stumbled and threw the Indian over his head. "Boone" had to ride without saddle or bridle down a steep incline at a terrific pace to reproduce the scene of his ride in the Cumberland mountains. In the canoe scene, which was taken on a pond from fifteen to twenty feet deep in places, the canoe upset, and its occupants had to remain in the water and were almost drowned before two men could rush in, out of the range of the camera, and rescue them from their chilly bath.

In a rescue-from-drowning scene, enacted near New York during the past year, the would-be rescuer was himself drowned. Another fatal accident resulted when an at-

tempt was made to run a train so close to the intended victim as to give the appearance of actually running over him.

Rarely do dummies take the place of live actors, even in the most dangerous positions. So that when you see a man in a moving-picture hanging over a crevice in an iceberg, or almost buried in a snowdrift, you can depend upon its being realistic drama and that some actor has been kept in cold storage for some time to enable the camera to record the scene. During one of the battle scenes in "Daniel Boone," the "dead" Indians lay almost naked on the cold, wet ground for nearly half an hour until the scene could be taken exactly right.

In a regular theatrical production, many rehearsals can be had before presenting the finished production to the public. In a picture play, however, after the director has shouted "action" the camera begins to record faithfully whatever passes before it. Some scenes may be omitted from the final play, but none can be changed. Often a single little incident will spoil an entire scene and necessitate its reënactment at a cost of hundreds of dollars. In one of the scenes of the Daniel Boone play some of the less experienced people in the company stopped to look at the camera to see if they were in the picture. The whole scene had to be done over. In another production there was a mob in front of a building. A man stuck his head out of the second-story window, without be-

ing seen by the director or operator. The finished picture revealed a man's face laughing at the mob, and 300 people had to be reassembled at the same place and the pictures taken all over again.

As a profession, posing for moving pictures offers advantages not possessed by the "legitimate" drama. There is work the year round, and opportunity for home life for the actors. Husbands and wives may find employment in the same company; and there is usually work for a number of children also. The young girls need not travel alone and unprotected, nor work late hours, and there is no constant appearance before the public. The wages are good. "Extra" people get five dollars a day, members of stock companies from twenty-five to fifty dollars a week, while a good deal more is given to special actors engaged for certain plays. Success, however, is not an easy matter in this line any more than in anything else.

But, if a person is willing to work while he waits, if he does not mind going without a dinner now and then, if he does not object to being a target for amateur shots, if he has nine lives like a cat and always alights on his feet when he falls, if he doesn't care for the bumps and bruises along the way, he may climb to the top of the ladder of moving picture fame, and live to a ripe old age, to relate to his children and grandchildren how many narrow escapes he had from the very jaws of death.

## IS A UNIFORM DIVORCE LAW NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE?

THE numerous advocates of the enactment of a uniform law of divorce may read with considerable advantage the common-sense views expressed in a thoughtful article on the subject contributed by Dr. Ralph E. Prime to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, O.). Dr. Prime is well qualified to discuss this question. He writes from the experience of a long life—he is seventy-two years old; he first began the practice of law in 1863; he has been a leader in the Presbyterian Church in the United States for a score of years or more, and has been chosen representative of that church to its councils both at home and abroad. In Dr. Prime's judgment, this matter of legislating on the subject of divorce is preëminently one in regard to which we shall do well to remember the old adage, *Festina lente!* It were far better to "make

haste slowly" than to "rush to ills that we know not of." While recognizing that marriage is to be viewed in two aspects, the religious and the purely legal, "so far as marriage is a civil contract and regulated by the statute, we must admit that it is within the province of any State, for its own community and people, to regulate it. That such is the law of the land is to be regretted, but it is, nevertheless, within the realm of state rights." Dr. Prime's article seems to have been prompted by the remarriage last summer of a prominent divorcé, in which "American decency was shocked by the brutal defiance of the law by one whose prominence consisted only of inherited name and money."

Concerning the legal aspects of the matter Dr. Prime remarks:

We apprehend that the evil is not so much in the divorce laws of the different States as in the violation of those laws, by reason of the separate jurisdictions of each State. If it were not for that separate jurisdiction, the offense of last summer could not have been perpetrated, and the decent community would not have been so aroused and incensed. Whatever may be the disabilities for remarriage of divorced persons in the State of their residence or sojourn, or the State in which they are divorced, marriage being a civil contract, a remarriage may take place outside of that State; and contracts, the marriage contracts among them, are valid, and must be recognized under the Constitution of the United States as valid, in all the States.

As a large proportion of the divorces granted in the Western States are immediately followed by remarriage, it would seem to be the fact that remarriage is a great inducement to divorce; and, if it be so, "the remedy is in destroying the inducement rather than in changing the laws of divorce." The advocates of a uniform divorce law apparently overlook the comparative situation between the East and the West as to causes of divorce. New York State has but one cause; in the Western States there are many causes. Dr. Prime's observations in this connection are so forceful that we give them in full. He writes:

Is it at all conceivable that, in case of obtaining a uniform divorce law in all the States, the standard of New York (that is to say, one cause of divorce only) would be the result in a uniform divorce law? Would the different States, with their many causes of divorce, consent, under any circumstances that we can conceive, to submit to have imposed upon them our code of New York in that respect; or would they, if they had the power, impose upon us in such event their laws, with their multitude of causes of divorce? Look for a moment at the figures. Of the forty-eight States in the Union, twenty-seven of them are situated wholly or partly west of Indiana. The Senate of the United States has two senators from each State, and hence, of the ninety-six senators, fifty-four of them are from and represent those twenty-seven States west of Indiana, which is a large working majority of the United States Senate. Therefore the Western States have us in the Senate of the United States. The House of Representatives is apportioned according to population, and the recent census shows that the center of population is at a point in the westerly side of Indiana. Hence, the House of Representatives apportioned on population will have, west of that center in Indiana, one-half of all the members of the House of Representatives, and there are some States east of that center of population which have as objectionable divorce laws as any State west of that center. Should this subject ever come within the power and jurisdiction of Congress, what sort of a uniform divorce law would they give us? Would it be like the divorce law of New York, with only one cause of divorce, or would this powerful majority in both Senate and House of Representatives impose upon us in New York a uniform divorce law, with from six to four-

teen different causes of divorce? It seems as though there were but one answer possible; and that is that the standard of New York would be let down, and that, for all the States, we would have many rather than few causes of divorce. It would seem, therefore, that a uniform divorce law is no remedy for the situation. The risk is too great. The situation it would bring about would be dangerous in the extreme.

In what direction, then, lies the remedy?

It would be a happy solution if Congress had the power to legislate not to the end of making a uniform divorce law, but to the end of making it a federal crime, wherever committed, for any divorced person to remarry where forbidden so to do by the statutes of the State in which he was divorced, or by the decree of the court by which he was divorced. But as the Constitution now stands Congress has no such power. What then can be done in that direction? . . . A statute in as many States as possible—and each State it would seem would be glad to enact it—which would make illegal and void the remarriage of any divorced person forbidden by the laws of the State in which divorced, or by the decree of divorce against him, to remarry, would operate to make the contract of marriage null and void in every State where such a law would exist . . . A further remedy . . . could be attained by the passage in the different States, each State for itself, of an act making it a crime for any divorced person forbidden by the law of the State in which he obtained his divorce, or by the decree of the court in which he was divorced, from remarrying again anywhere within its limits.

One of the chief stumbling-blocks in the way of reform is the condonation by so-called society of such immoral offenses. "No matter how repulsive in morals, no matter how indignant the community in general," that portion of society which "frames its bars and limits to include and welcome the man of money, regardless of his moral character," receives back into its circle "the unclean creature." But

if in addition to his debased moral character he be stamped with the badge of a criminal, and has "done his time" within prison walls and behind bars for having contracted such an illegal marriage, would that portion of society, so called, receive him within its circle? How would he differ as a criminal from the common thief or other criminal who had been so branded and was a graduate of a prison?

The remedy for the present undesirable and unsavory conditions seems undoubtedly to lie in the condemning and preventing of the remarriage of a divorced person, and in "creating him a criminal which will exclude him from society and make him a wanderer." At present persons seeking divorce are often accompanied to their newly-acquired domicile by the persons with whom they are to remarry!

## THE WORLD-WIDE FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOL

DR. MAX KASSOWITZ, medical professor at the University of Vienna and author of a number of works upon medicine, contributes an article to the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* (Vienna), in which he gives a broad survey of the advances being made in the temperance cause. He shows that with increasing state and local prohibition in various countries crime has greatly diminished. Next to the United States, he remarks, England's colonies have made the greatest progress in this movement. In New Zealand the cause has been aided by the women's vote; and the like may be said of Norway, Denmark, and Finland. In Europe, the Northern nations, excepting Russia, stand in the van in the anti-liquor crusade. Though in the Scandinavian countries—outside of the Faroe Islands and Iceland—prohibition has not yet been submitted to a popular vote, there is no doubt that they are steering toward the settlement of this problem by the most radical of means. In England, state and municipal activity is as yet far behind individual effort, which is very considerable. On the continent, the only radical legal measures against intoxicants are to be found in the Swiss prohibition of absinthe. The opponents of alcohol in Switzerland openly avow, however, that they are aiming at governmental prohibition of all alcoholic beverages. They are aided in their efforts by the official statistics, which show that every tenth adult in the Swiss towns succumbs to the ravages of chronic alcoholism. As regards Germany, the writer says:

Though the consumption of alcoholic drinks is less per capita than in the Swiss Republic, it is twice as great as in the United States. In one point Germany stands at the head of the list—the almost universal habit of drinking among all classes and conditions of men. It is a fact familiar to every traveler in Germany that one can with difficulty obtain any non-alcoholic beverages in public places—at best, only after being mulcted for them. But of still greater importance is the circumstance peculiar to German-speaking nations alone—the alcohol-cult of academic circles, where excessive indulgence in intoxicants is actually glorified. The persistence in these remarkable customs is detrimental in two ways to the tem-

perance movement, which has advanced so far in other countries. On the one hand, the professional classes and the bureaucracy, where coöperation is indispensable in most reform movements, are reinforced in great part by the "old men" of student societies; and on the other, the wholesale consumption of intoxicants, accompanied by imposing rites among the academic youth, finds numerous imitators among semi-academic circles, whom, naturally, it is even harder to win over to the cause of abstinence than the larger number who imbibe their usual portion from sheer force of habit. Under these circumstances, it is, at any rate, very gratifying that the conviction is gaining ground that the alcohol evil cannot be reached by preaching "moderation"—everyone, of course, having a different standard of that—but only by the same radical measures that have proved so eminently successful in other countries. Thus, there are thirty temperance periodicals in Germany to-day, including German-speaking Switzerland; the Grand Lodge of international Good Templars, which in 1890 counted 386 members in 13 lodges, had, in 1910, about 45,000 members in 1152 lodges; ten years ago there were 7 temperance societies, having a membership of 20,000; to-day there are 41 societies with 150,000 members, while a petition to establish local option legally, lately addressed to the Reichstag, bore half a million signatures. In Germany, too, then, the agitation is in full swing, and has already provoked the objections and counter-measures of the alcohol interests.

The writer concludes with the following paragraph:

Austria still occupies a very backward position. The few who in the last ten years or so have been working vigorously for the cause encounter on one side the indifference of the great mass of the educated and uneducated, and on the other, either the direct opposition of the senseless formalism of the persons in authority. While, moreover, we find temperance societies of young people everywhere—in England embracing 4,000,000 members—the students of intermediate schools are, as yet, forbidden in Austria to join such organizations. The Order of Good Templars, spread over the rest of the globe, is prohibited in Austria on the score of its being a secret society—the citizens being obliged to resort to a substitute, the "Nephelia Society," while in Hungary and Servia the Good Templar lodges are making gratifying progress. However, the anti-alcohol congress which met at Gratz last October, and was an assembly of uncompromising fighters in the cause, represented the German as well as the other nationalities of the Empire; it is to be hoped, therefore, that Austria, too, will eventually share in the success which this beneficent movement has reaped in other lands.



# MAKING BONDS POPULAR

## WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

### The Winning Number

"SUBSCRIBED twenty times over," a last month's cablegram reported of the new popular loan in Paris.

"What investors those thrifty French people are!" The American reader who made this exclamation is one of those who has heard much about the "little savers" across the water and the half billion dollars invested every year by the French public, mostly in the securities of other countries.

But here is a story.

Not long ago, a prudent Frenchman, casting about for a good investment, happened upon one of the bonds of the same company which created such a *furor* last month. This bond had been issued in 1903. He bought it. It bore a number in the corner, as every bond does. This number was 426,813.

Imagine the feelings of the owner on reading the news reproduced on this page from a French financial weekly of January 16th. His bond Number 426,813, for which he had paid the equivalent of \$100, had suddenly become "reëmbursable" for \$30,000.

Thirty thousand per cent. on the investment!

Explanation: this was a bond of the Credit Foncier. Now Credit Foncier securities are also lottery tickets. Once every so often numbers corresponding to the bond numbers are shuffled, and so many of them "drawn" by lot. Our friend's number, at the January 11th drawing, happened to come first. Note the clipping reproduced on this page.

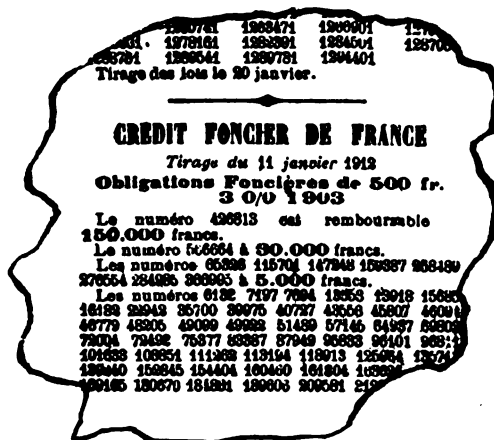
That a lottery should be conducted by the great mortgage and loan bank of France, under national protection, is not strange. Paris runs similar lotteries in connection with its funded debt. Number 291,800 of the two per cents. issued in 1898, for instance, was the first drawn on December 5th last. The prize was 200,000 francs, \$40,000.

Many another Continental government, desirous of selling its bonds at a low rate of interest, has adopted this means of arousing enthusiasm among investors.

Naturally, when the investor is getting a lottery ticket along with his bond, he will accept a low rate of interest. The Credit Fonciers that were new last month, for

instance, bore only 3 per cent. After allotment, thanks to the alluring possibilities possessed by each and every one, they sold higher than 101. This meant less than 2.9 per cent. interest on the invested money. *Très bien*—are there not twelve prizes, \$20,000 each, to be drawn for, one every month in the year?

Many readers of the interesting articles on French thrift have not considered this factor. One's description of it has brought exclamations of amazement from American statesmen, doctors, and churchmen. But after all, it is almost within the memory of living man



### THIRTY THOUSAND PER CENT.

(One reason why "everybody invests" in France is illustrated by this extract from *La Revue Economiste* for January 16. In the *tirage*, or drawing, number 426,813 has come first. The holder of the bond bearing that number may now cash it in for 150,000 francs, \$30,000. It cost him only 500 francs, \$100. However, many French methods of popularising investment are adaptable to America; for instance the splitting up of great loans into small pieces, such as \$50)

that a flourishing lottery was being run by the State of New York. One year the urgent appeal of various needy colleges and a church with a mortgage so affected the New York legislature that it assigned the exclusive lottery privilege of the State to the reverend gentleman who presided over one of the aforesaid colleges.

He conducted the business with marked ability. The colleges were handsomely endowed, and the church paid its debt!

Not until 1833 did New York State prohibit this method of attracting money.

## Education As Panic Prevention

A STATESMAN running a lottery—the very idea is paradoxical nowadays. Yet the French bond-lottery is merely one feature in the guiding, philosophizing, and friendship which the French Government showers upon its citizens in the matter of finance.

Granted that the United States Government cannot adopt this alluring feature of popularizing sound investment—because of the modern Anglo-Saxon prejudice against gambling in any form, also because of a statute of 1890, denying lotteries the use of the mail—there is still much to be learned from the French example.

The tiny "pieces" into which the heaviest issues are subdivided tell the story. The \$100,000,000 loan above described was split up into two million bonds—\$50 apiece. Not only that—any purchaser could pay in twelve instalments if desired. Thus the mechanic and the milliner could get in on the ground floor with the millionaire—and did. The subscribers numbered two million of the population. The money was to be devoted to municipal improvements in towns and communes.

Thus little private savings are turned direct into great public works. But a result still more important follows such spreading of investment interest.

Popular financial education goes far to prevent panics.

"Most of the big smashes of the last three or four generations could never have taken place," writes M. Alfred Neymarck, if a greater number of people had possessed even a normal knowledge of the laws governing finance. M. Neymarck's investment weekly, *Le Rentier*, has stoutly championed the cause of the "little saver" during more than forty years. He is now founding a society to spread investment knowledge, among country investors especially. There will be courses of lectures on company law, the art of understanding a prospectus, the responsibilities of shareholders, and so on. It is simply an extension of the long-time activity displayed by the French Government in the same direction and for the same purpose.

Thousands of "panic cures" cropped up in America after 1907. Hardly any one seemed to have benefited by a study of the French policy: to begin with the education of the individual citizen. The laws governing company promotion and corporation conduct are rigid and wholesome. Then there is the fullest public confidence in the great mass of

securities representing every part of the world that are listed on the Bourse. This privilege cannot be obtained without the sanction of a high official of the government—the Minister of Finance, whose censorship is stern, and who may at times even go so far as to dictate the price of issue to the public.

Of course, in most matters of this kind—particularly in connection with issues of bonds of foreign countries, for which the Frenchman has always had a special liking,—political expediency naturally plays an important part.

But oftentimes the Minister's decisions are made solely with a view to protecting the "little saver." Two recent events furnish illustrations of that. One was the forestalling of the sale of bonds of a small Republic because "the prospectus of the flotation was impudent and misleading." The other was the calling of a sudden halt in subscriptions for bonds of a South American country, because the discovery was made that the principal and interest of the loan had not been properly safeguarded.

## American Law-Makers and Investors

"THE square deal for investors" may yet come to be a campaign slogan of national politics in America, as it is abroad. Representative Francis Burton Harrison of New York has brought a bill before the present Congress that calls for full publicity from any corporation engaged in interstate commerce that desires to sell its stocks and bonds to the public.

This bill marks an advance in the reasonableness of proposed legislation on this subject. It aims, not at securities sold on the Stock Exchanges merely, or those handled by national banks—but at *all* that are connected with operations in interstate commerce. The first problem—that of Federal jurisdiction—is thus more clearly defined. Representative Harrison embodies in his bill many of the sound recommendations on the Railroad Securities Commission report, which was noted in these columns last month.

One feature that is found in State legislation, recent and at present proposed, with the same general purpose, is omitted in the bill now before Congress. This is the much-criticized provision whereby some public official is required to "authorize" the securities, or "license" the corporation, or otherwise put the Government in the position of committing itself in advance.



In that respect the present proposal seems to avoid one danger in attempts to regulate such matters by law—namely, the implication that there exists some government guarantee of the quality of the securities involved. Of course, such an idea would cause untold losses through misplaced confidence.

At least three State legislatures—those of Nebraska, Massachusetts, and New York—have similar measures on their calendars for consideration at the present sessions. All aim directly at restraining the fraudulent promoter and the peddler of doubtful stocks and bonds.

These bills seem to have been inspired by, and to a considerable extent patterned after, the so-called "Blue Sky" law of Kansas. This, since its enactment a year ago this month, has been of wide notice in the magazines and newspapers. The requirement common to them all is that persons or corporations desiring to market securities of any kind must first submit the plans of their enterprises to some State "department," or commission for careful examination and approval.

### Five Million Dollars Gone

"HE forced his way into the offices of the company and found two of the five rooms vacant. There were desks in the other three but these on being opened were found to contain only stationery. While he was present, a constable arrived with attachment papers and carried away the safe which had been bought on credit. He was confronted with a bill for unpaid rent, and later the furniture company which had equipped the offices on credit telephoned, demanding a settlement."

This is quoted not from a detective story, but from last month's news. It is a description of real life—what actually confronted the receiver who was called upon last month to hunt up the assets of a Western corporation. It had failed to pay the interest due on several millions of "guaranteed bonds."

Just one scene, this, from a big tragedy that is being enacted year after year in this country at a tremendous cost, not only to the great company of individual investors taking part in it, but to the nation as well. The loss to several thousand property-owning Americans was more than financial. Away went that "investment confidence" which the French Government is at such pains to preserve.

Every time the curtain falls on such a scene, it becomes necessary for legitimate American enterprise to do a sum in sub-

traction. It must take from the sum total of the capital upon which it counts for its expansion and development an amount equal to the aggregate losses of these newly victimized "security" holders. In the single case in point, the losses approached \$5,000,000.

Last year, just those schemes of fraudulent finance run down by the Postal authorities involved no less than \$77,000,000. That amount of money would have built and equipped about 500 miles of high-grade railroad, like the Pennsylvania, for instance. Thus used, it would have given employment to thousands of workers in many lines of industry. It would have begun to earn for its possessors from \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000, or more, in annual interest and dividends. In short, it would have been a most substantial contribution to America's real prosperity.

Of course, financial adversity of this sort is not entirely without its benefits. Those whose savings are swept away may turn their experiences to account, and set about learning how to avoid future pitfalls. The pity is that there are apparently so many "repeaters," as the sociologist would call them—folks who fall, time after time, before the same wild temptation of impossible profits. For such there is still need of more investment education and opportunity.

### Swelling Expenses

"BUTTER is selling at 33 cents a pound in the heart of the creamery district."

This complaint against high prices is registered by *Bonds and Mortgages*, a magazine representing especially the prosperous farmer of the Middle West. He is feeling the added cost of necessities. City folks, who find eggs and milk and so on higher than for a year past, are wont to blame the farmer. But although grain prices went down in the spring and summer, flour prices are still up. The causes for high prices concern more than investors and town dwellers—they form a national issue.

In a special message to Congress last month, President Taft gave official recognition to the problem. He recommended an appropriation to defray the expenses of preparation for an international conference to inquire into the causes of the dearness of all necessities. In this, the United States is to participate.

The proposed convention is to be "international." The mounting cost of butter and eggs and meat and flour—in fact, nearly everything that enters into the daily consumption of the people—is not peculiar to

America, but world-wide. It was figured out by the economists a few weeks ago that "commodity prices" rose one per cent. during January, and that they are now "at the record high for thirty-six years," in the city of London.

Much of the current discussion of prices in this country lays the trouble to the habit that James J. Hill calls "the cost of high living." A prominent Chicago merchant, a few weeks ago, protested against "the good household matron's habit of dropping a nickel in the telephone every time she wants a loaf of bread, instead of putting her market basket on her arm and going to the grocery."

That was one simple way of emphasizing the fact that the American people have become extravagant. And according to many eminent bankers, extravagance in living, no less than ignorance of the nature and working of sound legitimate enterprise, is hindering our taking the rank we should as a nation of investors. To illustrate: time was when the semi-annual disbursements of interest and dividends—especially the larger ones made in January and July—could be counted on to create a substantial "reinvestment demand" for securities. Lately, however, the demand has been almost negligible. More owners of bonds and stocks, the bankers assert, have been using their investment incomes to pay their debts, and provide for "running expenses."

Attention was called by the National City Bank of Chicago in its February review to another evidence of prodigality. One of the large life insurance companies was instanced, which for the last year or more has been compelled to lend its policyholders nearly a million dollars a month. Formerly, the aggregate monthly demand for such loans was oftentimes less than \$100,000. The authority for these figures added that "experience has shown that most of the money thus raised is not used for purposes of necessity, but for luxuries."

If the cost-of-living investigation accomplishes nothing more profound than making the average citizen realize the gravity of his extravagances, it will not have been in vain.

### When Stockholders are "Innocent"

THE responsibilities of the holders of shares in American corporations have been much discussed of late. Some remarks on the subject by Louis D. Brandeis are interesting to recall—and timely as well. For example, he asserted not long since that there is no such thing as an "innocent" purchaser of stocks.

Testifying before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, Mr. Brandeis said, "It is entirely contrary, not only to our laws, but to what ought to be our attitude toward investments, that a person who has a chance of profit by going into an enterprise, or a chance of getting a larger return than he could get on a safe mortgage or bond, should have that chance of gain without any responsibility. The idea of such persons being innocent in the sense of not letting them take the consequences of their act, is bound to work out in evil results. When persons buy stock in an organization of doubtful validity and doubtful practices they are not innocent—they are guilty constructively by law and should be deemed so and held up to a responsibility."

What he meant was in effect that if a man takes money from a stranger without giving in return "valid consideration," as the legal phraseology puts it, and that money afterward turns out to have been illegally acquired by the donor, the recipient is not "innocent" and cannot be held to have a lawful right of possession. He should have inquired as to how his strange benefactor came by the money.

This scares folks—especially now that such laws as those referred to in a previous "note" are cropping up, and there is a big investigation on, looking to the amendment of the Sherman Law.

One might imagine an ordinary citizen-stockholder of any one of the big businesses so much assailed of late, asking whether Mr. Brandeis did not take too theoretical a view. Most stockholders couldn't, to save their lives, give the legal meaning and effect of "valid consideration." Then, how can the layman be expected to determine for himself whether the enterprise in which he had invested his money is of "doubtful validity" or carrying on "doubtful practices"? To decide such questions takes years, millions of dollars, eminent counsel, the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court.

The Courts, indeed, are more practical. This was shown, for instance, in the Supreme Court's decisions which ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Companies, as illegal combinations in restraint of trade. In both of these rulings, specific reference was made to the regard which the Court held for the interests of the investing public—stockholders as well as bondholders.

There may be no need for fright. There is certainly less excuse for lack of investment education.

# THE ART OF THE THEATER

IDEAS BY EDWARD GORDON CRAIG ON THE PRODUCTION OF PLAYS

MR. EDWARD GORDON CRAIG is an Englishman, born in the atmosphere of the stage, the son of the greatest English actress of our generation—Ellen Terry. He made his début as a lad of sixteen, in 1889, in a play called "The Dead Heart," and to-day, after fifteen years of fruitful experience as a worker in the theater as actor, manager, designer, and producer, he offers a revolutionary book of theory on the "Art of the Theater."<sup>1</sup> This volume, dedicated to William Blake, is a work of undoubted genius,—a prophecy of an art to come,—given in the form of essay, homily, and dialogue, illustrated with curiously interesting drawings and designs for costumes taken from the portfolio of Mr. Craig's own designs for the stage. The London *Nation* calls Mr. Craig a "master-pioneer in the theater." Dr. Alexander Hevsi, of the State Theater, Budapest, writes that nearly all that has been done in the way of theatrical reform in Munich, Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Mannheim, is to be called the success of Mr. Craig. In association with John Semar, Mr. Craig edits that esthetic magazine of the theater, *The Mask*, whose object is to encourage genuine theatrical art and also to publish rare articles and engravings and, by translations, to bring what has been accessible only to scholars within the reach of all. To fully appreciate all that Mr. Craig's book means as regards the art of stage craftsmanship, it is first necessary to look for a moment at what the theater means to us, here in America, in the year 1912.

"To save the theater, the theater must be destroyed; the actors and actresses must die of the plague. They make art impossible." This Eleanora Duse has said and this Mr. Craig believes. To most of us the art of the theater is but cloudily discerned through the great dust of modern scenic effects. The tension of modern life in large cities is so great that we rush in search of any amusement, artistic or inartistic, as a relief for our over-burdened nerves. What we exact from our amusement is not in the main art, but simply respite from thought. It is an open question if very many busy people take the theater seriously or give the art of the theater any reasoned consideration. It does not concern them because they do not know what that art is, nor do they know that it is their duty to be concerned. Now, even to busy persons there comes occasionally a longing for the good old plays and the players who acted them, and the question arises, What has gone out of the theater? If art, whither has it gone, and what was it really, after all? Also there comes the realization that the young and the unknowing are accepting the sham for the real, and that since the theater must remain with us or is likely to do so, it had best become a factor in our spiritual and artistic development.

What is the art of the theater? Something so delicate, so intangible, so far away from modern conditions of life, so enfolded to the heart of perpetual childhood, that we have all but forgotten its very existence. It is a thing of action, words,



EDWARD GORDON CRAIG

(Author of a thought-provoking work on the art of the theater)

line, color, rhythm, all equally important. There may be more art in the graceful performance of a rope dancer than in the careful miming of our actors reciting from memory and depending upon the prompter. Mr. Craig thinks the appeal of this art must ever be more to the eye than to the ear. Plausibility to the eye has long been the keynote of many of the productions of one of our American manager-producers. The charm of "The Return of Peter Grimm" is largely visual; take away the spoken words, and most of the play remains unharmed by the loss. Yet so delicate is the technique of this visual appeal that, at the mercies of actor and producer less attuned to the subtleties of theatrical art than Warfield and Belasco, "The Return of Peter Grimm" must have utterly failed.

We see true art perpetually vanishing into the remote distance of life. That it must be simple and not burdened with the budget of the pedagogue and the reformer goes without saying. There is a cry that "art for art's sake" will lead to dangerous ground. Not so, pleads Mr. Craig. We shall, with art for art's sake, get "not into the real world, which is a disappointing and deceptive place, but into a realer world, homogeneous, significant, grave, and spiritual."

Two men, according to Mr. Craig, have spoiled modern theatrical art—the Realist and the Machinist. The first, because the art of the theater never was nor could be dependent upon imitation of

<sup>1</sup> On the Art of the Theater. By Edward Gordon Craig. Chicago: Browne's Bookstores. 295 pp. \$2.

life; the second, in that the tricks of the Machinist can never be marvels in that they are tricks. Art, whether of painting or of sculpture or of music or of the theater, is a matter of vision; it must open for us the wider universe and connect us in some mysterious way with the spirit of the form it assumes, the essence of the thing portrayed. No actor, however clever he may be, can make an actual copy of life. "Realism," says Mr. Craig, "is a vulgar means of expression conferred upon the blind." That realism is in favor with the public at the present moment he recognizes, but his book is written for those to whom beauty is truth; truth, beauty, and whom he would rescue from a fruitless and sordid imitation of nature.

Mr. Craig goes so far as to suggest that we replace the actor with the marionette or the

"Uber-Marionette," as he chooses to call him, an echo of the noble artificiality of a past civilization. He takes us back to the principles underlying stage productions in Shakespeare's time and finds the Elizabethan masques and pageants beautiful examples of the light art of the theater. The greatest plays gain when presented with simplicity against the plainest backgrounds. Symbolism meets with his approval, for there is nothing that does not owe a debt to symbolism; it makes modern life possible and lies close-coiled at the root of all art. Dürer's and Blake's "free, bounding line," their mastery of light and atmosphere, he carries over and translates into an art of the stage, which is a perfect freedom that is still a perfect restraint—"an exquisite expression of precious emotions and ideas."

## THE NEW BOOKS

### THE DRAMA AND MUSIC

WHILE the Abbey Theater Players are still upon American soil, there comes to us Mr.

The Abbey  
Theater

George Moore's latest work, "Hail and Farewell," which gives the early history of the Abbey Theater, its plays and players. "Hail and Farewell" is the first volume of a trilogy which is to bear the subtitles of "Ave," "Salve," and "Vale." It makes its first appearance here with the addition of a note from the publisher which states that the work has been falsely represented to the public as the reminiscences of Mr. Moore, and that thereby an injustice is done the author, as Mr. Moore has in no wise included therein his reminiscences. The note explains further that the people in the book are not personalities as they appear, but types,—Edward Martyn, typical of Ireland; Yeats, who came over with the Abbey Theater Players, as the typical literary fop; Gill, as he appears in this first volume, representing the disembodied intelligence which Catholic superstitions create. Also we are told that a philosophy is indicated between the lines if the reader cares to search for this stronger food, and that this philosophy will be developed in the succeeding volume entitled "Salve." It has always been expected that George Moore would write a book on Ireland. He was born there in 1853, the son of George Henry Moore, orator and politician, and has been more or less in touch with the Irish-Gaelic revival. He was one of the founders of the Irish Literary Theater and wrote two plays which were produced there: "The Bending of the Bough," a play dealing with Irish local affairs, and "Diarmuid and Grania," the last in collaboration with Mr. Yeats. Moore's most notable novels are "Esther Waters," "Evelyn Innes," and "Sister Teresa"; his most condemned and utterly pagan work, "The Memoirs of My Dead Life," a confession of the *affaires d'amour* of a man of the world. Hunneker, writing of this volume in the *New York Times Book Review* some years ago, hailed Moore as the one sent to save us from the deadly microbe of puritanism that infected American life. One arrives at the conclusion after reading "Hail and Farewell" that either we do not care to be saved, or that puritan-

ism has triumphed over paganism, or that George Moore has grown a trifle garrulous and a bit uncertain of the righteousness of his creeds. He has the knack of being interesting no matter what he writes about, and the fascination of his style is as wonderful as ever. Especially is this true in that part of the volume descriptive of Ireland. Scene by scene, picture by picture, he carries the reader on a dream-journey over the Emerald Isle, spreading before us all the green country with its haunting beauty, its desolation and its tears. It is a sad, a deserted Ireland that Moore sees, and over it he writes as above the stone fragments of Castle Carra, the words—"Ruin and Weed."

"To-morrow" is a new play in three acts by Percy Mackaye. Technically it is a brilliant,

A New Play by  
Percy Mackaye satirical drama; in reality it is a tract for the promulgation of certain biological truths concerning the laws of heredity. The principal action of the play is laid in the garden of an apostle of Burbank—a scientific plant breeder who is the father of the heroine. He appears throughout the play as the forerunner of the biologist of to-morrow. The dialogue is intense with interest, the logic and argument of the play convincing. There can be no doubt of the fact that "woman as the creative arbiter, through selection, of our race and its future, must constitute a living theme for thought and action."

"What is the value or dignity of this art of music?" is asked and answered in "Music and Morals," that comprehensive and

Music Lore wholly delightful work of the late Rev. H. R. Haweis, now offered in an enlarged form in its third edition. It is a treasure-trove of information about music, musicians, old violins, bells and belfries, together with short biographies of celebrated composers, and forty pages of illustration. The development of the violin is followed from its humble beginning in three roots,—the Rebek, or lute-shaped instrument, the Crouth, or box-shaped instrument, and the Rotta, a kind of guitar, down to the form perfected by Stradivarius; and the evolution of the piano is traced from the old Roman harps and lyres

\* To-morrow. By Percy Mackaye. Frederick A. Stokes & Co. 176 pp. \$1.25.

\* Music and Morals. By Rev. H. R. Haweis. Harper & Brothers. 563 pp., ill. \$1.75.

\* Hail and Farewell. By George Moore. Appleton. 144 pp. \$1.75.

innumerable to the clavicytherium, the monochord, the virginal, the spinet and on to the modern pianoforte. Generally speaking, "Music and Morals" is a kind of encyclopedia of useful knowledge appertaining to music and things connected therewith. Mr. Haweis lectured before the Lowell Institute in 1885 and represented the Anglican Church at the Conference of Religions in Chicago in 1893.

#### POETRY AND POETIC CRITICISM

The simple lyrics offered in the volume of verse entitled "Quiet Places,"<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Carlos Wupperman, possess an intensity of feeling

##### A New Book of Lyrics

and a freshness of poetical vision. Of these lyrics, "Love and Death" is most inspiring in its idealism and hope for the continuity of human affection after death. The more pretentious poem entitled "Woman," while wanting in lyrical beauty, is of high and lofty sentiment. A thorough study into all that the idea of the Immaculate Conception means to the human race in certain stages of development, as a symbol if nothing more, would doubtless have prevented Mr. Wupperman offering his poem "Mother" to the public. Poetry must accept its beautiful and appropriate limitations; the moment it refuses to do so, it is not poetry, however technical and metrical its construction.

William Allan Neilson, Professor of English in Harvard University, contributes a scholarly treatise to the theory of poetry and poetic criticism entitled "Essentials of Poetry."<sup>2</sup> The material of the book was given before the Lowell Institute as a series of lectures last year. Mr. Neilson has been undoubtedly influenced to arrive at an illuminating conception of Romanticism, and the quotations he has used are mostly from those of the Romantic period. His criticism is technical criticism in the highest sense,—a dispassionate, direct analysis of certain elements of poesy, chiefly imagination, reason, sense, and fact. The chapter on classicism is masterly and his conception of unity and consistency touch the fine edge of intuitive insight into poetic reality. There is not a page of the book that is not readable and inspiring to the student and of great interest to the general reader.

"A sonnet is a moment's monument."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Henry Frank, author of serious and indispensable works on theology, has seized on the great moments in American history

##### Patriotic Sonnets

and woven an historical sonnet-sequence, beginning with the discovery of America by the Norsemen and continuing on to the period following the war with Spain. A sonnet to Lincoln commencing "Hail first and foremost plain American," and also one addressed to the memory of Robert E. Lee, are among the best of these unique sketches that ring with high and lofty patriotism. Historical references in prose are arranged in an appendix.

#### ETHICS AND PHILOSOPHY

It has been said that no man who graduated from Harvard without taking the famous "Phil.

##### Professor Palmer on Freedom

Four" has really known the true spirit of Harvard College, and certainly, if he did not come under the wholesome teaching and the helpful influence of

Prof. George Herbert Palmer, now finishing his forty-first year as a teacher in the college, he has not known the best that Old Harvard has to offer. No one can so vividly bring the beauty of the ethical teachings of Jesus and of Socrates down to their bearing upon the everyday life of an undergraduate as this gentle, scholarly man who now offers us the finished expression, gathered from his whole life of teaching, upon the subject of ethics. It is entitled "The Problem of Freedom"<sup>4</sup> and discusses the questions, Are we predestined and bound by an irrevocable law, or are we free? Can we, or can we not, support the theory that human action is a subtle variant of physical emotion? As literary artistry, this work has the freshness and direct simplicity that characterized the author's "Life of Alice Freeman Palmer." The problems are presented with a dramatic vigor, and the general reader as well as the philosophical student will find great reward therein.

Charles Brodie Patterson has written many helpful books, messages of hope and optimism, good health and right thinking. His

##### The Gospel of Work

latest work, "Living Waters,"<sup>5</sup> is a volume of essays that show how much easier it is to coöperate with the Eternal Goodness and be happy than it is to be unhappy. As to the manner in which this coöperation is effected, we find an important clue in Mr. Patterson's thoughts on prayer,—"Prayer is not serenely folding the hands and waiting for prayer to be fulfilled; prayer, to fulfill its perfect mission, must be followed by action." This gospel of work is upheld by a serene faith that the object of life will unfold to us as we progress in goodness and wisdom.

Professor Rudolf Eucken's "Die Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung" has now appeared in English under the rather freely rendered title, "Life's Basis and Life's Ideal."<sup>6</sup> It has long been

##### The Scheme of Life

recognized that Professor Eucken is a prophet in the sense of being an ethical teacher of world significance rather than a philosopher in a more technical sense. The present work is the latest and best general statement of Professor Eucken's philosophical position. All hope of success, he maintains in his "Preliminary Remarks," "depends upon our life containing greater depths, which hitherto have not been fully grasped." His present work is a "careful examination" of the five "schemes of life" which are intelligible to and significant for the entire human race. These systems, as the German prophet and philosopher would have us consider them, are: those of Religion and Immanent Idealism on the one hand, and those of Naturalism, Socialism, and Individualism on the other hand. A number of Professor Eucken's works have now been translated into English, and the present rendering will serve to make clear the general position taken by this eminent modern German thinker. The translator is Alban G. Widgery, a member of the University of Jena, at which, it will be remembered, Professor Eucken occupies the chair of philosophy. It is one of the greatest tributes to the lifework of this German scholar, says Mr. Widgery in his introductory note, that his philosophy seems to be gradually forming a rallying-point for idealists of all kinds.

<sup>1</sup> Quiet Places. By Carlos Wupperman. Shames O'Sheal Press. 82 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> Essentials of Poetry. By William Allan Neilson. Houghton Mifflin Co. 273 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> Story of America Sketched in Sonnets. By Henry Frank. Sherman, French & Co. 261 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup> The Problem of Freedom. By George Herbert Palmer. Houghton Mifflin Co. 211 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>5</sup> Living Waters. By Charles Brodie Patterson. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 344 pp. \$1.20.

<sup>6</sup> Life's Basis and Life's Ideal. By Professor Rudolf Eucken. London: Adam and Charles Black. (New York: Macmillan.) 377 pp. \$2.50.

Ellen Key's latest book, "Love and Ethics,"<sup>1</sup> is presented as a concise statement of her entire philosophy. We have already noticed in these pages the principal other works by this great Swedish authoress, including "Love and Marriage" and "The Education of the Child." In this latest book she deals frankly with sex problems with the finest courage and purity of mind. She believes that we must establish new standards of moral values if present-day social wrongs and abuses are to be remedied. She is content, however, to point the way to these higher values, without demanding that her revolutionary ideas of reform be translated into immediate action.

#### LIFE STORIES OF THREE GREAT AMERICANS

The memoirs of three distinguished Americans happen to have been published almost simultaneously near the close of the year 1911.

Judge Hoar of  
Massachusetts

These three men were contemporaries, and the central period covered by the narrative of each is the same, namely, the era culminating in the Civil War. Two of the memoirs take the form of autobiography, although only one of the writers is still alive. The eldest of the three was Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar,<sup>2</sup> Attorney-General in President Grant's cabinet, and brother of the late Senator George F. Hoar, who, in his later life, was more widely known. The authors of Judge Hoar's biography are Moorfield Storey and Edward W. Emerson. They seem to have found no lack of material and the memoir consists very largely of extracts from Judge Hoar's own writings, which set forth in characteristic fashion his various activities as a citizen, as well as his long service on the bench, at the head of the Department of Justice in Washington, and as a member of the joint high commission which drew up the treaty under which were arbitrated the Alabama claims. Judge Hoar's residence in Concord and his lifelong friendship with Lowell, Longfellow, Charles Francis Adams, and other distinguished citizens of Massachusetts add to the interest of his memoir. He died in 1895, at the age of seventy-nine.

While Judge Hoar and his brother, the Senator, were winning laurels at the bar of Massachusetts, a family of equal eminence had already achieved exceptional honors at the bar of New York. The late William Allen Butler, whose "Retrospect of Forty Years"<sup>3</sup> covers the period, 1825-65, was the son of Benjamin F. Butler, the devoted friend of Van Buren and Attorney-General under both Jackson and Van Buren. In the history of the New York courts no names stand higher than those of the Butlers, father and son. William Allen was even better known to his generation as a poet than as a lawyer. The author of "Nothing to Wear" lived down to our own time, dying in 1902 at the age of seventy-seven. His childhood's recollections went back to his father's home at Albany, life at Washington in the days of Jackson and Van Buren, and later residence in New York City. Mr. Butler became specially distinguished in admiralty practice, but as a writer of humorous verse his fame extended far beyond the bounds of his

profession. His "Retrospect" is largely devoted to the history of the anti-slavery movement, in which he was profoundly interested.

The third of these eminent sons of the Republic, Dr. James B. Angell, president emeritus of the University of Michigan, is still with us. His reminiscences also revert to the years preceding the Civil War.

President  
Angell

An intensely interesting chapter is devoted to an account of a horseback ride which Dr. Angell took through several of the Southern States in the years 1850 and 1851. During the war that followed Dr. Angell was the editor of the *Providence Journal*. In later years he was called to the presidency of the University of Vermont, and from that position to the presidency of the University of Michigan. After a service of thirty-eight years he resigned that office, but was retained by the university as president emeritus. In the meantime, Dr. Angell had been United States Minister to China in 1880-81, and in 1887 had served on the Canadian Fisheries Commission. His diplomatic service was still further extended by an appointment as Minister to the Ottoman Empire in 1897. Of Dr. Angell's modest book of reminiscences one feels tempted to offer the unusual criticism that it might be greatly improved by elaboration and extension.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO HISTORY

In the "History of German Civilization,"<sup>4</sup> Dr. Ernst Richard, Lecturer on the History of German Civilization at Columbia University, has given a general survey, with the object of presenting to the reader, clearly, the "personality" of the German people, and of showing how such "personality" is expressed in the national life. Dr. Richard writes with enthusiasm of the contributions made by the German spirit and German individuals to Western civilization, closing with a warning that the German must "forever remain conscious of his ideals."

A fascinating story of South American history opening up vistas that look like fairyland and romance, is contained in A. Stuart M. Chisholm's account of "The Independence of Chile."<sup>5</sup> The recital of the achievements of O'Higgins and San Martin stirs the blood like the sagas of the Crusades.

The second volume of Mr. A. Maurice Low's study of "The American People"<sup>6</sup> treats American history from the time of the Revolution to the present day. Mr. Low, despite the fact that he is a "Britisher," has already shown such an insight into American psychology that anything he writes of our people or national life is bound to be suggestive, interesting, and generally profitable. The present work, which is now complete in two volumes, considers first, the "Planting of a Nation"; second, the "Harvesting of a Nation." Mr. Low's range of information is remarkable, and his knowledge of our American national character profound. Moreover, he is a confirmed optimist, and sees nothing but hope for the people of this country. Any bad symptoms, he tells us, discernible

America's  
Planting and  
Harvesting

<sup>1</sup> Love and Ethics. By Ellen Key. B. W. Huebner. 73 pp. 50 cents.

<sup>2</sup> Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar: A Memoir. By Moorfield Storey and Edward W. Emerson. Houghton Mifflin Co. 354 pp., port. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> A Retrospect of Forty Years. By William Allen Butler. Scribners. 442 pp., ill. \$1.

<sup>4</sup> The Reminiscences of James B. Angell. By James B. Angell. Longmans, Green & Co. 258 pp., port. \$1.55.

<sup>5</sup> History of German Civilization. By Dr. Ernst Richard. Macmillan Company. 545 pp. \$3.

<sup>6</sup> The Independence of Chile. By A. Stuart M. Chisholm. Sherman, French & Co. 330 pp., frontis. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup> The American People. Vol. II. By A. Maurice Low. Houghton Mifflin Co. 608 pp. \$2.25.

in our national character are merely the incidental illustrations of a lousy infancy. He warns us, however, that there may be a danger in the American practice, if not belief, that the social structure is nothing and the individual is everything. He believes that we are not a mere amalgam of races, but an entirely new race with individual traits and distinct characteristics.

We have, from time to time, expressed our admiration for the scholarly and thorough manner in which the "Cambridge Modern History" has been edited, and is being brought out by the Macmillan

press. The same concern has undertaken the publication of a series of volumes on "Medieval History,"<sup>1</sup> under the general supervision of Dr. J. B. Bury (Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge) and the editorship of Messrs. H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, both also of the Cambridge faculty. Volume I considers: "The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms," is uniform in size with the Modern History, and contains more than 450 pages to which are appended 14 maps and an excellent index. Volume II, it is promised, will consider: "The Rise of the Saracens and the Foundation of the Western Empire;" III: "Germany and the Western Empire;" IV: "The Eastern Roman Empire;" V: "The Crusades;" VI: "The Roman Theocracy;" VII: "Decline of the Empire and the Papacy;" VIII: "Growth of the Western Kingdoms."

#### TWO BOOKS ABOUT HEREDITY

"Heredity in Relation to Eugenics"<sup>2</sup> is the impressive title of Charles Benedict Davenport's study of the relations of our parents to the possibility of our having better children. The work sums up what is known of the transmission of various diseases and other characteristics; it discusses the origin of feeble-mindedness, with its vast social consequences, and its possible elimination. It considers American families, the part they have played in history, and the proof they furnish of the great importance of "blood." Mr. Davenport is Director of the Department of Experimental Evolution, at Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.

Another book on the same general subject is Prof. William E. Castle's "Heredity in Relation to Evolution and Animal Breeding."<sup>3</sup> Professor Castle (Zoölogy, Harvard) writes clearly and cogently, and presents a scientific statement of the present-day problem of how to create new and improved breeds of domestic animals.

#### OTHER BOOKS OF THE MONTH

An investigation of the river transportation system of Germany, particularly the Elbe and the Rhine, with a number of helpful illustrations, is published under the title of "The Port of Hamburg,"<sup>4</sup> by the Yale University Press. It is written by Edwin J. Clapp, author of "The Navigable Rhine," and aspires to be the "sort of study which must precede any sane program" for the much needed

modernization of our own ocean and great lake terminals. It is the result of two years' study of the German waterways and chooses Hamburg because of the technical excellence of its terminal and warehousing facilities, as well as the enterprise of its shipowners, merchants, and shipbuilders, and of the state aid rendered to the German merchant marine.

The account of a first trip to Europe and what came of it, told with simple directness, which is at times very charming, even while the subject matter is old and time-worn, is Miss Georgina Pflaum's "Tour Two."<sup>5</sup> Miss Pflaum, in a series of letters to a friend at home, tells frankly and in simple language her impressions and experiences, with a certain naïveté which is refreshing.

A statement of the principles that govern the art of news writing as practised by American newspaper writers is given by Prof. Charles G. Ross (chair of journalism in the University of Missouri) under the title "The Writing of News."<sup>6</sup> There are chapters on newspaper copy; the English of the newspapers; the writer's viewpoint; the importance of accuracy; news values; writing the "lead"; the story proper; the feature story; the interview; special types of stories; the correspondent; copy reading; writing the head; don'ts for news writers; and newspaper "bromides."

The sixty-fourth annual issue of the English "Who's Who,"<sup>7</sup> the edition for 1912, contains 2364 pages as compared with 2246 in the preceding edition. It includes information about the subjects therein up to September 1, 1911. This indispensable office manual maintains its traditional high standard.

#### A LIBRARY OF MODERN RESEARCH

A publishing enterprise on original lines is "The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge."<sup>8</sup>

This is a series of specially written books on subjects of importance and interest in the chief departments of human learning. These books are all of approximately uniform size (about 250 small pages) and are sold at the uniform price of fifty cents per volume. Each volume is complete in itself and is sold separately from others in the series. The whole is under the direction of a board of editors, one of whom, Prof. William T. Brewster, of Columbia University, represents American scholarship. It appears, however, that the editors have attempted little or nothing in the way of shaping the treatment of particular subjects or assigning arbitrary limits to individual volumes. Each author is, to all intents and purposes, a law unto himself. There is virtually no restriction on individuality of authorship. Of the 100 volumes originally planned, twenty-nine have now appeared, and of these twenty-nine the writers of all but one are British authorities. The one exception is the volume devoted to the American Civil War, which is naturally treated by an American historian, Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin. The series is distributed among the

<sup>1</sup>The Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. I. Planned by Prof. J. B. Bury and edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. Macmillan Company. 754 pp., maps. \$5.

<sup>2</sup>Heredity in Relation to Eugenics. By Charles Benedict Davenport. Henry Holt & Co., 298 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>3</sup>Heredity in Relation to Evolution and Animal Breeding. Prof. William E. Castle. Appletons. 184 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup>The Port of Hamburg. By Edwin J. Clapp. Yale University Press. 220 pp., ill. maps. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup>Tour Two. By Georgina Pflaum. Sherman, French & Co. 203 pp., ill. \$1.25.

<sup>6</sup>The Writing of News. By Charles G. Ross. Henry Holt & Co. 236 pp. \$1.40.

<sup>7</sup>Who's Who: 1912. New York: Macmillan Company. 2364 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>8</sup>The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge. Edited by Herbert Fisher, Gilbert Murray, J. Arthur Thomson, and William T. Brewster. Henry Holt & Co.



fields of literature and art, philosophy and religion, history, natural science, and social science. The aim in each instance is to present the freshest information on each subject and to ignore discarded theories and hypotheses that have been found, as a result of modern research, to be clearly untenable. The books are admirably adapted to the needs of men and women who have not been able to specialize in particular fields of knowledge, but who wish to obtain accurate and sound ideas of what has been found out by the specialists. The series appeals less to the imaginative and dramatic instincts of readers than to the sober, earnest desire for knowledge that is often encountered in mature life. The volume on Polar Exploration, for example, instead of giving a narrative of the thrilling exploits of the various Arctic expeditions, summarizes, in a graphic and useful way, the precise results of those expeditions in the form of increased knowledge concerning the earth's surface, and the vegetable and animal life existing thereon. In the majority of the volumes thus far published both the subject matter and the method of treatment remind one at once of the popular magazine article with which we are all familiar. Each book may be regarded as an elaborated and extended magazine article prepared by an expert whose interest in his own subject is unflagging. The advantage of having so extensive a series of special monographs of this character published in uniform size

and style is obvious. On the whole, we should say that the advantages of such a scheme far outweigh the possible disadvantages that may arise from possible overlapping or inconsistencies of presentation or treatment. "The Home University Library" is in no sense a reprint of classic texts. It is all new material, and represents the latest research and the most critical thought of those who are entitled to be regarded, by the English-speaking world at least, as masters of their several specialties. A full list of the titles thus far published will exhibit more clearly the range and characteristics of this remarkable series:

Parliament, by Sir Courtenay P. Ilbert; Shakespeare, by John Massfield; The French Revolution, by Hilaire Belloc; A Short History of War and Peace, by G. H. Berle; The Stock Exchange, by F. W. Hirst; The Irish Nationality, by Mrs. J. R. Green; Modern Geography, by Marion L. Newbigin; Polar Exploration, by W. S. Bruce; The Evolution of Plants, by Dr. D. H. Scott; The Socialist Movement, by J. Ramsay MacDonald; The Science of Wealth, by J. A. Hobson; The Animal World, by F. W. Gamble; Medieval Europe, by H. W. C. Davis; Evolution, by Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson; An Introduction to Mathematics, by A. N. Whitehead; Liberalism, by L. J. Hobhouse; Crime and Insanity, by Dr. C. A. Merclier; The Opening Up of Africa, by Sir H. H. Johnston; The Civilization of China, by H. A. Giles; History of Our Time, by G. P. Gooch; An Introduction to Science, by J. Arthur Thomson; The Papacy and Modern Times, by Rev. William Barry; Astronomy, by A. R. Hinks; Psychological Research, by W. F. Barrett; The Civil War, by Frederic L. Paxson; The Dawn of History, by L. J. Myres; English Literature: Modern, by G. H. Mair; The Evolution of Industry, by D. H. Macgregor; Elements of English Law, by W. M. Gendart.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Searchlights on Some American Industries. By James C. Mills. A. C. McClurg & Co. 299 pp., ill. \$1.50.

The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate. By Eliza P. Donner Houghton. 375 pp., ill. \$2.

The Desecration and Profanation of the Pennsylvania Capitol. By Samuel W. Pennypacker. Philadelphia: Wm. J. Campbell. 104 pp., ill.

Industrial Depressions. By George H. Hull. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 287 pp. \$2.75.

My Story. By Tom L. Johnson. B. W. Huebsch. 326 pp., ill. \$2.

The Tragedy of Andersonville. By General N. P. Chipman. Published by the author. 506 pp., ill. \$2.

The Boy Captive of the Texas Mier Expedition. By Fanny Chambers Gooch-Iglehart. Revised. Reprinted and Republished by the Author. 331 pp., ill. \$1.25.

Story of the California Legislature of 1909. By Franklin Hichborn. San Francisco: Press of James H. Barry Co. 328 pp. \$1.25.

Story of the California Legislature of 1911. By Franklin Hichborn. San Francisco: Press of James H. Barry Co. 395 pp. \$1.25.

A History of the President's Cabinet. By Mary L. Hinsdale. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr. 355 pp.

The Greenback Movement of 1875-1884 and Wisconsin's Part in It. By Ellis B. Usher. Published by the Author. 92 pp. \$1.

The United States Navy. By Henry Williams. Henry Holt & Co. 228 pp., ill. \$1.50.

Outdoor Philosophy. By Stanton D. Kirkham. Putnam. 214 pp. \$1.50.

An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War: Letters of Robert Anderson, Captain 3rd Artillery, U.S.A. Introduction by Eba Anderson Lawton. Putnam. 339 pp., \$2.

Social Value. By Benjamin M. Anderson, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Co. 199 pp. \$1.

Vagabond Journeys. By Percival Pollard. Neale Publishing Co. 328 pp. \$2.

The Law of the Employment of Labor. By Lindley D. Clark. Macmillan. 373 pp. \$1.60.

Naval Strategy. By Captain A. T. Mahan. Little, Brown & Co. 472 pp., maps. \$3.50.

The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare, Apostle to the Sioux. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Sturgis & Walton Co. 417 pp., ill. \$2.50.

Railways in the United States. By Simon Sterne. Putnam. 209 pp. \$1.50.

The New England Cook Book. By Helen S. Wright. Duffield & Co. 327 pp. \$1.50.

Intimacies of Court and Society: an Unconventional Narrative of Unofficial Days. By the Widow of an American Diplomat. Dodd, Mead & Co. 336 pp., ill. \$2.50.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 13 Astor Place, New York City



## THE BRITISH NAVY PREPARING FOR A COAL WAR

(When the great British coal strike began last month, the Admiralty, fearing a shortage of fuel for the navy, made strenuous preparations to fill its supply depots. Several swift vessels were sent at once to purchase American coal. This striking photograph, taken on March 1, shows a scene of activity alongside the floating coal depot at Portsmouth dockyard, which is the largest in the world.)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Republican  
Controversy*

March was a month of great political activity; and the doings and sayings of candidates and their supporting committees had a much larger place in the newspapers than the work of Congress or that of the State legislatures. The situation had been clarified by the definite appearance of Mr. Roosevelt as leader of the progressive wing of the Republican party. Two great subjects were being threshed out by those of our fellow-citizens who think themselves entitled to be called members of the Republican party. One of these subjects had to do with party methods, and the other had to do with public questions and principles. The question of methods was not only much more pressing, but also much more important, than the other. In its simplest form, the question is: Shall the Republican party select its own candidates and make its own platform, or shall these things be done for it by certain people and interests for their own private benefit?

*Whose  
Party  
is It?*

It is of vastly more importance to the Republican party, and to the country, that every voter should have an equal voice in the party councils, than that the nomination should be accorded to one candidate or another. The high-handed methods that have been used to secure delegates have already given some assurance of ultimate reforms. They have so aroused the country, so filled it with abhorrence of political trickery and of the use of public office and power for private ends, that they have furnished the great necessary object lesson. Conditions have to become very bad, sometimes, before they can be made better. Public abuses must become shameless and undisguised in order that their evil can be clearly seen and remedies can be applied. Great public wrongs have resulted, in many of our States,—notably New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois,—from the bi-partisan nature of the management of political machines. Reform legislation has been difficult at Albany, for example, because the bosses of both parties have drawn their rewards from the same identical sources. A system that has so often blocked reform in State and municipal government can also, to a considerable extent, be applied to national government. The question then is, to whom does the Republican party belong?



SAVING THE COLORS  
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

*Business  
Control  
of Politics*

Anyone who has studied closely the aggregation of interests that is now controlling the machinery of the Republican party, and that is using every means to capture the convention, has no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the most potent of these forces working for a common end are not of a partisan or political character. Certain great corporations that were prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and that have been reorganized as a



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COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS HE LOOKS TO-DAY

result of the decision of the Supreme Court, are now in a more favorable position than ever before in their history. Their prosperity is unbounded. Their modes of reorganization have had the sanction of the government. They are immune from further attack. The vaunted victory of the government over these great trusts led to no unpleasant consequences. It was merely a question of corporate forms and of bookkeeping. Denunciation of these corporations at the hands of a prosecuting government was of such a nature that anybody unacquainted with the Pickwickian way of doing these things might have supposed that nothing short of the confisca-

tion of all their goods and penal servitude for life could possibly follow as a result of defeating these wicked trust magnates in the Supreme Court. But, as a matter of fact, no penalties of any kind were thought of. In the more famous of these cases it was merely decided that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey must not be a holding company for the numerous constituent concerns belonging to the Standard Oil Trust.

*Immune  
and  
Enthusiastic*

Thus a rearrangement was made of corporate forms; and the different companies are nominally independent of one another while belonging to

the same owners. These owners are wealthier and more prosperous than ever; and their aggregate holdings are worth a great many millions of dollars more in the market than before the government won its heralded victory. Yet this solution was so satisfactory to the Administration that everywhere it was proclaimed as pointing the way to the treatment and solution of all similar cases. It is not strange that the interests connected with Standard Oil, Tobacco, and certain other trusts, having had their last day in court after long years of annoying litigation, and having come out unscathed and unharmed in person and in estate, should seek the retention in power of those from whom they have derived this happy immunity.

*Gratitude  
versus  
Justice*

Let no reader think that this is written in the spirit of an attack, whether direct or implied, upon the Standard Oil Trust, the Tobacco Trust, or any other great business. The Standard Oil Company has been one of the best business organizations the world has ever seen. In its earlier history it had obtained railroad rebates, in a period when every other business enterprise also expected such favors. It crowded small competitors ruthlessly, in a period when neither in law nor in custom had we worked out the principles of a code to define the proper nature and extent of competition. The Tobacco Company, it is true, had used monopolistic power greedily, and had destroyed small manufacturers and dealers by means not defensible from the standpoint of the rights of private citizens nor from that of the public welfare. Yet even the Tobacco Company had for years professed its eagerness to abandon any unlawful practices that the government would designate. This magazine has always favored the proper control of business to prevent harmful practices. It has advocated the Federal regulation and control of large corporations, and it has denounced the humbug of the methods used to drag corporations through the courts under the pretense of enforcing the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The gentlemen of enormous fortunes who control all the subsidiary companies of the Standard Oil, Tobacco, and various other trusts, are to be congratulated that they can go to bed at night with the feeling that they are free from the apprehension and uncertainty that troubled them when officers of the United States Government were not merely seeking to dissolve their holding companies, but were filling thousands of printed pages with allegations

and testimony intended to make these men out as guilty of countless crimes. For they, too, might have been in the predicament of the great Chicago meat-packers and the New York Sugar Trust magnates, who have suffered indictment and are now undergoing trial. No one can very well complain that these fortunate oil men and tobacco men have been won over to an enthusiastic support of the administration in its demand for another term. They are grateful for escape. But public justice calls for solutions that will relieve business from caprice and tyranny. It is justice, not favor, that the situation demands.

*Politics  
for  
Private Safety*

Nobody knows or cares whether these gentlemen are Republicans or Democrats. They can afford to take a large and active interest, behind the scenes, in the plans for the control of both parties. How hard it is, by the way, for the country as a whole to remember that the financial and industrial enterprises centering in Wall Street are always taking a keen interest in the affairs of both parties at the same time! It is not necessary to believe that there is anything wicked or sinister about this Wall Street attitude. Many of the men involved in it all are admirable gentlemen who would prefer, if possible, to be actuated by patriotic impulses. But their business responsibilities and their financial risks are so great that private interests must always be thought about first, and the public welfare must be a secondary thing. Like all the rest of us, however, it is easy for these gentlemen to persuade themselves that a course that is good for their private interests may also be compatible with the general welfare. If the larger financial and industrial concerns of this country could be put in right relationship with law and government, these Wall Street gentlemen would offer little hindrance, and in the end they would be relieved and glad.

*The  
Essential  
Truth*

These remarks, therefore, are not intended to criticize the prevailing state of mind among the men who control the banks and industries. They are merely looking out for their own interests in a period when the conditions of law and government are so shockingly bad that these men of business cannot look at public questions with unclouded and disinterested minds. It is right and fair that the public should know the truth. While the alleged victories of the administration over corporations have been gloatingly proclaimed up and down the land, and while the plain citizen has been t-

that he ought to recognize with gratitude the defender of his interests as against the aggregations of industrial power, it ought to be understood that these same so-called trust magnates are highly satisfied with the terms of their punishment and are ardently kissing the hand that smote them. Meanwhile, business men who have never intentionally violated the law, and who have honestly endeavored to observe all rules of business propriety, are liable at any time to be subjected to unbearable persecution and annoyance at the hands of the bureaucracy in Washington,—if it should happen that somebody with a motive is powerful enough to invoke and expedite the action of the government against them rather than against some other of the many enterprises that are “on the list.” Thus, the satisfaction of the huge interests that have gone through the farce of being prosecuted, and have come out with immunity and great gain, is a powerful factor in the existing political situation. Another powerful factor is the dread and fear in other quarters lest the turn of the wheel may result in suits against their business undertakings. Obviously, they must needs try to curry favor. And so, through a different motive, they also, behind the scenes, are taking part in the present political game.

*The  
“Politicians’  
Trust”*

Under ordinary conditions, politicians prefer the success of their party at the polls to anything else. But under our existing system, the politicians are not seeking party success, but their own personal advantage. Many of these politicians, as in a State like New York, wish to control the machinery of their own party quite regardless of the question whether or not their party wins an election. It is a sort of “politicians’ trust” for controlling the organs of government; and since the men that really “pay the piper” are contributing to both of the rival political machines, it makes comparatively little difference to the guild of professional politicians whether the Democrats or the Republicans secure the more votes in November. If conditions were normal, and if party feeling as such were strong and genuine, the politicians would not dare to shape situations against the obvious wishes of the voters. But in many of the States direct primaries on a simple plan would put at least a good many politicians out of business. The “politicians’ trust,” therefore, is naturally at work, along with the other trusts, to control the political situation, irrespective of the sentiment of the voters.

*The Unprising  
of the  
Voters*

It is not easy for the people to find ways by which to bring their ultimate power into effect, for the breaking up of so strong a combination. Few could have believed, however, that so much progress could be made against almost irresistible odds as the people of this country have really made during the past three months. While newspaper post-card votes and various modes of testing Republican sentiment have as a rule shown a far greater popular demand for Mr. Roosevelt than for Mr. Taft, there has not been the slightest attempt in any direction to overbear the Taft sentiment. All that the Roosevelt supporters have asked for has been to allow the delegates to the national convention to be chosen by means which would fairly express the wishes of the party. The combination that is determined to force Mr. Taft’s renomination has in many parts of the country shown the most open and determined hostility to any and every plan that would subject their methods and choices to the test of party approval. This is a plain statement, and if it is not true all sources of reliable information are grossly at fault. Yet in January the opposing sentiment of the people was so lacking in organization and in rallying points that there seemed no practical chance of a Republican convention at Chicago in June that would not be overwhelmingly dominated by a mass of Southern delegates unblushingly secured by the use of federal patronage, and a mass of Northern delegates selected by the party machines and their financial supporters. At least the people have been made aware of the situation. In various parts of the country



THE BOSS HOLDING THE NEW YORK DELEGATION  
IN THE HOLLOW OF HIS HAND  
From the *World* (New York)



where the delegates are being selected against the prevailing sentiment of the party, the facts are understood; and there will be a day of reckoning in November.

*The  
Roosevelt  
Candidacy*

The formal statement in which Mr. Roosevelt permitted the use of his name, as the candidate of those who favored his nomination, was his letter of February 24, in reply to several governors of States. In this letter he stood firmly upon the principle that there should be "genuine rule of the people," and he expressed the hope that the people might be allowed to indicate their choice of candidates in direct primaries. Although we alluded to this correspondence last month, it has so important a place in the political history of the year that it is perhaps desirable that it should be printed again and in full at this time. The letter from the governors was as follows:

CHICAGO, February 10, 1912.

We, the undersigned Republican governors, assembled for the purpose of considering what will best insure the continuation of the Republican party as a useful agency of good government, declare it our belief, after a careful investigation of the facts, that a large majority of the Republican voters of the country favor your nomination, and a large majority of the people favor your election, as the next President of the United States.

We believe that your candidacy will insure success in the next campaign. We believe that you represent, as no other man represents, those principles and policies upon which we must appeal for a majority of the votes of the American people, and which, in our opinion, are necessary for the happiness and prosperity of the country.

We believe that in view of this public demand you should soon declare whether, if the nomination for the Presidency come to you unsolicited and unsought, you will accept it.

In submitting this request we are not considering your personal interests. We do not regard it as proper to consider either the interests or the preference of any man as regards the nomination for the Presidency. We are expressing our sincere belief and best judgment as to what is demanded of you in the interests of the people as a whole. And we feel that you would be unresponsive to a plain public duty if you should decline to accept the nomination, coming as the voluntary expression of the wishes of a majority of the Republican voters of the United States, through the action of their delegates in the next national convention.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM E. GLASSCOCK [West Virginia]  
CHESTER H. ALDRICH [Nebraska]  
ROBERT P. BASS [New Hampshire]  
JOSEPH M. CAREY [Wyoming]  
CHASE S. OSBORN [Michigan]  
W. R. STUBBS [Kansas]  
HERBERT S. HADLEY [Missouri]

The Hon. Theodore Roosevelt  
New York City, N. Y.

*The Rule  
of the  
People*

Mr. Roosevelt's reply to the foregoing was in the following terms:

NEW YORK, February 24, 1912.

GENTLEMEN: I deeply appreciate your letter, and I realize to the full the heavy responsibility it puts upon me, expressing as it does the carefully considered convictions of the men elected by popular vote to stand as the heads of government in their several States.

I absolutely agree with you that this matter is not one to be decided with any reference to the personal preferences or interests of any man, but purely from the standpoint of the interests of the people as a whole. I will accept the nomination for President if it is tendered to me, and I will adhere to this decision until the convention has expressed its preference. One of the chief principles for which I have stood and for which I now stand, and which I have always endeavored and always shall endeavor to reduce to action, is the genuine rule of the people; and therefore I hope that so far as possible the people may be given the chance, through direct primaries, to express their preference as to who shall be the nominee of the Republican presidential convention.

Very truly yours,  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

This letter does not make Mr. Roosevelt a candidate in his own interest. No efforts of his are directed toward capturing the nomination. He and those who are working with him are standing for the right of the Republican voters to control their own party. It is evident that a great number of Republicans do not desire Mr. Roosevelt's nomination; while it is much more strikingly evident that a vast number of Republicans are opposed to Mr. Taft's nomination. If the Taft people had been willing to let the party decide, nothing would have been easier than to arrange for direct presidential primaries throughout the country.

*The Struggle  
for  
Primaries*

In several States where special sessions of legislatures were called to pass laws establishing official presidential primaries, the Taft supporters used every means in their power, first to prevent the passage of such laws, and, second, to prevent the laws from taking effect soon enough to bear upon this year's nomination. Political parties until recently have been regarded as voluntary organizations, which could hold primaries at will without having official machinery created by law. No impartial observer this year could truthfully say that the organization endeavoring to secure Taft's nomination has in fact been willing to take the chances of a verdict at the hands of the members of the Republican party. It is useless at this time to predict the outcome of the great struggle now going on within the

Republican party for popular rights. We shall be content to await the issue and to let the people pass upon the results at the election in November. The early delegates of January, February, and March were mostly appointed through direct dictation from Washington, by virtue of official power; and were of course pledged to Taft. But nearly all of them were from States which have never helped to choose a Republican President. Apart from the North Dakota primary, which occurred on March 19, and where Mr. La Follette had been especially strong, the regular presidential primaries as previously arranged were to occur on the following dates: Wisconsin, April 2; Nebraska, April 17; Oregon, April 19; California, May 24; New Jersey, May 20.

*Fights for  
Primary  
Law*

In Michigan, Governor Osborn called a special session of the legislature to pass a primary bill, and the measure was adopted by large majorities in both Houses. But the Michigan constitution requires a full two-thirds vote of each House in order to give a measure immediate effect. The lower House had the necessary majority, but two or three votes were lacking in the Senate. At least the primary would be available in 1916. The Taft men were of course acting upon orders from Washington; and the country was drawing its own conclusions. The special session was to adjourn on Wednesday, March 20. Under these conditions, Governor Chase Osborn called still another special session of the Legislature, to meet on March 20. The final outcome could not be known when these pages were closed for the press. In Massachusetts, where the Roosevelt sentiment seemed comparatively weak, the Taft men were not so much afraid of a trial of strength; and the bill for Presidential primaries was enacted after some resistance, and accepted by Governor Foss. The popular test will be made on the last day of April. In Illinois, Governor Deneen announced his willingness to call a special session of the legislature if two-thirds of the members would indicate their willingness to give immediate effect to a primary law. It seemed improbable that such a response could be had, for the Taft men were fighting the plan. But it was also regarded as likely that in many counties a merely voluntary or advisory expression of Presidential preference could be made under an existing law. In Ohio the advisory primary will be held on May 21, while one will be held in Tennessee on April 27.

*New York  
Republicans*

The proposal that the New York Legislature should provide at once for a Presidential primary had very little support at Albany, because both Republican and Democratic organizations were unfavorable to it. New York has in operation a new primary law, which, however, is so complicated and so disadvantageous to opponents of the regular organization that no sincere and intelligent person can defend it. Under this law the regular party committees first select their delegates to the national conventions. If as many as 5 per cent. of the enrolled voters in a given district should have chosen to select opposing candidates by petition, they could get their ticket printed on the official voting paper. But it is a difficult and expensive matter to get the petitions in proper legal shape. In the Greater New York, comprising about half of the population of the State, Roosevelt delegates were duly nominated by petition early in March, the primaries occurring on March 26. In most of the remaining districts of New York State the difficulties of this method were too great to be overcome. The New York State Convention, which will choose the delegates at large, will meet at Rochester on April 9. President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, will be temporary chairman and make the principal speech. Although the New York delegation will in great part be claimed for Taft, it may prefer to reserve its judgment until the convention meets.

*The Fight  
in  
Other States*

In Pennsylvania there are district primaries on April 13, and the State Convention will meet on the 1st of May. It is wholly uncertain what the results may be. There has been much greater activity on behalf of Colonel Roosevelt throughout the State of Pennsylvania than throughout New York and New England. In Mr. Taft's own State of Ohio the Roosevelt sentiment has seemed greatly preponderant, although herculean efforts are evident on behalf of the President. Indiana had several months ago been regarded as pro-Taft, because of a lack of attempt to organize the opposing elements. Ex-Senator Beveridge, however, and many other active Republicans have formed a Roosevelt organization and are endeavoring to secure delegates on behalf of that preponderance of Republican voters indicated in all the informal newspaper tests. The efforts to prevent fair play in Indianapolis last month were scandalous, and could but react against the Taft movement.



DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

(Who will make the "keynote speech" at the New York Republican Convention)

The falsification of news has never been carried so far in American journalism as in the reports of primaries, conventions, and election struggles in the West and South during the past few weeks. Thus the statements alleging overwhelming Taft victories in the early district conventions in Indiana, as made in the Eastern press, were wholly misleading. Similar statements regarding Taft victories in Iowa were far from true. Thus Senator Cummins had all along known that certain political elements would control three districts against him, and that he could, out of a State delegation of twenty-six, count certainly upon only twenty delegates.

*The Cummins  
National  
Primary Bill*

Speaking of Senator Cummins, it is worth while to make note of his remarkable bill, introduced in the Senate last month, providing for Presidential preference primaries throughout the United States to select the candidates of all parties. As we pointed out in these pages last month, the only legal recognition of parties at the present time is in the laws of the States. Senator Cummins' bill would give national recognition to parties, and would provide a

legal and uniform way of selecting popular candidates. It would provide a prompt remedy for the most appalling evil now existing in our political life, namely, the use of all the influence and power of the executive servants of the people to perpetuate themselves in power regardless of public demand. Great as are the innovations proposed in the Cummins bill, they are very slight compared with the incalculable benefits that would accrue from the prevention of the vast conspiracy that can so readily be brought into existence, every four years, to extend the terms and emoluments of a group of officials who are in a position to reward their friends and punish their foes by abuse of the public power entrusted to them.

*The  
Columbus  
Address*

A great storm has been raised about some remarks made by Mr. Roosevelt in his address before the Ohio Constitutional Convention at Columbus. That convention is composed of



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HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE OF INDIANA

(Who is the leading spokesman of his State for the Roosevelt forces)



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING THE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

(At the right of Colonel Roosevelt is Mr. Bigelow, President of the Convention, and at his left Dr. Washington Gladden)

very strong and experienced men, who are thoroughly competent to prepare the draft of a revised State Constitution to be submitted to the Ohio voters. Mr. Roosevelt spoke at Columbus on February 21. An article by Dr. Elson, a leading member of that convention, in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for March, explains how ably and earnestly the people of Ohio are endeavoring to make their organic law more in keeping with their needs and wishes. Mr. Roosevelt's remarks were in many respects what is commonly called "radical," although not very many men can explain just what they mean by that word. Most of the speech expressed fundamental things of an obvious nature in a timely and striking way. There is a certain tone in the address which from first to last implies that our democratic institutions,—resting of necessity upon the authority and will of the people,—do not serve the ends of justice and of human welfare as perfectly as they ought, and that we must try in various ways to make them more efficient and responsive. During the first part of the address Mr. Roosevelt

discussed the relations of government to business. With this portion there must be general agreement.

*How to  
Improve  
Government*

The address as printed in pamphlet form fills about thirty pages, of which the first half has to do with the ideals and objects of popular government. The second half has to do with the machinery for making it easier to secure good results. Under this head Mr. Roosevelt advocated, in the first place, the short ballot. That is to say, he would not have so many elected officials. In a State, for example, he would provide carefully that the people have a chance to nominate the candidates for governor, and then he would allow the governor to appoint many of the officials who are now usually elected. He advocated the Initiative and the Referendum,—not to alter materially our present way of making laws through legislative bodies, but for occasional purposes of corrective or supplementary action. He expressly stated that he saw no reason to advocate the Initiative and Refer-

endum in any State where the people were satisfied with things as they are.

*What of  
the  
"Recall"?*

It does not seem to us that anything contained in Mr. Roosevelt's entire address, except for his vigorous and terse way of putting things, goes in the slightest degree beyond what any intelligent and philosophical conservative might say, until one comes to the last part of the address, in which Mr. Roosevelt discusses the judiciary. In several Western States there has been adopted a plan by which the people, in an orderly way and after due preliminaries, may take a vote upon the question whether or not they wish to keep an incumbent in office. This is what is termed the "recall." A good many people are saying that you may apply the principle of the recall to other elected officials, but must not apply it to judges. We are told that we have such a craven lot of men on the bench that they would violate their oaths of office, and cease to render justice in the cases before them, if there existed any means by which the people who elected them could have a chance to revise their opinion.

*Judges  
and  
People*

It is of transcendent importance that the judges should be men of uprightness, ability, and breadth of view. And it is always well to consider how we may get the best possible men, and the best methods for dispensing justice. In some of our States the methods of nominating judges are unfortunate. Most of the States, however, protect themselves against bad judges by electing them for rather short terms. The people soon know it when a judge is serving the community with firmness, devotion, and a mind that is at once just and wise. Not only are such judges usually reelected by the people, but it is increasingly customary for both parties to unite in renominating good judges. It is our opinion, after wide observation of these matters, that short terms, with the expectation that good judges will be renominated from time to time, have an excellent tendency. Is it customary for a good judge to spend the last year of an expiring term trying to make decisions that might tickle the popular fancy, just because he is about to come up again for renomination and election? Overwhelming experience throughout the country shows that judges who make the impression of doing their duty sternly and fearlessly are the ones who are reelected from term to term, and kept on the bench until they choose to retire.

*Do Judges  
Really Fear  
"Recall"?*

In so far as this question of the recall of judges is under practical discussion, it is a State affair pure and simple. Such an arrangement exists in several States already, and is about to be adopted in several others. There is only one position that any judge can take who is not an unworthy man. That position is the obvious one of trying to serve the ends of justice and to do his duty. Is there a single elective judge, in any of our States, who would be tempted to render false judgment, or to falter in his duty, merely because a recall arrangement applicable to all other elected officers should also be applicable to him? The very idea seems to us to be ridiculous. The tendency of the recall would be exactly the other way. It would make careless judges behave better. We do not favor the recall of judges. Our system of electing the judiciary for fixed terms in our States is not only a method of recall, but it so operates as to winnow out a great many unfit judges. Originally, it was the almost universal custom to appoint judges for life or good behavior. When the plan of electing judges for short terms came into vogue, the conservatives used exactly the same arguments that they are now applying to the recall. The Union League Club of New York, for example, on March 14 adopted a report sweepingly criticizing the recall of judges. This report declared that to adopt the recall "will mean that a judge must become to some extent a politician, that the field of activity of the political boss will be greatly enlarged, and that the reverence which the people at large have heretofore felt for the law, and for the courts as the instruments for its enforcement, will be undermined." Yet this is precisely the language that has been used in countless instances by those who criticize our existing method of nominating and electing judges.

*A Disparaging  
View of  
Judicial  
Character*

The following is a quotation from the Union League Club's report:

The system of judicial recall strikes down at a single blow the independence of the judiciary, and changes the nature of the judicial office from one of disinterested, unselfish, and impartial action to one of a political character. It introduces a new standard of judicial conduct and responsibility. Under the present system a judge must obey and enforce the provisions of the Constitution and the statutes and of established law, whether they are popular or not. He must be controlled by the law as it exists, and not by what he thinks it ought to be, or by public opinion. Under the system of recall he will inevitably feel constrained to take into account the ebb and flow of public opinion.

He will not care to subject himself to the humiliating experience of having a petition circulated for his recall, and of being placed upon trial before the people. Some judges will no doubt do their duty as fearlessly as before without thought of consequences. But the inevitable tendency will be with many judges to introduce into their thoughts and actions an element of time serving, which will defeat justice instead of serving it. There can be no justice unless there is a fixed law, established by precedent or by constitutional or legislative enactment.

These are very strong and positive assertions. Yet at best they can only be the expression of an opinion. Nothing so uncomplimentary as to the character of our American judges has ever come to our attention as the statements made in the paragraphs quoted above.

*Sounding  
False  
Alarms*

If the fear of adverse action at the polls is likely to tempt judges to a course of misconduct on the bench, as the Union League Club's report seems to assert, why do judges in the State of New York, under present conditions, maintain their standards of self-respect and fidelity to duty in the face of the elections by means of which they pass from one term to another? Perhaps the Union League Club report has some validity. Yet to many thoughtful persons it seems a false alarm. Since this whole discussion is not dealing with facts, but merely with opinions, we may venture, in a modest way, to express the belief that there is not one decent judge in the United States who would ever for a moment be consciously affected by the existence in his State of a piece of governmental mechanism termed "the judicial recall." In Massachusetts, they have appointive judges subject to removal by the Legislature at any time. Everywhere else judges may be removed by process of impeachment. Colonel Roosevelt says emphatically that he prefers, for himself, the Massachusetts plan rather than the Western idea of judicial recall. He says that these are matters for each State to work out as it likes. And since all of this is most obviously true, what is there in it to get excited about, any more than there is in last week's report of the Weather Bureau?

*As to  
Recalling  
Decisions*

But it happens that Colonel Roosevelt is a candidate for the Presidency; and those who are opposed to him must needs declare that he is trying to subvert our institutions. Colonel Roosevelt said that he was talking to a State constitutional convention about State matters, and that he has no scheme in his head

for applying the recall to United States judges. But Colonel Roosevelt said something further on the subject of the judiciary in this Columbus address. He said that he would like to see the principle of the recall applied sometimes to a decision of the court rather than to the judges. He was perhaps unfortunate in using the word "recall" when talking about decisions. He does not throw any light upon the means by which he would apply public opinion to court decisions. Subsequent explanations have made it seem that he has in mind nothing of a very summary or alarming nature. His concrete instances were those of court decisions rendered by a divided bench where the dissenting judges happen to have been right. At present, when such errors occur, there are several possible remedies. The same tribunal may reverse its decision in another case, through change of mind on the part of a judge. Or a gradual change in the personnel of the bench may result in a different interpretation. Or the lawmakers may slightly change their statute and secure the approval of the courts. Or,—what is always possible,—the Constitution may be amended in such a way that the honest difference of opinion among the judges must disappear.

*Amending  
Constitutions*

As a matter of fact, in one or another of these ways the living needs of the people are from time to time wrought into the fabric of their laws and government. The whole power rests with the people, and it is for them to make the process of constitutional amendment easier if they so choose. We are not able to discover that Mr. Roosevelt's stimulating remarks at Columbus could mean anything at all, when translated into practical form, except that he would in some way render easier the process of amending State constitutions. Certainly no change of this kind can take place except as duly wrought out in the usual fashion. It is probably true that there is never an annual meeting of the American Bar Association in which there are not fifty proposals made by members in good and regular standing that are not more radical than the suggestions made by Mr. Roosevelt at Columbus. Let no one believe for a moment that Mr. Roosevelt, or any of those who are supporting him as a Presidential candidate, are planning any assault upon our framework of government or our time-honored institutions. Those who have most conspicuously assailed the Colonel are playing politics and have sounded an alarm which they well know to be false. The

thing they have denounced bears no resemblance to anything that Mr. Roosevelt would ever dream of proposing. The real point at issue is whether or not the Republican party wishes to give a vote of confidence to the present administration and wishes to continue it for four years more. The country has some very important matters of national business now on hand; and the recall of judges has not the remotest bearing upon any of them.

*Campaigning for the Candidates* The establishment of regular campaign headquarters on behalf of prominent candidates is a new political phase. These establishments are run quite on the lines of the campaign offices that have heretofore been established after the parties have held their conventions. The principal work of the Roosevelt committees has been to try to secure to the people the right to take a part in the choice of their delegates to the national convention. In this movement they have made more progress than could reasonably have been expected. Senator Dixon of Montana, in general charge of the Roosevelt movement, is a man of force and character, who took this work upon himself solely from a sense of public duty. Associated with him at Washington have been Mr. Medill McCormick of Chicago, and, more recently, Mr. Oscar King Davis, the well-known correspondent of the New York Times. At the Chicago headquarters, besides Mr. Revell and his associates as mentioned in these pages last month, have been Mr. Truman H. Newberry, formerly Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. Frank Knox, chairman of the Republican State Committee of Michigan. The Roosevelt organization in New York is headed by ex-Judge Duell, a man of experience and high repute, and associated with him as treasurer and secretary are Mr. E. H. Hooker and Mr. Oliver C. Carpenter. The National Republican Committeeman of New York State, Mr. William L. Ward, is also active in headquarters, and among others prominent in the movement at New York are Controller Prendergast and Mr. Oscar S. Straus.

*"Men of Prominence" in the Struggle*

As for the Taft movement, its organization and support comprise so bewildering a galaxy of the men of wealth and prominence of all parties, and the powerful political managers, that those in high places who have refused to conform and are regarded as favoring "the Colonel" find themselves rather marked and isolated. This applies especially to New



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HON. CHARLES H. DUELL

(Chairman of the Roosevelt Committee of New York)

York. Never was there such unanimity in Wall Street and the Union League Club. And, curiously enough, such unanimity did not exist a few brief weeks ago. What is the magic that has wrought this wonder? Among a certain class of men in New York City "*politics is business—and business is business.*" When the industrial trusts and the so-called "money trust" have made up their minds, the so-called "lawyers' trust" and the "politicians' trust" respond with alacrity. And yet the voters of the United States are so untrustworthy that they cannot be relied upon to do as they are told; and they have the impertinence to demand direct primaries and all sorts of innovations that Mr. Charles Murphy and Chairman Barnes regard with anxiety as threatening our most cherished institutions.

*Justice Harlan's Successor*

There is once more a full bench in the Supreme Court at Washington. Justice Harlan died last October. It was supposed that the name of his successor would be sent promptly to the Senate for confirmation as soon as Congress met in the first week of December. But Mr. Taft could not make up his mind. Several men were informally selected, one after another, and held up for public inspection until their



nemies could prove the impropriety of their appointment. Thus, Judge Hook of Kansas was eventually discarded for reasons explained last month. The public was next informed that Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, would probably be appointed; but Mr. Nagel seems to have been convicted of the fault of having been the attorney for the Anheuser-Busch brewing interests of St. Louis, besides many other imperfections that became glaringly apparent when this previously admired gentleman was exposed to the new kind of inspection and test. Mr. Taft's habitual delays in such matters are often ended by some precipitate and unexpected action. Thus on



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York  
HON. CHARLES NAGEL OF MISSOURI  
(Mr. Nagel who is Secretary of Commerce and Labor, is an eminent lawyer and reformer)



Justice Mahlon Pitney, of New Jersey  
(The new member of the Supreme Court)

February 10, without any further paltering or precautions, he sent to the Senate the name of Chancellor Mahlon Pitney, of New Jersey. The Senate supplied the process of inspection with the result that twenty-six Senators voted against approving the appointment. The selection was regarded as conservative, and favorable to the large business interests. It is just to add, however, that the choice was seemingly commended by all shades of political opinion in Justice Pitney's own State of New Jersey. The new member of the bench

is fifty-four years old. Justice Hughes is the youngest member of the bench (he will be fifty on April 11), and Justice Van Devanter is next youngest (he will be fifty-three on April 17). The new justice had served two terms in Congress and two terms in the State Senate before going on the New Jersey bench in 1901.

*The  
Democratic  
Outlook*

With two Presidential candidates in its membership, the Democratic House at Washington proceeds with better harmony and more efficiency than was to have been expected. Speaker Champ Clark's friends are working for his nomination with increased hopefulness and with exceptional care not to say or do anything that would be ungenerous toward rivals. The growing support, furthermore, of the cause of Mr. Underwood, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, has not appeared to affect in the slightest degree the united efforts of the Speaker and his floor leader to make a good legislative record for the party. The Democrats, particularly in the South, are accustomed to express their preference in primaries, and there is little doubt of the ability of the Democratic party to give effect to its real wishes in the Baltimore convention late in June. There are, of course, two difficulties: The Democratic party is not homogeneous, and there are



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**SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK, WHO TAKES HIS POLITICS CALMLY**

wide differences of opinion between its radicals and its conservatives. Further than that, a determined minority can use the two-thirds rule in the national convention to make it difficult for the majority to prevail. Governor Woodrow Wilson, Speaker Clark, Governor Harmon of Ohio, and Mr. Underwood remain the leading candidates. But there is nothing whatever at this time to indicate probabilities as to the results. One thing, however, is plain,—namely, that the same influences behind the movement for forcing Mr. Taft's renomination upon the Republican party are working only less actively to gain a hold upon the Democratic organization. Yet it is not plain that any one of the Democratic candidates is intentionally a part of that magnificent game. Certainly Governor Woodrow Wilson can expect no favors from the syndicated Warwicks.



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HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

(Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee)

*Sugar on  
the  
Free List*

The Ways and Means Committee has taken a bold position in the course of its attempt to revise the tariff and readjust the revenue system of the United States. Having sent its bill revising the chemical schedule to the Senate, following its bill revising the iron and steel duties, Mr. Underwood's committee took up the question of sugar. Heretofore, sugar has remained a heavily dutiable article for two reasons: First, because of the large amount of revenue to be derived from an article of common use that had to be imported; and second, because of the protection afforded to the comparatively small sugar industry of the United States. For a long time this protection was for the benefit of the cane-growers of Louisiana. More recently, however, it has also benefited the new beet-sugar industry of the West. The sugar planters of Hawaii enjoy the benefits of our tariff, because we admit their product free, as we also admit a large quantity from the Philippines. Chairman Underwood and a majority of the Ways and Means Committee took the ground that in the case of sugar the American consumer ought to have first consideration. It is claimed that free sugar would reduce the cost to ordinary buyers, to the extent of almost two cents a pound. It is further claimed that

while American sugar producers would make less profit, their industry would not be destroyed by opening the ports. We already give Cuba the benefit of a large reduction of sugar duties, in return for reciprocal trade favors. The Hawaiian and Cuban interests are naturally opposing the Underwood bill. Twenty-four Republicans in the House voted for the free-sugar bill, which was passed on March 15 by a vote of 198 to 103. Only seven Democrats voted against it. In some respects this is the greatest triumph that Mr. Underwood has achieved. He showed that he could hold his party together in spite of pressure brought by a great industry, and the localities in which it has importance.

*Underwood's  
Income  
Tax*

Even more bold, however, than the sugar bill itself was the accompanying proposal for supplying the current revenue that would be lost in case of the placing of sugar on the free list. At present the Treasury derives more than \$50,000,000 a year from the import taxes on sugar. Mr. Underwood's plan, which was successfully carried through the Democratic caucus of the House, was to make a wide extension of the present corporation tax. This tax of 1909 levies 1 per cent. upon the net income of corporations. Mr. Underwood proposes to extend this to the net incomes of businesses not incorporated, and to individuals (the present exemption of \$5000 being extended along with the tax). Mr. Underwood's bill gives completeness and justice to a law which, as it now stands, is both unjust and absurd. The law at present is called an "excise tax" upon the "privilege of being incorporated." But this designation is palpably erroneous. Scores of thousands of business corporations, enjoying all such privileges to the full, are not taxed a single penny. The tax is plainly an income tax, levied upon the net profits of those corporations that have any profits to show, when their balance sheet is made up in a certain required way.

*"Excise" and  
"Income"  
Taxes*

Two neighboring businesses, incorporated in the same way and carried on under like conditions, do not have equal treatment under this law. One of them, let us say, pursues a business policy which makes its expenses appear to equal its income. Its profits go into salaries and advertising. It pays no tax at all. The neighboring business pursues a policy which results in its going through the form of showing net profits and paying dividends. It pays

a tax of 1 per cent. upon its profits. Let us put it in a different way. A given corporation pays a tax one year, and pays nothing the next year, although in both years it is doing business under the same charter. Its privileges as an incorporated concern were precisely the same in both years. Yet we are told that this is a tax upon the privilege of doing business as a corporation, and is not, therefore, an income tax, but an excise tax. It is, of course, as simple and unmistakable an income tax as could possibly be devised. It does not bear even the faintest resemblance to an excise tax. A good example of the excise tax is the one levied by the United States Government on retail liquor dealers. This tax is \$25 a year, levied upon the privilege of selling liquor at retail. Every dealer pays it. The government does not care whether the liquor dealer makes money or loses money; he pays his fixed excise tax upon the privilege. If this tax were changed so that the government levied it in the form of a 1 per cent. tax upon the net profits of the liquor dealer's business, most liquor dealers would have nothing to pay, because very few of them make profits. Such a change would make the tax a kind of income tax. It would not be an excise tax, whether or not the government chose to call it that.

*Sustained by  
Supreme  
Court*

Yet, although these distinctions are so obvious, the Supreme Court sustained the so-called corporation excise tax. In so doing, the Supreme Court was not passing upon this false name of the tax, but upon the thing itself. What it actually sustained was an income tax levied upon such businesses in the incorporated form as had any incomes to tax. One reason why this tax was not equitable lies in the fact that the so-called privileges of incorporation are so widely different under the laws of different States that to pick out incorporated businesses as an object of taxation is not to select a class having uniform characteristics. There is no more reason for taxing an incorporated grocery store on its net income than for taxing its partnership competitor. If the partnership store did not prefer its privileges of being run as a partnership, it could readily become a joint-stock enterprise.

*A Stroke of  
High States-  
manship*

Mr. Underwood's bill at once changes one of the most absurd and lop-sided tax laws that ever went upon our statute books into a uniform and rational measure. It is, of course, an

income tax, plainly and without disguise. But it is nothing except the existing law so extended as to be of uniform character and general application. And this existing law has had the approval of the Supreme Court. This measure of Mr. Underwood's is not merely a piece of cleverness, although it is certainly clever. Nor is it merely an instance of remarkable parliamentary skill, although in that regard it is nothing short of a stroke of genius. But beyond all it is a disclosure of financial statesmanship of a high order; just as the makeshift corporation tax disclosed a painful lack of constructive ability in the field of revenue and finance. It is to be hoped that the Democrats and progressive Republicans of the Senate will have the courage to pass this measure.

*Dr. Wiley  
Resigns*

The resignation, last month, of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley from his position as chief chemist and pure food specialist of the Department of Agriculture terminates a public career of exceptional usefulness. Dr. Wiley had been twenty-nine years in the service of the Department of Agriculture. During that time he not only drafted much of the pure food legislation that has gone on the federal statute books, but it was he who, under the Secretary of Agriculture, was charged with the enforcement of such legislation. Every form of food adulteration has been fought by Dr. Wiley with courage and vigor. Before joining the governmental service Dr. Wiley was well known as a chemist. He made important investigations into the chemistry of soils, and aided materially in the establishment of the beet-sugar industry in the United States. Dr. Wiley is a native of Indiana and a graduate of Harvard. He is big of frame and large of heart, and although now in his sixty-eighth year, is as vigorous as a man of fifty. Last year an attempt was made to depose him from his position as head of the Bureau of Chemistry on charges largely technical in character. An investigation completely exonerated him. Feeling, however, that his hands were tied in the fight for the enforcement of the pure food law by certain conditions in the Department of Agriculture, Dr. Wiley severed his connection with the government. In a formal statement given out at the time of his resignation he announced that he believes he can do more as a private citizen in the interest of pure food and drugs than he could as a government employee. It is understood that he will devote his time to lecturing and to working his farm

in Virginia. It is also announced that he will conduct a department in one of the monthly magazines devoted to household American science.

*An  
American  
Coal Strike*

Last month, while miners' strikes were crippling the industries of England and Germany and threatening all sorts of political and economic complications, the people of the United States were confronted by a situation in the anthracite coal trade that might well cause concern. As was pointed out in the article on "A Preventive of Strikes," which appeared in the March REVIEW, there has been peace in the anthracite region for nine years under the beneficent workings of the Conciliation Board appointed as a result of the findings of the Roosevelt Strike Commission of 1903. Disputes between operators and miners have been settled, in the main, to the satisfaction of both, and in no case have they been permitted to interfere with the mining of coal or the earning of wages. Now, at the expiration of a three-years' agreement between the mine workers and the operators, the former present certain demands, and unless these demands are complied with they refuse to renew the agreement. They ask, in the first place, for an increase of wages amounting to 20 per cent., on the ground of increased cost of living, from which, presumably, the mining region has not been exempt, any more than other parts of the country. They also ask for various technical concessions, including the assumption by the operators of the collection of dues for the union, and that agreements shall be made for one-year terms instead of for three years. On March 13 the operators formally refused these demands. While many of the miners have no membership in the union, it was believed that nearly if not quite all of the 170,000 anthracite workers would quit work on April 1. If the bituminous miners should join the strike the coal industry of the nation would be paralyzed, with 500,000 men out of work.

*End of the  
Lawrence  
Strike*

The nine-weeks' strike of the textile workers at Lawrence, Mass., was practically ended on March 15 by the return to work of the American Woolen Company's employees at a material advance in wages. It was believed that the other mills in Lawrence would soon make similar concessions to their hands. The 18,000 operatives who won this eventful strike had never been organized and their racial and linguistic divisions made organization difficult.

After they quit work, early in January, the Industrial Workers of the World became influential among them and succeeded in welding the various elements into a semblance of a labor union. They were at least united in the demand for a living wage. The mills, on the other hand, were confronted by the fact that under the new State law limiting the hours of labor for women and minors to fifty-four a week their product must compete in the market with the output of mills in other States where women and children are still working fifty-six hours a week as operatives. Moreover, while the wage-scales before the strike were by no means high, the books of the American Woolen Company, at any rate, made a far better showing in this respect than was indicated by the statements of the operatives. An average weekly wage of over \$9, while it may not be regarded as munificent, at least compares favorably with the rate of pay for like work in European factories, and is 50 per cent. better than the sum repeatedly named by the workers as the average for the entire Lawrence mill district. In arranging the scale the Woolen Company (usually referred to as the trust) gives the greater increase to the lower-paid operatives. Thus, all employees who formerly received \$4.86 a week will now have an increase of \$1.08, while those who received from \$6.48 to \$10.30 a week will have an increase of 54 cents each.

*Higher Wages  
in  
New England*

It has seemed worth while to recall attention to this matter of wages, since the adjustment reached at Lawrence indirectly affected the textile industry throughout New England. More than 125,000 persons, including employees of cotton mills in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, and woolen mill operatives in all the New England States, obtained advances, last month, of from 5 to 7 per cent. The disorder at Lawrence, culminating in the interference of the local police with the rights of strikers to send their children out of the town during the strike, led to an investigation by the Rules Committee of the national House of Representatives, and it seemed probable, last month, that the House Committee on Labor would institute a comprehensive inquiry into the American Woolen Company and the labor conditions in its factories. The article on page 439 of this REVIEW, entitled "Woman and the Wage Question," discloses important statistics in various Massachusetts industries, as brought out in connection with the agitation for a minimum wage law in that State.

*The Senate  
and the  
Peace Treaties*

On March 7, the Senate, by unanimous consent, brought to an end the debate on the general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. Then by a vote of 42 to 40 the paragraph relating to the Joint High Commission was eliminated, and other changes made curtailing the scope of the operation of the agreements. As amended the treaties were ratified by a vote of 76 to 3. The amendment offered by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, qualifying the consent of the Senate to the treaties' operation, which was adopted by a vote of 46 to 36, follows:

Resolved, That the Senate advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty with the understanding, to be made a part of such ratification, that the treaty does not authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which affects the admission of aliens into the United States, or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States or of the United States, or concerning the question of the alleged indebtedness or moneyed obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine, or other purely governmental policy.

The discussion was on the treaty with Great Britain, but later it was unanimously decided that all votes on the British treaty should be made to apply also to the one intended for France. President Taft regards the amended treaties as so different from the original that it is a question whether they will now be submitted for ratification by the powers concerned. The opponents of the treaties in their original form regarded the permission for the Joint High Commission as invading the Senate's rights. They also contended that existing arbitration agreements are sufficient for all practical purposes. The debate brought out the fact that, in spite of the many excellent features of the treaties, the Senate had good reason to insist upon its modifications, in the interest of our "unimpaired sovereignty."



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

#### SECRETARY KNOX AND SEÑOR CHIARI, ACTING PRESIDENT OF PANAMA

(From a photograph taken last month on the verandah of the Presidencia—the official residence—at Panama City)

*Mr. Knox  
in Caribbean  
America*

Secretary Knox's extended trip throughout Caribbean America, which, it is hoped, will be as effective in bettering the relations existing between the United States and the countries of that region as was the trip, six years ago, of Mr. Root, in cementing our cordial relations with South America, was begun on February 23, when Mr. Knox sailed from Key West, Florida, on the cruiser *Washington*. A good deal of discussion was aroused a few days before the sailing by the publication of a note given out by Señor Pedro Nel Ospina, Colombian Minister to the United States, which stated that "the visit may happen to be considered as inopportune at the present time." The relations between the United States and Colombia have been strained since 1903, when the Republic of Panama set up its independent existence, and our government took hold in earnest of the digging of the canal. Colombia has always claimed that questions of "insulted sover-

eighty" and indemnity for injuries sustained on that occasion should have been referred to arbitration.

*Not Welcome  
in  
Colombia*

The reason given by Señor Ospina for his letter, which he said was written in his own name and "without any knowledge of the views of my country on the matter," was that Colombia still

finds herself placed by the United States in an exceptional position, as the only member of the numerous family of independent nations scattered over the face of the earth to which, despite its constant demands, the United States refuses to submit to arbitration questions referring exclusively to the interpretation of public treaties and the compliance with obligations imposed by the universally accepted principles of international law on all civilized nations in their relations one with another.

Last November, Señor Ospina, in compliance with the instructions of his government, reiterated the demand for arbitration of the controversy. He claims never to have received any reply to his communication. The letter regarding Secretary Knox's visit was in response to a formal notification from the State Department to the effect that Mr. Knox intended to make the journey. The representatives of all the other countries immediately communicated the fact to their governments, which replied, expressing pleasure, and announcing that Mr. Knox would be most welcome. A few days later Señor Ospina left Washington, recalled, it was said, by his government, since his letter was looked upon as an affront to the United States. The Minister himself, however, claims that he resigned on his own initiative. As a result of this incident, it was announced that Mr. Knox would not call at any Colombian city.

*Cordiality  
in Central  
America*

The Secretary's tour through the countries of Central America brought out much cordial feeling, particularly in Panama, Costa Rica and Salvador. There were some evidences that certain classes in Nicaragua had not forgotten Mr. Knox's part, two years ago, in getting rid of the dictator, Zelaya. On the whole, however, the effect of the trip was to greatly strengthen cordiality toward this country as already existing, and to dispel some misapprehension in the mind of certain Central Americans as to the attitude of the United States government toward Central America, Venezuela and Cuba. The theme of all Mr. Knox's addresses on this trip may be found

in the following words in an address to the Nicaraguan Congress.

My government does not covet an inch of territory south of the Rio Grande. The full measure and extent of our policy is to assist in the maintenance of republican institutions in this hemisphere. We have a well-known policy regarding causes that might threaten the existence of an American republic from beyond the sea, and shall always be found willing to lend proper assistance to preserve the stability of sister American republics.

Calls at the principal cities of Venezuela, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Cuba completed the trip, and Mr. Knox was expected back in Washington by the first of the present month.

*The Endless  
Mexican  
Tangle*

The machinery of politics in Mexico, as was to be expected after the tremendous upheaval of the past year, is not running perfectly smoothly or without noise. We pointed out last month in these pages some of the difficulties with which the new régime at Mexico City is confronted. Serious local disorders are occurring in various parts of the republic, especially in Chihuahua, Durango, Morelos, and Guerrero, four states which are, perhaps, the most difficult to police, by reason of their topographical character. These outbreaks are not based on any principle, but on the natural tendency of bandits to take advantage of the unsettled conditions of a reconstruction period. Brigandage has always existed in Mexico, and what in former times could not be exterminated was at least concealed by the censorship of the press and even of individual speech. Now both are turned loose and are revelling in all forms of exaggeration. Add to the bandit group, who naturally give themselves a political name, those followers of Madero who are disgruntled because their personal ambitions remain unsatisfied and the remnant of the old régime who have been unwilling or unable to ally themselves with the new governmental party, and the difficulty of new maintaining peace is evident and explicable.

*Madero's  
Great  
Task*

The task of Madero is a most arduous one. Unpracticed himself in the science of governing, he is called upon to govern a people just endowed with rights and unused to their exercise. What he has accomplished is on the record and redounds to his high credit. The presumption must now be in his favor. Nevertheless, he is maligned by the old school of politicians for lack of forceful methods, and



by the extreme members of his own party for not being sufficiently radical. Meanwhile, he and his cabinet, composed largely of men of good standing in the business world, are at work advancing plans for the social, educational, and political betterment of the people. They are actively engaged in increasing the size and efficiency of the army, especially the rurales, or rangers. They are devising a project for the division of land among small proprietors, at reasonable price, payable in long-time installments. They are arranging, through the reorganization of the banking institution called *Caja de Préstamos*, to loan money to the farmer class on long term and at low interest, the amount loaned to be applied to irrigation work and general property improvement. In this work and in all their measures they are adhering strictly to the law and the constitution. They will not willingly permit any injury to American interests. It is only fair to give them a chance. Last month Congress passed an amendment to the joint resolution of 1898, increasing the President's power to enforce the neutrality laws. This will help greatly to strengthen our friendly relations with the Mexican Government, and to prevent the shipment of arms, ammunition, and supplies to rebels. Such power should have been given to the Executive a year or more ago. The new law will apply also to the fitting out and arming on our soil of expeditions against Central American and South American Governments.

*"Diversity" in Canada* During the long premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier the distinguishing characteristics of Canadian development, as they appeared to the rest of the world, were the unity of Canadian life and interests and a never-flagging effort to improve commercial relations with the United States. The premiership of his successor is scarcely half a year old. Yet, as seen from the outside, it seems to be characterized by constant emphasis on the diversity of the Dominion's population in their political, business and religious ideas, and by frequent outbursts of "loyal British, Yankee-hating" jingoism. Mr. Borden is a man of high character and ability, and there can be no doubt of the good faith of his lieutenants. But they certainly profited last September by an anti-American popular clamor that was unwarranted and misleading. Reciprocity was defeated chiefly because of the American "annexation" bogey. Now our Canadian friends are discovering that reciprocity is not dead, and that it is the loyal English-speaking

western provinces that are demanding a freer trade with their neighbor to the south.

*"Separation" in the West* One after another the provincial legislatures of the Northwest have renewed their adhesion to the reciprocity principle, which would work so much to their advantage. After a three days' debate, late in January, reciprocity carried the legislature of Saskatchewan by a vote of two to one. Saskatchewan is the particular stronghold of the Canadian Grain Growers' Association. At a recent convention this organization reaffirmed its support of reciprocity and condemned in the strongest terms its representatives at Ottawa for their "lack of vigor" on this issue. On February 29 a member of the Manitoba legislature, Mr. William Molloy, the Liberal representative from La Verandrye, asserted in the course of a speech that was roundly applauded:

No greater blow has ever been dealt within Canada than by the rejection of reciprocity. Moreover, I am prepared to support any man who will introduce a resolution moving the separation of eastern Canada from western Canada. If the people of eastern Canada are going to dictate the policy of western Canada, then the time for separation has come. The people of eastern Canada have deliberately set themselves to injure western Canada, and in the course of ten years there will be such an agitation in western Canada against their binding acts that nothing but separation will suffice.

*Will the Coalition Survive?* The combination of Dominion Conservatives, French Catholic Nationalists and English-Scotch Protestant Imperialists by which Mr. Borden was elected last September, could scarcely be expected to remain unshaken for long. Henri Bourassa, the brilliant leader of the French Nationalists of Quebec, has always opposed both the Laurier and the Borden policies of naval support to the British government. On the question of the now famous "Ne Temere" decree of the Pope all the French members are against the premier and the English majority in parliament. In 1908 two Catholics were married in Montreal by a Methodist minister. The marriage was afterward annulled by the Catholic archbishop of the diocese, on the ground that, according to the "Ne Temere" decree of the Church, Catholics could only be married by a priest. This action of the archbishop was afterward ratified civilly by a judge of the High Court. The case was then appealed to the Superior Court of the Dominion, the woman seeking to have it established that ecclesiastical law did not supersede the civil marriage law, and that

her marriage was legal and her child legitimate according to the laws of the province of Quebec. The Superior Court judge, on February 22, reversed the decision of the subordinate court, holding that any officer qualified by the state to perform marriages could marry couples of whatever faith; that the "Ne Temere" decree had no valid effect, and was binding only on the consciences of Catholics. This decision is regarded as one of the most important, most complete and most sweeping judgments ever delivered in Canada on the question of the civil status of the ecclesiastical law of the Roman Catholic Church.

*Mr.  
Borden's  
Troubles*

There is a growing belief that the Borden ministry is going to follow redistribution, based on the last census, with an appeal to the people. Redistribution will take place next session, so that an election could be held in the spring of 1913. The plan to readjust the province boundaries described in these pages two years ago when it was first proposed, was embodied in the form of a resolution introduced in the House of Commons on February 27. The resolution, presented by Mr. Borden himself, provides for the annexation to Quebec of the vast territory of Ungava, which would make that province as large as France, Germany and Austria combined, for the extension of Manitoba's boundary to Hudson Bay and for the incorporation with Ontario of that portion of the territory formerly known as Keewatin, which remains after the Manitoba line has been readjusted. The proposed increase of territory of the "postage stamp province," as Manitoba is often jocosely described, revives the old bitter question of the recognition of separate schools based on religious difference. On this question the Nationalists are also opposing the premier. All the time Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in excellent health and vigor despite his seventy years, is leading an alert and fighting opposition. Finally, there is the "National Defense Association," composed of British loyalists who (some of the Toronto papers have been telling us recently) are clamoring—and even actively preparing—for war with the United States. All together the present government at Ottawa has troubles enough.

*The  
"Kingship"  
of Coal*

The fact that coal is the life-blood of the world's industry and commerce was strikingly and dramatically proven last month when a million miners in Great Britain, a quarter of a million in Germany, and almost as many in

France laid down their tools, while the more than half a million members of the United Mine Workers of America also threatened to strike. In our delicately articulated modern life, dependent as it is to such a large extent on machinery in its myriad forms, coal is, after food and shelter, the one great universal necessity. Without it wheels stop, mills and factories close, trains cannot move, steamers are useless, and the great navies to which the peoples of the world look confidently as their guaranty of independent national existence, are as helpless as Crusoe's land-bound canoe. In no other industry could organized labor so easily and completely demonstrate its power.

*What It  
Means to  
England*

Never since the world began has there been a nation—at least a nation of forty millions—that lived so literally from hand to mouth as the British nation lives to-day. Every inhabitant of the United Kingdom lives from hand to mouth, relying implicitly, though unconsciously, upon the smooth, uninterrupted operation of the vast system of railroads, steamships, and banks which brings to the British home, office, and workshop the food supplies and the materials of industry from every part of the globe. The power which keeps this whole system going with the regularity of clockwork is coal. A month without coal would mean for the great mass of the British people not only no work, no light, no heat, and practically no power to move beyond the range of their own immediate neighborhood: it would mean actual famine, approaching starvation. Consequently, when, on March 1, the colliers of England, Scotland, and Wales, with practical unanimity, quit work, it was not only the commercial position of Britain that was endangered: the welfare of the empire was put in peril and the very life of the people at stake.

*The  
Miners'  
Strike*

An overwhelming vote of the English, Scotch, and Welsh miners, taken early in January, demanded a strike on March 1, if the mine owners did not accede to their demands for the establishment of a minimum wage scale, and the general improvement of working conditions along lines set forth in the formal statement of the miners' federation. The operators refused these demands, maintaining that the profits of the business do not justify the increase in expenditure. Foreseeing the terrible consequences of the impending strike, the British premier invited the representatives of the mine owners and the mine work-



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THESE WERE THE FIRST OF THE BRITISH COAL MINERS TO LAY DOWN THEIR TOOLS

(Men of the Alfreton, Derbyshire, Colliery just emerging from a pit in response to the strike order)

ers to meet him and the cabinet for the purpose of bringing about a settlement of the dispute. This intervention of the government was taken to avert what Mr. Asquith referred to as a national disaster.

*The  
Government  
Intervenes*

Several conferences between the operators, the men, and members of the ministry failed to bring about an agreement, and at midnight on February 29 the million mine workers of Great Britain laid down their tools. Within a week, three or four times that number of men, women, and children had been thrown out of work by the closing down of mills and factories and the stopping of railroad and steamboat traffic for want of fuel. In some cases entire industries shut down, all the systems of transportation greatly curtailed their services, the price of food and clothing jumped to unheard-of figures, and the poor began to feel the pinch of hunger, while the statesmen directing the foreign policies of the empire began to discern in the fast-emptying bunkers of her warships a dire peril to the nation's political survival.

*A Minimum  
Wage  
Needed*

In announcing its failure to secure a settlement, the government issued a frank statement to the industry involved and to the country at large, setting forth fully the proposals submitted to the operators and the workers. After "the most careful consideration," said the statement, the government is "satisfied that there are cases in which underground miners cannot earn a reasonable living wage from causes over which they have no control." The power to secure such a wage, further, "should be secured by arrangements suitable to the special circumstances of each district, adequate safeguards to be provided to protect employers against abuse."

*By Law  
if  
Necessary*

The government was prepared to confer with the parties concerned as to the best methods of realizing these desired results, and, in case of disagreement, to appoint representatives to "decide jointly any outstanding point with a view to giving effect to the agreed principle." The government, Mr. Asquith stated, having recognized the principle of a minimum wage, had

determined that, if this provision were not secured by agreement, it would be put into effect, "by whatever appropriate means the government can command." Later this was explained to mean that the premier would introduce into the House of Commons a bill providing for a minimum wage law throughout the country. It was openly stated by the press which supports the ministry that, "if necessity should arise, the mines and perhaps the railroads, would be seized by the government and operated in order to prevent the stoppage of all industries and the ultimate starvation of the people."

*The Response Not Unanimous* Most of the English mine owners and those of North Wales (about 65 per cent. of the total number in Great Britain) agreed to accept the minimum wage in principle. The operators of South Wales, however, and those of Scotland declined the government proposals. The National Miners' Federation unanimously resolved that

There can be no settlement of the present dispute unless the principle of an individual minimum wage for all underground workers is agreed to by the coal owners.

This organization, further, refused to confer unless the mine owners agreed in advance to minimum rates already laid down by it, which vary from an average of \$1.40 to \$1.80 a day, with a minimum "shift" rate for all underground workers of \$1.25. On the other hand, Mr. Asquith told both operators and men, the authorities had all their military resources well in hand and would be prepared to send troops at short notice to any disturbed district. There was, however, little or no disorder. The non-union miners generally went out with the union men and insisted upon the same terms. To complete the paralysis of trade dependent upon machinery, the dockers of practically all the English, Scotch and Welsh ports refused to handle any imported coal, and therefore little could be expected from foreign sources. Meanwhile the Admiralty, fearing a shortage of coal for the navy, had dispatched several swift transport vessels to this country to purchase American coal, which they could secure only at greatly advanced prices.

*The Big Business of Coal* Coal mining is in itself one of the chief industries of Great Britain, to say nothing of its paramount importance to the railroads and manufacturers. Close to a million and a quarter per-

sons are engaged in coal mining in the British Isles, of whom more than 800,000 work underground. The output of British coal mines for the year 1910 was approximately 300,000,000 short tons, about three-fifths of the American production, valued at nearly \$600,000,000 at the mines. In her shipping and manufacturing interests, her railroads and her homes, Britain herself consumes the greater part of this. But she exports a vast amount to several of the continental European countries, and sends some of her special sorts even to the United States. France, Germany, Italy and Sweden are large consumers of British coal. The mines of England are very old, among the oldest in Europe.

*Condition of the Miners* Until quite recently, when the government began to inspect the mines, the condition of the workers was very bad. Now things are better. But life is still hard, unnecessarily hard for the miners. They are paid by the job, that is by piecework, not according to time spent. This, they claim, is a very uncertain way of getting pay. Unusual rock formations often make their work profitless for days at a time. The men complain that the companies should bear the burden of these natural conditions and that the workers should be paid for work and time, not product. The owners contend that the men as well as they should be willing to gamble on the seams, the veins, and the sterile rock. If a minimum wage is enforced, they say, how are they to be guaranteed against fraud and laziness. They admit that the condition of the men is hard, but insist that if the demands of the workers are conceded most of the mines will have to shut down for lack of profit.

*Effect of the Strike Abroad* Within a few hours of the beginning of the strike by the British miners, more than half a million German coal workers also stopped work, a quarter of a million French miners laid down their tools—for a twenty-four-hour "demonstration of their power," and large numbers of Belgian, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish colliers struck, to show their "sympathy" for their English brethren. It seems certain that if the British strike should be in the main successful, it will be imitated in other European countries. Indeed, last month it was widely feared that the vigor with which the British miners were pressing their demands, especially in view of their success in forcing the government to intervene in their behalf with a law providing for a minimum wage, would

encourage the American coal-mine workers to begin the strike long predicted on this side of the water. The coal trade journals of this country have been pointing out to the American miners that when England retires from the market, somebody must supply the demand. To make up the deficiency, there is only Germany, which charges high prices, and the United States, which can name a price that will meet almost any competition. This means, says the *Black Diamond*, one of the best known of the coal journals, that the United States would, under ordinary circumstances, get the business. "This means that the United Mine Workers, if they are not on a strike, will get the work, which means the money that is paid for the work." The London *Times* is already referring to the permanent loss—to America—of a large share of Britain's foreign business in coal, a loss due to the present strike.

*Meaning  
of the  
Strike*

The present strike of the British coal miners is much more than a demand for higher wages and shorter hours. It is a protest against all those conditions, social and economic, that are making it increasingly difficult if not impossible for them to command a wage that shall insure them a "decent living" in face of the ever-mounting cost of existence. These conditions have been slowly ripening for more than two generations in England, and the coal strike is only one of the symptoms. A brief survey of British domestic politics for a quarter of a century will make this clear. It will show, further, that the present crisis, by thrusting the economic question into the very heart of politics in Britain, with a dramatic impressiveness that has startled the entire world, has demonstrated beyond possibility of misunderstanding the pregnant fact that any big business which employs hundreds of thousand of workers and is engaged in an occupation that vitally concerns the life of an entire nation, cannot possibly be a purely private affair. This is the lesson the British coal strike has for the world.

*Genesis of the  
British  
Labor Party*

England was the original home of the labor union. Half a century ago the trade unions of Great Britain were models for the world. They were financially and numerically solid, united in action, and devoted to gaining economic reforms for their members. Politics they let alone. England's trade position was then supreme and labor was abundant. The employer and his workman were prosperous and

contented. Then world conditions began to change. Germany and the United States began to challenge British commercial and industrial supremacy. The relations between capital and labor changed radically. Socialism became a force in European politics. The industrial world grew restless. The laboring classes began to elect representatives to Parliament, not primarily for political reasons, but to secure control of the machinery of government in order that by law they might the better improve their economic condition. Soon the Labor Party was born. This now includes a combination of labor unions and all the various socialistic bodies of the United Kingdom, the Fabians, the Independent Labor party, the Social Democratic party, and several small liberal socialist groups.

*Trade  
and  
Politics*

At the moment when this combination came into being, England was beginning to feel herself crowded in the race for markets, in which she had hitherto ruled supreme. In the competition with Germany, France, the United States and even her own colonies, wages had to suffer. And at almost the same moment came a sudden and rapid increase in the cost of living all along the line. All these things tended to intensify the labor class consciousness and contributed to its political solidarity. The old British Conservative party was thrown out of office by the election at the close of the Boer War. The Liberals won and at once became the party of radicalism. Nominally, it is the Liberal party that is in power. But it is kept in power by the forty votes of the Labor party and the 84 of the Irish party, both of these wings being radical. To carry out its program the government must at all times recognize the programs of the Irish and the Laborites. Without in the least denying to Mr. Asquith and Chancellor Lloyd-George the progressive liberal—even radical—ideas which they undoubtedly possess and are earnestly and conscientiously advocating, it is no exaggeration to say that by far the most important and progressive legislation which has been enacted by the present Liberal government, as well as that which is now on its program, has been almost literally forced upon it by the necessity to retain the parliamentary support of the radical Labor and Irish members. But this was not going fast enough for such radical labor leaders outside of Parliament as Ben Tillett and Tom Mann, who aim to unite all British labor in a war against capital.



SIR GEORGE ASKWITH, PRESIDENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE "GREATEST TRADE CONCILIATOR OF HISTORY"

*The Failure  
of Party  
Government*

Party government in Great Britain, as in other countries where it is in vogue, has seemed, of recent years, to be undergoing degenerative changes. It no longer, as the French say, functions properly or effectively. In our Leading Articles department this month we quote some of the keen, even bitter denunciation of party government in Great Britain for its failure to thus function that is appearing in the English reviews. The Labor members of Parliament soon realized that parliamentary methods, as practiced in the House of Commons, were of little avail, and that they must back up their party tactics with strikes and other popular expressions of discontent on a large scale. Last year there were 669 trades unions in Great Britain with a membership of slightly over 2,000,000. Moving together, this army of workers is all but irresistible.

*The  
"Labor  
War"*

Last summer the great dock strike occurred. Vast quantities of food could not be handled, and prices went up with a bound. A real famine was threatened. Then the government took hold of the situation. When persuasion failed and riots occurred the Home Secretary called out the troops. The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced in the Commons a bill

creating an Industrial Council with power to hear testimony and to effect reconciliation if possible. Both sides agreed to submit to the decisions of the council and the men went back to work. Sir George Askwith, president of this council, is an expert in labor disputes, and is known as the "greatest trade conciliator of history." If the Asquith government is able to enact and enforce a minimum wage law for all Great Britain, its success will mark an historic point in the development of the world's industrialism. However the issue of the present strike may be finally settled, the solution will come as a result of the realization by the British Government that any big business like the coal industry is a public business, in which the public have a vital concern, and that any disputes about it should be settled on the basis of public business.

*"Votes  
for  
Women"*

The British Labor party, almost to a unit, is in favor of "votes for women." A great suffrage demonstration in Albert Hall, London, was arranged late in February by the Labor party, and one of its most trusted leaders, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., publicly asserted that the organization, in Parliament and out, would "use every particle of influence it possesses to see that the Bill [the government franchise reform measure] which is to be introduced soon shall leave the House of Commons an unqualified Adult Suffrage Bill." Woman suffrage is undoubtedly bound to win in England in the near future. The rest of the world, however, finds it somewhat difficult to understand how the violent tactics of



BETWEEN THE COAL STRIKE AND THE SUFFRAGETTES, IT IS "MERRIE ENGLAND" INDEED  
From the *Ledger* (Philadelphia)

the militant suffragettes can further their "cause." The defenders of "militancy"—which last month counted among its achievements numberless broken windows, with several street riots and six months' prison sentences at hard labor, for ten of the demonstrators—claim that no British Government ever yielded anything except to force. One of the suffragette orators, explaining the situation to a New York audience some weeks ago, compared the London "window-smashing bee" to our Boston Tea Party, as an expression of righteous wrath against taxation without representation. Chancellor Lloyd-George promises full adult suffrage before the end of next year. He informs us that two-thirds of the cabinet and three-fourths of the Liberal party's vote in Parliament are in favor of it. With the aid of the Laborites the thing will be done.

*Italy  
Extending  
the War*

The Turco-Italian war has entered upon a new phase. Its immediate effects are being seen in countries outside of Tripoli—in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Tunis. On February 24, Italian warships bombarded Beirut, on the Mediterranean, the principal port of Syria. Two Turkish vessels in the harbor were sunk, the Customs House and other buildings near the sea were damaged, and sixty persons, it is reported, were killed. The Italian commander asserts that his gunners were ordered to aim only at the Turkish warships, and that the injury to the city was done by stray shots. The government at Rome, in reply to criticism for this bombardment, has claimed that "when two nations are at war with each other they are at war all over," and that Beirut being a fortified and garrisoned place, the Italian navy had a right to attack it, with the object of forcing upon the Turkish Government the realization that its refusal to accept the Italian occupation of Tripoli exposed it to attacks upon parts of continental Turkey. Italian warships also have been active in the Red Sea, occupying the port of Hodeida and some islands off the coast at Mecca. Some weeks ago General Caneva, commander in Tripoli, was recalled to Rome and frankly asked whether, with the means at his disposal, or such as he might receive from home, he was in the position to "provide that unequivocal and decisive victory of which Italy is in need if it were to impose an unconditional peace upon Turkey." General Caneva is reported to have replied with a prompt and emphatic negative. He could vouch, he said, for a "slow and gradual conquest of the whole territory of Tripoli," but for a "brilliant

success you must seek elsewhere than in Lybia." The naval operations in the Eastern Mediterranean and Red seas are believed to be evidences of Italy's determination to act upon General Caneva's advice.

*Europe  
Trying to  
Make Peace*

There are perils to such an extension of the campaign. Protests are certain to come, if they have not already come, from Austria, France, and Russia. The great powers of Europe are becoming uneasy at the prolongation of the war and its possible consequences. Dr. E. J. Dillon, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, from "inside information" maintains that Russia has already made two attempts to stop the war. The Czar's Foreign Minister, Dr. Sassonov, first addressed the governments of Germany, Austria, and Hungary without success. On February 1 a Russian note was sent to all the European governments urging them to force an end to the war on the basis of "Tripoli for Italy and an indemnity for Turkey." The Italian people themselves are apparently more determined than ever to prosecute the war to the end. This determination is evident in the popular enthusiasm over the passage (on February 24) by the Parliament, of the bill providing for the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The attempted assassination, on March 14, of King Victor Emmanuel, by an anarchist named Dalba, who, it was later reported from Vienna, had been "inspired if not hired by the Turks or their sympathizers," brought out many evidences of popular loyalty and affection, and has apparently stiffened the attitude of the Italian Government against any attempt at mediation.

*President  
Yuan  
Shih-kai*

As the curtain is rung down on the Manchu dynasty, Yuan Shih-kai stands dominant, vested by the decree of abdication with full power to organize a republican form of government for China. Thus the Peking Government becomes the inheritor of the *de jure* authority of the Manchu throne. On February 15 the Nanking Assembly, in accordance with an earlier understanding, proceeded to elect Yuan to the Provisional Presidency by a unanimous vote, having on the same day accepted the resignation of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and his cabinet. In spite of the poorly disguised feeling of disappointment on the part of the ultra-radical members of the assembly because Dr. Sun found no support even for the vice-presidency, which was given to Li Yuen Hung, this action was most creditable to



the patriotic Sun and the other southern leaders as showing their readiness, in deference to public sentiment, to sink their personal differences and give their support to the man whose course throughout the entire upheaval has undoubtedly been sustained by an overwhelming volume of sober opinion, both at home and abroad. Later, the provinces in the north and the dependencies of Manchuria, Mongolia and Turkestan, all under Yuan's control, as a matter of course, voted to Yuan the presidency. This election is not only a recognition of the herculean task he has performed in bringing about the peaceful withdrawal of the Manchus and in swinging the northern provinces into line to accept the republic, it is also a tribute to his commanding personality and administrative genius. With his election, the tension of the situation relaxed at the prospect of an early resumption of normal conditions.

*North  
Versus  
South*

The radical members of the Nanking assembly, seeing in Yuan's election a prospective loss of their authority, persisted in demanding that Yuan should come down to Nanking for his inauguration, in order that,—so they asserted,—the governmental machinery of the southern provinces might be formally turned over to him. In reality, probably, they saw in this step a chance to preserve whatever prestige they had gained, for Yuan's coming would be construed as an open recognition on his part of their ascendancy. For a time, however, Yuan appeared to be equally insistent that the governmental power he then exercised was vested in him by the decree of abdication. The legality of his authority to organize the republic could no more be questioned than that of the abdication itself. Moreover, the provisional presidency to which he has been elected derived its authority, not from the vote of the Nanking assembly alone, but also from the indorsement of the republican sentiment of the North. This undercurrent of mutual distrust threatened at one time seriously to retard all steps to bring about closer relations between the two sections of the country. But Yuan, foreseeing the danger of an open breach, receded from his position and, to conciliate the ultraradicals, announced his intention to go to Nanking for his inauguration.

*Riot,  
Disorder and  
Massacre*

This announcement, under existing circumstances, was probably injudicious, because its real purpose was liable to be misunderstood in the

North, where Yuan's presence was indispensable for the preservation of order. No sooner, therefore, had the rumor become current that the main purpose of the coming of the notification committee from Nanking was to urge Yuan to go south than the fear of the effect of such announcement was realized. Two battalions of Chinese troops, stationed at Peking, mutinied, causing serious disorders. This mutinous spirit was quickly communicated to other garrisons in the vicinity, and, as a result, several important towns, among them Tientsin, Pao-ting-fu, and Fengtai, were reported to have suffered at the hands of these mutinous soldiers, who, joined by bands of desperadoes and bandits, gave themselves up to unchecked plunder and incendiarism. One band, an army in size, under General Sheng-Yuan, former governor of the province of Shensi, a Mongol, and the "best hater of republicanism" in China, devastated wide sections of country and boasted they would restore the Manchus.

*Nanking  
Goes to  
Peking*

In the meantime, most disquieting reports continued to come from the Yangtse districts. Republican soldiers at Wuhu, Wuchang and Kiukiang threatened to mutiny because they had not been paid. Serious unrest pervaded most of the southern provinces, particularly in the interior of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, where, because there was no longer any properly constituted authority, a reign of lawlessness and brigandage prevailed. Little prominence has been given to these details in the press despatches, solely because the foreign interests involved in these parts are comparatively small. News from private sources, however, is full of sinister significance as to the state of things in the interior. Political leaders, recognizing in the situation pregnant possibilities, agreed that some prompt and effective measures were necessary. Accordingly, the Nanking Government was prevailed upon to go up to Peking. This step is expected to have the effect of solidifying Yuan's position. The moderate radicals, representing the more influential wing of the republican party, will no doubt line up on Yuan's side. Thus, backed up, and with, in addition, the moral and financial support of the powers, he will be enabled to form an effective coalition cabinet. The new government has decided that the country shall hereafter be officially styled the Great Republic of China, the word "great" being intended to include the dependencies of Tibet, Turkestan, Mongolia, and Manchuria.

Amundsen  
at the  
South Pole

April 6, 1909 and December 14, 1911 will ever hereafter be dates of prime importance in the writing and teaching of human history. On the first the American, Peary, unfurled the Stars and Stripes on a field of ice in the polar ocean at the mathematical point which his instruments told him was the long-sought North Pole. On the mid-December day nearly three years later, the Norwegian viking, Amundsen, firmly planted the colors of his country on the lofty plateau of land that crowns the center of the Antarctic continent at the southernmost point of our globe. In simple, direct narrative—less rhetorical than the phraseology in which we have just referred to his achievement—he communicated to King Haakon at Christianja the results of his expedition. He spoke respectfully and appreciatively of the work of the other explorers who had been in the "race" for the Pole with him, and was enthusiastic over the sturdy qualities of his men and even his dogs. Elsewhere in this issue we summarize the results of South Polar exploration up to the present and give the main facts of Amundsen's



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WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS AT SEVENTY-FIVE

career. As the first to navigate the Northwest passage he has also an Arctic record.

Mr. Howells  
at  
Seventy-Five

As novelist, poet, critic, essayist and editor, William Dean Howells has always received a large share of the attention of his countrymen. His work in all these fields has influenced a great number of American men and women, not only helping to shape the ideas of those who write but guiding the tastes of those who read. If he has not always aroused the enthusiasm of his readers he has kept their approval and respect. He has always upheld the traditions of the New England school. Like so many of his illustrious predecessors, he has served as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and conducted that delightful, amiably philosophical "critical bureau," the "Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's*. On the first day of last month, Mr. Howells celebrated his 75th birthday, and the world of American letters celebrated with him. At a dinner given in his honor on this occasion in New York, President Taft was present, and he gave felicitous utterance to the opinions of Mr. Howells' countrymen in these words:

Neither the rhythm, nor the emphasis, nor the shading of his meaning has robbed his style of the lucidity and clearness that delight a common mind like mine, and his delightful and kindly humor that leaves a flower in one's memory has created a feeling of affection for the author that prompts an expression like this. Easily at the head of the living literary men of the nation, Mr. Howells is entitled, on the celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday, to this tribute of respect.



SKOAL, WORTHY SON OF THE VIKINGS! SKOAL TO THE CONQUEROR OF THE SOUTH POLE!  
From the *Ledger* (Philadelphia)

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 15 to March 15, 1912)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 15.—The Senate confirms the nomination of Myron T. Herrick as Ambassador to France.

February 16.—The House passes the Army appropriation bill, abolishing five regiments of cavalry and increasing the term of enlistment to five years.

February 19.—In the House, the bill revising the chemical schedule of the tariff is discussed.

February 20.—The President transmits to both Houses the report of the Employers' Liability Commission, together with a bill to carry its recommendations into effect.

February 21.—The House passes the bill revising the chemical schedule of the tariff, only two Republicans voting for the measure.

February 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.) introduces a measure designed to strengthen the Government's anti-trust powers; Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) urges an investigation of the election of Mr. Du Pont (Rep., Del.).

February 27.—In the Senate, Mr. Rayner (Dem., Md.) denounces the principle of the "recall" of judicial decisions.

February 28.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) speaks at length on the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France.

March 1-2.—In the Senate, Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.) urges the rejection of the majority report of the special committee exonerating Mr. Stephenson (Rep., Wis.) of the charge of corruption in connection with his election.

March 4.—The House passes a bill declaring all citizens of Porto Rico to be citizens of the United States; the Post-Office appropriation bill is reported, carrying \$260,000,000 and providing for the establishment of an experimental parcel post.

March 7.—The Senate ratifies the treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France, with certain amendments.

March 12.—The House passes the Agricultural appropriation bill.

March 13.—The Senate authorizes the President to prohibit shipments of war materials into Mexico; the nomination of Mahlon Pitney to be Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court is confirmed.

March 15.—The House, by vote of 198 to 103, passes a bill placing sugar on the free list.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

February 15.—Adjutant-General Ainsworth is removed from office by order of the President, pending trial on charges of insubordination.

February 16.—Major-General Ainsworth, upon his own application, is placed upon the retired list, thereby avoiding trial for insubordination.

February 19.—Mahlon Pitney, Chancellor of New Jersey, is nominated by the President to be Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court to succeed the late John M. Harlan. . . . The Supreme Court decides that the constitutionality

of the initiative and referendum is a political question for Congress to decide, and not a judicial one for the courts.

February 21.—Ex-President Roosevelt, addressing the Ohio Constitutional Convention, advocates a number of progressive policies in national and State government. . . . Edward G. Riggs and Herbert P. Bissell are nominated by Governor Dix as Public Service Commissioners in New York State.

February 22.—The report of the special commission which investigated second-class mail rates is transmitted to Congress by the President; an increase from 1 to 2 cents per pound is recommended. . . . Indictments are returned by the federal grand jury at Cincinnati against officials of the National Cash Register Company and the Adams Express Company.

February 25.—Ex-President Roosevelt, replying to a request signed by eight Republican governors, states that he will accept the nomination for the Presidency if it is offered to him by the national convention.

February 26.—Colonel Roosevelt, addressing the Massachusetts Legislature, amplifies his views on the recall of judicial decisions. . . . The Supreme Court decides in favor of the Southern Pacific Railroad in a case involving claim to California land valued at more than \$1,000,000.

February 27.—The governors of nine States unite in pledging support to President Taft in securing his renomination. . . . Attorney-General Wickersham orders an inquiry into the action of the municipal authorities of Lawrence, Mass., in preventing the sending of strikers' children to outside cities for temporary support. . . . The New York Senate rejects the nomination of Edward G. Riggs as Public Service Commissioner, the entire Tammany delegation aligning itself against the Governor.

February 28.—The federal Bureau of Labor decides to investigate wage- and working-conditions among the mill-workers at Lawrence, Mass.

February 29.—Senator Joseph M. Dixon, of Montana, is chosen to manage Colonel Roosevelt's campaign for the Presidential nomination.

March 1.—A caucus of Democratic members of the House approves a plan to admit sugar free of duty, and, to make up for revenue thereby lost, to levy a 1 per cent. tax on incomes in excess of \$5000.

March 5.—Senator Dixon challenges the manager of Mr. Taft's campaign to arrange a nationwide primary to show the Republican party's preference for Presidential nominee. . . . The Louisiana Legislature demands the resignation of United States Senator Leroy Percy, who was defeated in a recent primary contest.

March 6.—George F. Cotterill (Dem.) is elected mayor of Seattle. . . . The Government concludes the presentation of evidence in the trial of the beef-packers at Chicago.

March 7.—The Massachusetts House of Representatives votes to retain the death penalty. . . . The Ohio Constitutional Convention decides to

submit to the voters the question of woman suffrage. . . . The Michigan House passes a Presidential primary bill.

March 8.—President Taft, speaking at Toledo, opposes the principle of the recall of judicial decisions. . . . The Michigan Senate passes the Presidential primary bill. . . . A bill is introduced in the New York Assembly providing a space on the primary ballot for expression of a choice for the Presidential nomination.

March 10.—Colonel Roosevelt, in a letter to Senator Dixon, outlines his views on Presidential primaries.

March 11.—The United States Supreme Court holds that the patent laws apply to selling contracts; Chief Justice White, in a dissenting opinion, severely criticizes the decision.

March 12.—The Government's suit against the Sugar Trust is begun at New York. . . . Attorney-General Wickersham asks the United States Supreme Court to dissolve the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems. . . . Forty-six of the indicted labor-union officials at Indianapolis plead "not guilty" in the dynamite conspiracy.

March 13.—The New York Senate rejects the nomination of Herbert P. Bissell as Public Service Commissioner.

March 15.—The Massachusetts Senate passes the preferential primary bill, and the measure is signed by Governor Foss. . . . Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture, resigns.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

February 16.—The Norwegian cabinet resigns. . . . The French naval estimates (\$280,000,000), already passed the Chamber of Deputies, are passed by the Senate.

February 17.—A demonstration in favor of Irish Home Rule is participated in by 15,000 people in Trafalgar Square, London.

February 19.—Gen. J. K. M. Bratlie forms a ministry in Norway.

February 22.—The reopening of the Italian Parliament is marked by the presentation of the royal decree proclaiming the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

February 23.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies passes the bill annexing Tripoli and Cyrenaica. . . . General Orozco, military governor of Chihuahua, Mexico, turns against the Madero government and seizes the state for the revolutionists. . . . Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, states that two-thirds of the British cabinet are in favor of woman suffrage.

February 24.—The Italian Senate ratifies the decree annexing Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

February 25.—The consular service of Panama is materially reduced.

February 27.—Dr. Karl Steiniger is elected first mayor of Greater Berlin. . . . The British army estimates (\$139,300,000) show a slight increase over the preceding year. . . . The city of Juarez, Mexico, falls into the hands of the revolutionists. . . . Conferences are held by Premier Asquith with the British coal operators and with the miners.

February 28.—Eladio Victoria is inaugurated president of Santo Domingo.

March 1.—The Honduran rebel leader Villadares invades his country from San Salvador and captures the town of Aramecina. . . . Pedro Pena is appointed provisional president of Paraguay, succeeding President Rojas, captured by the revolutionists.

March 2.—Objection to methods used by the Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament leads to wild disorder in the chamber.

March 3.—General Orozco and his men are driven out of Chihuahua by government troops.

March 5.—At a by-election in South Manchester the Liberal candidate, returned last year unopposed, is rejected by a majority of 579.

March 6.—Gen. Julio Andrade, the chief figure in the suppression of the recent revolution in Ecuador, is assassinated by his troops.

March 7.—The Hungarian cabinet, under Count Khuen-Hedervary, resigns.

March 8.—The Cuban House of Representatives refuses to recognize the President's decree adjourning Congress. . . . Johannes Kämpf (Radical) is elected Speaker of the German Reichstag. . . . The new German naval bill provides for sixty large ships and forty cruisers.

March 9.—The vaults of the National Bank of Mexico, at Juarez, are dynamited by the revolutionists.

March 10.—A monster demonstration in favor of peace and the government is held in Mexico City.

March 11.—The British miners' federation accepts Premier Asquith's invitation for a "round table" conference with the mine owners. . . . The Spanish cabinet is reorganized.

March 12.—The British naval estimates show a decrease of \$1,500,000.

March 14.—A youthful anarchist fires three shots, without effect, at King Victor Emmanuel while riding through the streets of Rome.

March 15.—Premier Asquith admits that attempts to arbitrate the British coal strike have failed, and intimates that special legislation may be enacted.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 18.—The Colombian minister to the United States, Señor Ospina, advises the State Department that Secretary Knox's proposed visit to Colombia would not be opportune, in his opinion. . . . The Argentine Government obtains satisfaction from Paraguay for attacks on shipping, and diplomatic relations will be resumed.

February 22.—It is announced at Bogota that Señor Ospina, Colombian minister to the United States, has been recalled.

February 23.—Philander C. Knox, American Secretary of State, leaves Key West for a visit to the Latin American republics bordering on the Caribbean. . . . Viscount S. Chinda, the new Japanese ambassador, arrives in Washington. . . . Persia accepts an offer of a \$1,000,000 loan, at 7 per cent., from England and Russia. . . . It is reported that Spain, negotiating with France over Morocco, refuses to make certain territorial compensations.

February 24.—A regiment of United States infantry and two batteries of artillery are sent to El Paso, Texas, to protect American interests near the border.

February 28.—Secretary Knox and his party are warmly welcomed at Panama. . . . France, Great Britain, and Russia decide to send warships to Crete, where religious disorders are reported.

February 29.—The American State Department informs President Madero that the exportation of military supplies to the Mexican insurgents cannot be prohibited.

March 2.—President Taft warns Americans in Mexico to abide by the neutrality laws; the American ambassador at Mexico City urges Americans to leave the danger zones.

March 3.—The Costa Rican Government cordially entertains Secretary Knox at San Jose.

March 5.—Secretary Knox and his party arrive at Corinto, Nicaragua.

March 7.—The United States Senate ratifies the general treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France, with important amendments. . . . Two additional regiments of United States troops are sent to the Mexican border.

March 8.—Secretary Knox is entertained at Amapala by members of the Honduran cabinet.

March 11.—Secretary Knox is welcomed at San Salvador by the President.

March 14.—President Taft, under authority especially conferred by Congress, forbids the shipment of arms into Mexico.

March 15.—Secretary Knox is cordially welcomed at Guatemala City.

#### WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND TURKEY

February 22.—An Italian force, attempting to occupy the oasis of Zanzur, near the town of Tripoli, is defeated.

February 23-24.—The Italian Parliament passes the measure annexing Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

February 24.—An Italian fleet attacks and sinks several Turkish war vessels at Beirut, Syria, and causes considerable damage to life and property in the city.

February 25.—Martial law is proclaimed at Beirut; the Italian Government denies that the city was bombed.

February 27.—A semi-official note, made public at Paris, confirms reports that mediation by the powers is contemplated.

February 28.—The Italian troops report the utter defeat of a Turkish force near the coast town of Homs.

March 2.—It is officially stated at Rome that the Italian losses in the war to date are 536 killed and 324 missing.

March 4.—An Italian cruiser bombards the town of Dubab, Arabia.

March 6.—The Italian army uses dirigible balloons for the first time in actual war; two airships drop bombs in the Turkish camp at Zanzur.

March 12.—During an assault by Turks and Arabs upon Tobruk, thirteen Italians are killed and seventy-three injured.

#### THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

February 15.—Yuan Shih-kai is elected President of the republic by the National Assembly.

February 20.—The National Assembly elects Gen. Li Yuen Hung, commander of the revolutionary army, as vice-president.

February 27.—Yuan Shih-kai accepts the Presidency of the republic.

February 29.—Two thousand revolutionary troops mutiny at Peking, breaking into shops and setting fire to the northern section of the city.

March 2.—The outbreak among the revolutionary troops spreads to Tien-tsin, with much pillaging and burning.

March 4.—The arrival of foreign troops in Peking, including 200 American soldiers, brings about a state of complete quiet; it is estimated that 5000 persons were killed during the outbreak.

March 6.—A further call for troops by the American minister brings the number of troops on China service up to 1200.

March 7.—A banking syndicate—representing the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France—advances \$700,000 to the provisional government; further loans are being arranged. . . . The National Assembly at Nanking agrees to the inauguration of President Yuan Shih-kai at Peking.

March 8.—The cabinet decides to meet at Nanking despite the fact that President-elect Yuan refuses to go there.

March 10.—Yuan Shih-kai is inaugurated President at Peking.

March 11.—President Yuan proclaims a general amnesty.

March 12.—Russia announces her willingness to accept a one-sixth share of the Chinese loan.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 15.—Two bank messengers are held up in a taxicab at noon in the financial district of New York City, and robbed of \$12,000. . . . Railroad officials and steel-rail manufacturers confer at New York City in an effort to obtain safer rails. . . . The cornerstone of the National Maine Monument, in New York City, is laid.

February 19.—Conferences are held at London between representatives of British coal operators and miners.

February 21.—Fire causes damage to the extent of several million dollars at Houston, Texas.

February 22.—A severe wind storm paralyzes traffic throughout large sections of New York State. . . . A hundred miners are entombed by a fire in a coal mine at Lehigh, Oklahoma.

February 23.—The German Patent Office declares invalid the Wright brothers' aeroplane patents.

February 27.—At the first of a series of conferences between anthracite mine-workers and operators, in New York, the miners' demands are formally presented, involving a 20 per cent. increase in wages and an eight-hour day. . . . Two men are killed during car riots in Kingston, Jamaica.

February 29.—Thirty-six persons are killed during a revolt in the Monterey (Mexico) penitentiary. . . . The *J. E. Trudeau*, the largest Mississippi River packet steamer, is destroyed by fire at New Orleans.

March 1.—Coal miners estimated to number a million men go on strike in Great Britain. . . . The mill-owners of Lawrence, Mass., with but two exceptions, concede wage increases to the strikers. . . . Suffragettes smash hundreds of windows in London; one hundred and fifty women are arrested.

... Jules Vedrines flies in a monoplane at Pau, France, 101 2-3 miles in an hour.

March 2.—President Taft speaks at a dinner in New York given to William Dean Howells in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday. ... Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and many other suffragettes are sentenced in London to imprisonment at hard labor.

March 3.—Bristol dock workers refuse to handle foreign coal while the British strike continues.

March 4-5.—More than three hundred trains are withdrawn in Great Britain as a result of the coal strike; the sailings of many steamships are also cancelled.

March 5.—The anthracite coal operators, meeting at New York City, reject the demands of the miners.

March 7.—Captain Roald Amundsen arrives at Hobart, Tasmania, and announces that his expedition reached the South Pole on December 14, 1911. ... The directors of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana vote to increase its capital stock from \$1,000,000 to \$30,000,000; Standard Oil stock reached 890, its highest point, on the New York Stock Exchange.

March 9.—A general advance in the wages of textile workers in Northern New England is announced, affecting more than 125,000 persons. ... Owing to the British strike, coal from Norfolk, Virginia, is received at Suez. ... King George lays the foundation stone for the new \$10,000,000 building of the London County Council.

March 10.—Dr. Talcott Williams, associate editor of the Philadelphia Press, is chosen director of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, at Columbia University. ... Coal miners in the Ruhr district of Rhenish Prussia vote to strike. ... The New York State Superintendent of Banking reports that savings-bank deposits increased \$52,000,000 in the last year.

March 11.—Nearly 175,000 coal miners quit work in Germany.

March 12.—The first direct conference between British coal operators and miners is held in London. ... The Douglas Mawson Antarctic expedition returns to Hobart, Tasmania.

March 13.—The anthracite operators, at New York, refuse the demands of the miners.

March 14.—A band of Virginia mountaineers, in an attempt to rescue a prisoner in the Hillsville Courthouse, shoot and kill the judge, the prosecutor, and the sheriff. ... The Lawrence strikers accept the concessions offered by the mill owners and return to work. ... The Belgian coal strike is averted; the number on strike in Germany grows to 300,000.

# OBITUARY

February 15.—Sara Agnes Rice Pryor (Mrs. Roger A. Pryor), well known as an historical writer, 82. ... Dr. Henry K. Whitford, one of the founders of the National Eclectic Society, 83.

February 16.—Brig.-Gen. Clinton B. Sears, U. S. A., retired, 67. ... Hope W. Hogg, professor of Semitic language and literature at the University of Manchester, 49. ... Prof. Henry Williamson Haynes, a widely known archæologist, 80.

February 17.—Aloys L. Count Lexa von Aehrenthal, premier of Austria-Hungary, 57.

February 18.—Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Parks, a noted Protestant Episcopal minister of New York, 63.

February 19.—Mrs. Lucy Aldrich Osband, a noted botanist and educator of Michigan, 76.

February 20.—William Penn Nixon, editor of the Chicago Inter-Ocean, 78. ... Albert Hertel, the noted German landscape artist, 68. ... George Coulon, vice-president of the French Council of State, 74.

February 21.—Viscount Ouro Preto, the eminent Brazilian statesman. ... Mrs. Margaret Byers, LL.D., founder and principal of Victoria College (Belfast).

February 22.—Capt. Theodore F. Townsend, a noted weather forecaster, 74.

February 23.—Capt. Philip R. Alger, professor of mathematics at the Naval Academy, 53. ... Col. L. D. Burch, a well-known agricultural editor, 81.

February 24.—Isaac N. Perry, a prominent Chicago banker, 65. ... Jules Joseph Lefebvre, the French painter, 78.

February 25.—William Alexander, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, 60. ... Charles R. Sanger, professor of chemistry at Harvard University, 56. ... Miss Grace Anna Lewis, formerly a noted naturalist, 90.

February 26.—Ernst Thalmann, the New York banker, 61. ... Frank Stuart Bond, formerly president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, 82. ... Isaac P. Baldwin, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Polk, 92.

February 27.—Rev. Charles Lewis Loos, for many years president of Transylvania University (Kentucky), 89.

February 28.—Archbishop Stoner, canon of St. John Lateran, 81. ... Rev. Brother Justin (Stephen McMahon) former president of the Christian Brothers' College at St. Louis, 78. ... Dr. Arthur Kendrick MacDonald, a well-known New Jersey physician, 60.

February 29.—George Crossmith, the noted English actor, 64. ... Donald Mackay, a prominent New York banker.

March 1.—Edward Blake, formerly a prominent member of the Liberal party in Canada, 79. ... Count Holstein-Ledeborg, a former prime minister of Denmark, 75. ... William Bayard Cutting, a well-known New York lawyer, 62. ... Dr. Leonard Webber, a noted New York physician, 74.

March 3.—Mrs. Annie Yeamans, the actress, 76.

March 4.—John Taggart Blodgett, associate justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, 53. ... Rear-Adm. Aubrey, commander of the Italian fleet in the war with Tripoli, 63.

March 6.—Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick Walter Kitchener, Governor of Bermuda, 54.

March 10.—E. Spencer Blackburn, a former Congressman from North Carolina, 43.

March 11.—James L. Price, associate justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, 72. ... John C. Riley, formerly postmaster at Cincinnati, 71. ... Samuel M. Bixby, the manufacturer of shoe polishes, 78. ... Charles Thompson Harvey, of New York, an authority on elevated railroads, 83.

March 12.—Dr. John Bernhardt Smith, State entomologist of New Jersey and professor of entomology at Rutgers College, 53.

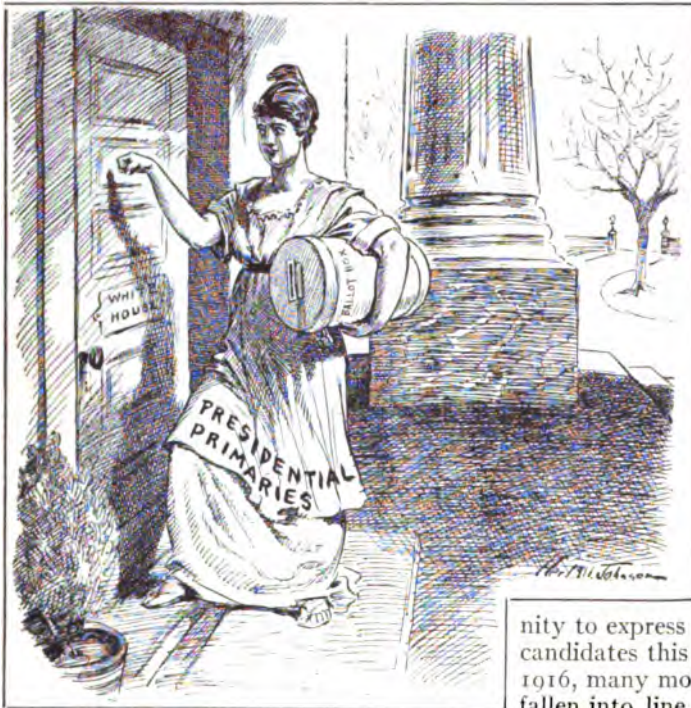
March 13.—Dr. William Sprenger, of New Haven, a noted X-ray expert, 64.

March 14.—Vice-Admiral Jules Marie de Cavellier de Cuverville, of the French navy, 78. ... Walter L. Dean, the marine artist, 58.

March 15.—Rear-Adm. John M. Bowyer, U. S. N., retired, recently superintendent of the Naval Academy, 58.



# CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



NO ANSWER

(Senator Dixon, who is directing the work at the Roosevelt headquarters, has repeatedly challenged Congressman McKinley, manager of the Taft campaign for renomination, to support the movement for Presidential Preference primaries, in order that the rank and file of the Republican party may have an opportunity to express their choice for Presidential candidate. The challenge has not, however, met with the desired response.)

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



PRIMARY DAY

ELECTION DAY

(If Mr. Voter cannot have something to say as to who his candidate for President should be, perhaps he will not care to vote on election day.)

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

**F**EW political reforms have spread so rapidly as the movement for Presidential preference primaries. Adopted by the voters of Oregon in the fall of 1910, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and North Dakota followed in 1911, and California and Massachusetts in 1912. Other State legislatures have also been considering the subject. In some States the political party committees have voluntarily provided for the expression of the choice of the voters for Presidential candidates. In one form or another, as many as fifteen States have given the voters an opportunity to express their choice for Presidential candidates this year. Before the election of 1916, many more States will doubtless have fallen into line, or a national law will have been enacted. The people are becoming more and more interested in the idea of being able to say who shall be the candidates of their parties for President, instead of having some one else make the selections for them.

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"I'M AFRAID TO TRUST MYSELF TO IT"

From the *Sun* (Baltimore)





THE DOC KNOWS WHERE THE BAD SPOTS ARE!

From the *Journal* (Detroit)

Again the world has been thrilled by a polar feat. The South Pole, left in lonesome undiscoveredness by the capitulation of his Arctic brother to Peary, in 1909, surrendered to the Norwegian Amundsen last December. When Scott, the English explorer, returns from his expedition, we may learn that he also reached the Pole, either before or after Amundsen; in fact, the Norwegian declared this to be quite possible; but it is not expected that there will be any controversy on the subject of priority of discovery.



"THERE'S A REASON"

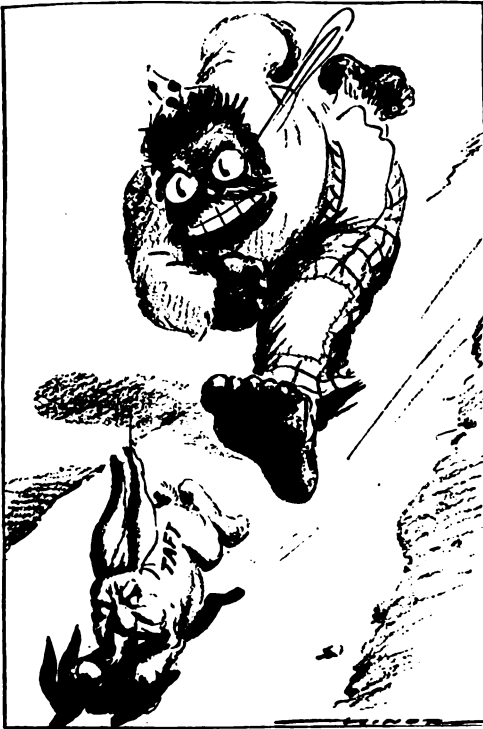
"I fear the investigation will be a farce."—Bryan  
(Referring to the proposed Congressional investigation of the "Money Trust")  
From the *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis)



NOT WHAT HE ORDERED. TAKE IT AWAY

(The Arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, as amended by the Senate last month, are not satisfactory to President Taft)

From the *Press* (New York)



"GIT OUT DE WAY AN' LET SOMEBODY RUN  
WHAT CAN RUN!"

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



"MY HAT IS IN THE RING"

And Colonel Roosevelt follows it with his faithful canine, "My Policies," for a fight to the finish

From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

Any ordinary political campaign is a busy time for the cartoonists, but let Colonel Roosevelt announce that his "hat is in the ring" and the fight becomes vastly more picturesque and interesting. Each day contributes something new to the situation. The "Knights of the Pencil" are alert to catch every phase of the contest, tossing off sheaves of clever drawings to the great delight of the public. People may differ as to the wisdom of the Colonel's participation in this year's campaign, but it has made the cartoonists happy.



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FLOOR-MANAGER TAFT: "HOLD ON, COLONEL, YOU CAN'T DO THE 'GRIZZLY BEAR' WITH THAT DEAR OLD LADY!"

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)



"THEY GOTTA QUIT KICKING" THE COMMON PEOPLE'S DOG, "POPULAR GOVERNMENT" AROUND

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

The Missouri dog song has rapidly spread beyond the borders of its native State. Its quaint lines seem to have struck a responsive note in the popular heart. The first and best-known verse is as follows:

"Every time I come to town,  
The boys all kick my dog aroun';  
Makes no difference if he is a houn',  
They gotta quit kicking my dog aroun'."

The Democratic State convention of Missouri sang the song with great enthusiasm as an accompaniment to the indorsement of Speaker Clark for President, and it has since



ANOTHER POOR CUR BEING ABUSED

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

become attached to the Speaker's boom. Cartoonists have promptly annexed the "houn'" for their purposes, and everybody's mongrel is in turn shown as being kicked around. No doubt this Missouri "dawg ditty" will become very popular during the Presidential campaign, and doubtless, also, a number of people's canines will get considerable abuse before the campaign is over.



SOME STRENUOUS KICKS FROM T. R.

From the *Traveler* (Boston)



OFFERING INDIGNITY TO PRESIDENT TAFT'S NOMINATION PET

From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)



"THE SPIRIT OF 1912"  
From *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)]



CHINA "QUIETING DOWN"

THE EMPEROR'S GRANDMOTHER: "Come, child, we must go into exile."  
THE EMPEROR: "Please wait a bit; I just want to see how Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shih-kai are going to agree."  
From *Ull* (Berlin)



### DON QUIXOTE FROM YANKEELAND

(A Central American view of Secretary Knox's visit to the Southern republics)  
From *El Cometa* (San José, Costa Rica)

Some of our Southern neighbors do not seem overenthusiastic about Secretary Knox's visit. His diplomacy, in their opinion, will avail little against the prejudice toward Uncle Sam existing in certain Latin-American countries, notably Colombia, where the Panama revolution still rankles.



WILL UNCLE SAM INTERVENE?  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



"INOPPORTUNE TIME TO CALL"  
(Mr. Knox would better stay away)  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



DR. FALCOTT WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF THE PULITZER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

## THE FIRST DIRECTOR OF THE PULITZER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

THE trustees of Columbia University, concerned with the problems of American journalism, have selected Dr. Falcott Williams as head of the school of the Pulitzer School of Journalism. This selection is the most appropriate and the most fitting that could have been made. Dr. Williams is the son of a missionary who was born in Turkey, in July, 1861. He was educated partly abroad and partly in this country, and was graduated from Amherst College in 1883. During his student days he was one of the editors of the *Amherst Student*, and immediately after graduation he began work on the *New York Herald*, where he is still employed. He soon

obtained a place on the city staff and within a few years became the Albany correspondent of the *World*, then night editor, and later Washington correspondent. He also served for a time in the Washington bureau of the *New York Sun*, and in 1879 became editorial writer on the *Springfield Republican*. From 1881 to the present time he has been associate editor of the *Philadelphia Press*.

Dr. Williams has found time to do much writing in the field of art and dramatic criticism and book reviewing. His contributions to the magazines have been numerous and important. Some of the articles that he has written for the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, notably those on Turkey and the Eastern Question, are encyclopædic in the range and accuracy of their information, and far more than encyclopædic in vigor of expression.

The extent and minuteness of Dr. Williams' knowledge on archæological and Oriental topics is a constant marvel to his friends. He has twice collected anthropological material

in Morocco for the Smithsonian Institution, and has published a number of papers on Morocco and the Arabic language.

Dr. Williams' scholarship has not made him in any sense a recluse; for he is actively interested in many forms of practical philanthropy in the city of Philadelphia; is a trustee of Amherst College; a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation; an officer of the Armstrong Association, and a member of numerous clubs and societies interested in political and social reform. He is widely known as a public speaker, having given many public addresses which have displayed imagination and originality, as well as the remarkable erudition for which he is famous. In connection with his duties as director of the Pulitzer School of Journalism Dr. Williams will personally supervise the instruction given in the history and ethics of journalism. He will begin his active duties at the school in September next.

## A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

THE great question before the people of the United States is the government's relation to business. The tariff is one phase of this question, the control of trusts is another, and the reform of our currency and banking system is still another. Mr. George W. Perkins, who ten years ago was the foremost advocate among business men in this country of corporation publicity, and who did more than any man outside of official life to bring about the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, with its Bureau of Corporations, has also for years earnestly advocated a scheme of federal license and control for great corporations, with an industrial commission somewhat analogous to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and with federal charters for large business enterprises, as a probable later step. Mr. Perkins' position has deserved the support and respect of business men great and small throughout the land. For a number of weeks past he has been one of the most active and conspicuous leaders in the movement to secure the Republican nomination for Colonel Roosevelt. The fact that Mr. Perkins is a director in more than one large corporation does not disqualify him from having sound

and progressive opinions upon subjects that he has studied for many years from the practical standpoint.



MR. GEORGE W. PERKINS



Mr. Perkins has only recently returned from a transcontinental trip made chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining public sentiment in the Western States on political and economic questions. In the course of this journey Mr. Perkins met men of almost every calling and station in life, and conversed with several thousands of them on trains, at railroad stations and hotels, and wherever opportunity might offer, in order to get representative expressions of opinion wherever possible.

In an interview granted to the *New York Times*, in which he summed up his observations on this journey, Mr. Perkins expressed his conviction that in the approaching Presidential campaign the West is very slightly concerned with party issues and distinctions as such, but fully determined that the candidates for the Presidency must be "progressive." So far as the Republican party is concerned, the West feels that its confidence has been violated by the failure of the party to live up to its pledges made four years ago in the Chicago platform, especially as regards the tariff and the trusts. The Republican party expressed itself as in favor of amending the Sherman law, and indicated that companies having the power and influence to affect monopolies should be supervised and controlled by the federal government. "The Democrats at that time," continued Mr. Perkins, "had a plank in their platform which was intended to prevent any company from getting control of more than 50 per cent. of the total amount of any product, and now we are seeing the Republican party, which won at the polls, not only forsaking its own platform, but actually picking up the Democratic plank. The Standard Oil and American Tobacco dissolution fiascos are the result. All through the Western country the people are absolutely out of patience with the dissolution of corporations, and they think that the present method is no solution of the trust problem at all."

Mr. Perkins declared that, in his opinion, the federal regulation of trusts would again be an issue in the campaign, in spite of the recent interpretation of the Sherman law by the Supreme Court. "The country," he says, "will line up for federal regulation of the trusts, and what is more, will put it through, I think, under a progressive leader. The Supreme Court decision will have to make way for constructive legislation."

In a full statement of Mr. Perkins' proposed business remedies, which appears in

the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 16, he says:

What the present situation needs is immediate constructive legislation; and such a program does not present insurmountable difficulties. Its solution would be comparatively easy and prompt if we could have a little more patriotism and a little less politics. If our legislative friends really want to stop playing politics for personal or party gain and do something of a constructive nature for the country, they need but to follow precedents that are already established, and that are well understood and approved by the people. No experiments on a large and doubtful scale are necessary. Congress in a very short time could adopt a policy that would give both immediate and prospective relief; and this could be done by working somewhat along the following lines:

First—Create at once, in or out of the Department of Commerce and Labor, a business court or controlling commission composed largely of experienced business men.

Second—Give this body power to license corporations doing an interstate or international business.

Third—Make such license depend on the ability of a corporation to comply with conditions laid down by Congress when creating such commission and with such regulations as may be prescribed by the commission itself.

Fourth—Make publicity, both before and after the license is issued, the essential feature of these rules and regulations. Require each company to secure the approval of said commission of all its affairs, from its capitalization to its business practices. In the beginning, lay down only broad principles, with a view to elaborating and perfecting them as conditions require.

Fifth—Make the violation of such rules and regulations punishable by the imprisonment of individuals rather than by the revocation of the license of the company, adopting in this respect the method of procedure against national banks in case of wrongdoing.

Mr. Perkins further proposes that the House and Senate join at once in appointing a commission to make a careful study of the Sherman law and the various suggestions that have been made regarding its repeal, amendment, and amplification. The same commission should also study and report on the wisdom and practicability of a national incorporation act.

As a result of these relief measures we should have, in place of a series of long-drawn-out lawsuits, an effective board of control with power to license such companies as were clearly working for and not against public interest. Such business concerns as could not, or did not wish to meet this test, would then have no right to complain if proceedings were instituted against them under the Sherman law. As Mr. Perkins puts it: "The wrecking crew has been working overtime; is it not time to put a construction gang on the job?"

# CAMPAIGNING FOR THE NOMINATION

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

ONE of the most interesting features of the preliminary Presidential campaign is the establishment of headquarters in charge of a campaign manager for each of the men in the field for the nomination in both political parties. All the men who are either active or receptive candidates have organizations with officers and assistants very much like those of a national committee after the nomination has been made. Every man who seeks the nomination for President or is put forward by his friends has a "headquarters," a "campaign manager," with assistants, secretaries, clerks, stenographers, telephones, and most important of all, a publicity bureau with press agents.

## ACTIVITY CENTERS AT WASHINGTON

As Washington is just now the center of political interest it is natural that the headquarters of Presidential aspirants should be established in the national capital, and every man who is seriously considered in connection with the nomination by either political party has a headquarters in Washington equipped with all the accessories of a national committee after a Presidential campaign is in full blast. Some are more elaborate than others. Several are conducted on a small scale, but in all essentials the canvass for delegates to the two national conventions is conducted in much the same manner as is the canvass by the two leading parties after the actual election campaign has opened.

Washington is practically ignored politically after the conventions, but during the preliminaries the seat of government is the scene of great activity on the part of the friends of the different candidates for the nominations. This year the activity has been increased by reason of opening headquarters for every man who is a conspicuous possibility. Suites of rooms in business blocks or hotels have been engaged and occupied; banners have been flung to the breeze; literary bureaus organized, and all the machinery of a political canvass provided for the purpose of laying before the people the advantage of each candidate.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York  
A CHAMP CLARK BANNER ACROSS A WASHINGTON STREET

What has been done in Washington on a comparatively large scale has been duplicated in a smaller way in several other large cities. In regard to at least two candidates the principal headquarters have been established in cities other than the national capital, although the most effective campaigning is performed in Washington. More especially is this true in regard to the publicity department. As all the large daily papers in the country are represented by correspondents stationed in Washington there is a better opportunity to distribute campaign literature which is prepared daily and given out for publication from the different bureaus.

## THE MANAGER'S DIFFICULT TASK

The principal duty of the campaign manager is to see the important men of his party and secure their support for his candidate; to set in motion the machinery which will

secure delegates; to checkmate the other campaign managers; to receive reports; give directions; consult with his candidate and communicate the candidate's wishes to his supporters; and generally to be ready at all times to reinforce wavering lines and send out lieutenants to direct field operations. It is no easy task and oftentimes the campaign manager is blamed for lack of success. In these days it is impossible to accomplish very much by distributing large amounts of money,—that is, compared to what was done in the former campaigns where State and district delegates were procured by lavish expenditure. But sinews of war are necessary. Headquarters cannot be maintained, publicity bureaus equipped, and scouts sent to different sections of the country without a reasonable outlay. The campaign headquarters cannot be conducted without the aid of friends of the candidates who are willing to contribute more or less liberally. But the restrictions upon expenditures for political purposes as well as the more modern methods employed make it impossible to use large amounts of money corruptly,—a practice that formerly disgraced several national conventions. \

#### "PUBLICITY" WORK

Political headquarters now mean "campaigns of education" more than anything else. For that reason the publicity bureaus become the most important part of their organization. Such is particularly the case this year. Primarily the press agent seeks the exploitation of his candidate through the daily papers and the papers are furnished with everything that may be considered, or mistaken for, "live" news. Attention is given also to the papers using "plates" and "ready prints." By this method the smaller dailies and country weeklies are reached. Papers willing to publish articles in favor of a particular candidate are furnished reading matter in "plates" which saves them the cost of composition. In this way the paper is relieved from expense and the press agent secures the very best kind of publicity, for the smaller dailies and weeklies reach just the kind of people the campaign managers desire to influence.

From the publicity bureau of the different campaign headquarters there is a constant stream of typewritten sheets setting forth the advantages of the particular candidate who is being served; showing how he is gaining strength daily; giving copies of telegrams from States, districts, and counties where preferences have been declared; statements

of different managers refuting previous statements of other managers; challenges and counter challenges; interviews with prominent men who tell how the candidate is sweeping this or that section of the country; and in fact everything that can by any possibility aid a candidate is put forth from his headquarters. Not the smallest part of the duty of the publicity bureau is to keep track of the preliminary polls, the straw votes, and such other indications as may show the state of the public pulse and prove the growing strength of the candidate. In fact it would appear to be the most important function of a campaign manager and his loyal press bureau to make claims and exhibit confidence that cannot be shaken by any consideration. In this respect the political headquarters in the contest for the nominations do not differ from the national committee headquarters in the midst of the campaign for election.

#### THE REPUBLICAN QUARTETTE

In the Republican party there are four men who have political headquarters,—President Taft, former President Roosevelt, Senator La Follette and Senator Cummins. It must be admitted, however, that one could scarcely say that Senator Cummins has a political headquarters, unless that which is maintained in Des Moines, taking care of the Senator's interests in Iowa, could be so designated. In Washington the rooms occupied by Senator Cummins in the Senate office building are the only semblance of headquarters in the East and the office force consists of those regularly employed in taking care of his official affairs.

Friends of Robert M. La Follette were first to establish headquarters for the campaign of 1912. For several months a large force has been at work in an office building in Washington while the publicity bureau was very active. The La Follette headquarters has been in charge of Walter L. Houser with Len F. Haines as the press agent. This bureau was generally supported by many men who turned to Roosevelt as soon as it was known that former President Roosevelt would accept a nomination. In a number of Western cities there are local organizations which might be called branches of the main La Follette headquarters in Washington.

It was only after the information was definite that Colonel Roosevelt would accept the nomination that headquarters were established for the purpose of securing delegates to renominate William H. Taft. Hon. William B. McKinley, a member of Congress from

Illinois, and who was chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in 1908 and 1910, was selected by President Taft to take charge of his campaign for renomination. A large number of rooms at one of the leading hotels in Washington was selected for headquarters and the usual political force engaged. LeRoy T. Vernon was placed in charge of the publicity bureau, and from the beginning typewriters have thundered against Roosevelt and his supporters. There is also a Taft bureau in Chicago, but the real Taft campaign is under the direction of Mr. McKinley in Washington.

In a Washington office building about two blocks from the Taft headquarters is the "Roosevelt National Committee," with Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana in charge as chairman of the executive committee. The Washington bureau, while most important, is a branch, as the chairman of the main Roosevelt committee, Alexander H. Revell, has a headquarters in Chicago. There is also a branch in New York. Oscar King Davis is in charge of the publicity work at the Roosevelt Washington headquarters, though Senator Dixon, being also owner of a newspaper, does a large amount of the publicity work



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HON. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY OF ILLINOIS

(In charge of President Taft's campaign for renomination)

himself. It may be remarked in passing that a good supply of Roosevelt political news will emanate from the *Outlook* office and Oyster Bay.

#### FOUR DEMOCRATS ALSO IN THE FIELD

Only four aspirants for the Democratic nomination have established headquarters as this is written. They are Governor Harmon, Governor Wilson, Speaker Clark, and Chairman Underwood. While it is almost certain that four other men will be at least "favorite son" candidates in the Baltimore convention, only these four are now considered serious possibilities.

Governor Judson Harmon was one of the first Democrats to be brought forward as a candidate for the Democratic nomination, and months before other men were active a press bureau at Columbus, Ohio, was sending forth a large amount of literature which was intended to keep the people informed that the Ohio governor was in the field. The active Ohio manager for Governor Harmon is Hugh L. Nichols. Later there was a congressional organization with Senator Pomerene in charge, and then came the inevitable headquarters in Washington with former Congressman Robert P. Gordon as manager and Charles A. Cottrell as press agent. The



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

LEROY T. VERNON

(Head of the Taft "publicity bureau" at Washington)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

**SENATOR JOSEPH M. DIXON OF MONTANA**  
(Chairman of the Roosevelt National Committee)

Harmon headquarters is rather modest, occupying a few rooms at a hotel with only a few of the usual campaign accessories.

The principal headquarters of Governor Woodrow Wilson was established in one of the big office buildings on lower Broadway in New York early in the canvass. It was there that Wm. F. McCombs began a campaign which extended all over the country. When it became apparent that any candidate with any pretensions to success must have headquarters in Washington the Wilson manager established a branch in the capital, with Thomas J. Pence in charge, who also became the publicity agent.

Probably the most unpretentious campaign headquarters in Washington is that conducted in the interest of Speaker Champ Clark. In a few rooms at a modest hotel the friends of the Speaker work for his nomination for President. Former Senator Fred T. Dubois is the manager and H. N. Price the publicity agent. At St. Louis there is another Clark headquarters, which is designed to reach the voters in the Mississippi Valley.

A large suite of rooms in a Washington office building houses the headquarters of Oscar W. Underwood, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Senator John H. Bankhead, of Alabama, is the campaign

manager, and the publicity bureau is in charge of Thomas M. Owen. There is an Underwood headquarters in New York and branch organizations in nearly every Southern State.

#### REAPPEARANCE OF THE HANGER-ON

A few weeks prior to the national conventions the several headquarters will pick up bag and baggage and move to the convention cities. The different organizations behind Taft, Roosevelt, La Follette, and Cummins, with managers and press bureaus, will move to Chicago. The managers and publicity agents of Harmon, Wilson, Clark, and Underwood will move to Baltimore. From each headquarters in those cities will be issued the same claims, the same sort of asseverations and denials,

and, in fact, the activities that have been going on for months, principally in Washington, will be transferred to the cities where the nominations are to be made.

An interesting feature about these different headquarters is the quadrennial appearance of the political hangers-on who come to the surface regularly with every Presidential cam-



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

**MR. MEDILL McCORMICK OF CHICAGO**  
(Active in Roosevelt "publicity" work)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington  
**HON. ROBERT P. GORDON**  
 (Governor Harmon's manager)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington  
**SENATOR JOHN H. BANKHEAD**  
 (Chairman Underwood's manager)

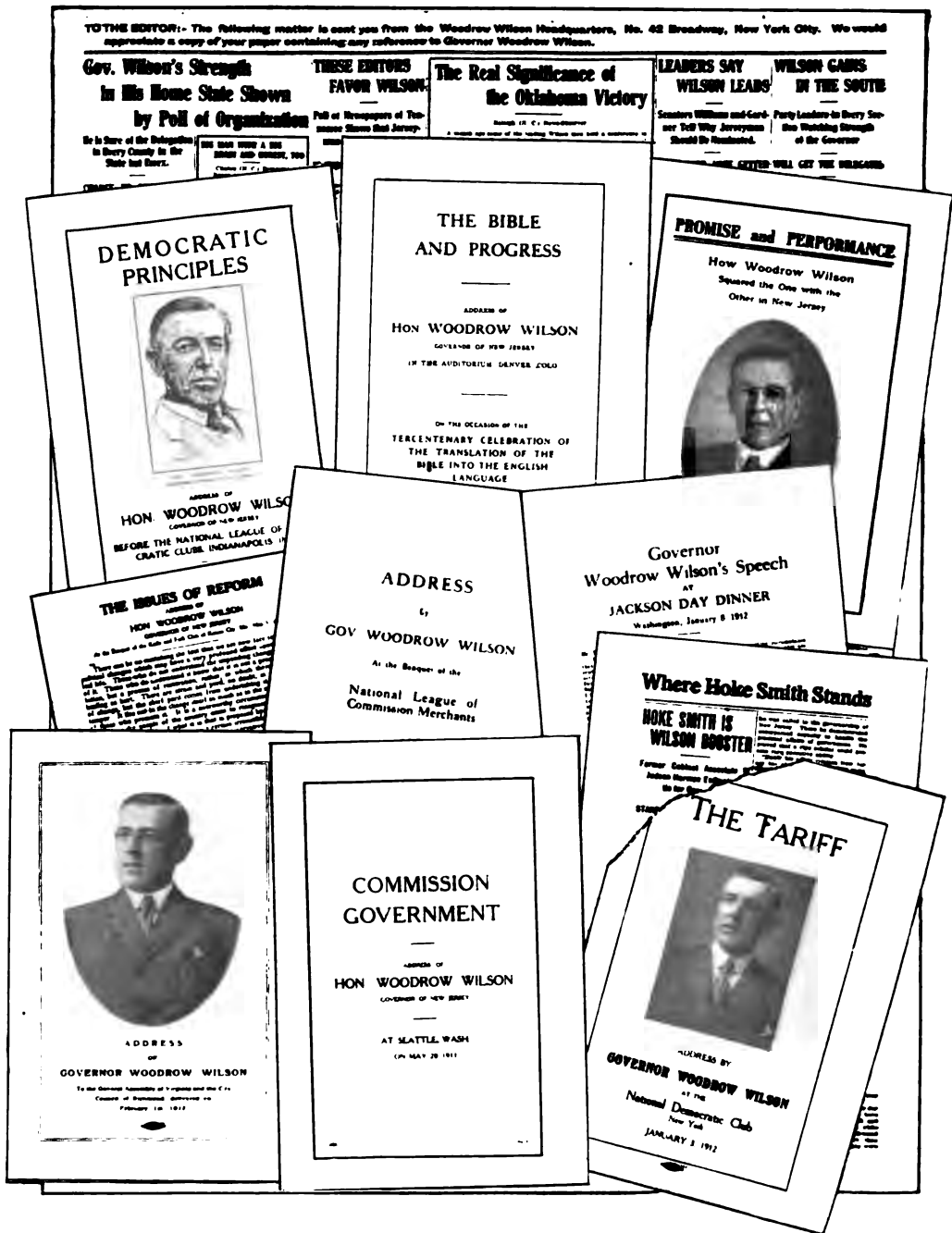
paign. Their faces are familiar, although their names may be unknown to most of those who see them. They scent a political campaign from afar and take their places in the

outer rooms, in the lobbies, and act as doorkeepers, guards, messengers, chair-warmers,



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

**EX-SENATOR FRED. T. DUBOIS**  
 (Speaker Champ Clark's manager)



A SELECTION OF WILSON "LITERATURE"

(Thousands of these documents are distributed daily throughout the country)

or in some capacity which attaches them to the pay-roll. When the candidates are named they will swarm about the national committee rooms, still seeking connection with the pay-roll and endeavoring to shine in the light of the big politicians who are doing the work. A Presidential campaign would be incomplete without them.

THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY

The activity on the part of those who are



pushing the claims of different candidates for President, the establishment of the several political headquarters, with publicity bureaus and other means of reaching the people, has one particularly interesting phase. Although only a comparatively small number of the States have presidential preference primaries, these activities indicate that after all the people will have a great deal to say in the selection of delegates. It means that the campaign managers desire to get information to the people and influence them by presenting the good qualities their favorites possess, and, also, which is a part of the game, to show the disadvantages of their rivals. It means that to a great extent the old "gumshoe" methods do not meet the requirements of an intelligent electorate. No longer can agents be sent quietly about different States setting up the pins and laying the wires



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MR. CHARLES A. COTTRELL

(Harmon press agent at the Washington headquarters)



MR. WILLIAM F. MCCOMBS

(Who began to campaign for Governor Wilson last August)

through the agency of the State and local bosses for the election of delegates. For

years that method has prevailed and even this year it has worked successfully in one party in many of the Southern States where the selection of delegates is in the control of a handful of men, generally federal officeholders. But for the remainder of the country the whole tendency has been to go direct to the people, and even where there are no preference primaries the campaign manager of a Presidential aspirant has found it desirable to go before the people in the public press and pamphlets and convince them that the candidate he is supporting merits their suffrage. Although there is yet quite a distance to nation-wide Presidential preference primaries, the latest campaign methods employed show the tendency of the times. In the future, especially when the people will express their preference for Presidential candidates in primaries in all the States, what seems an unusual condition at present, the numerous headquarters for candidates will probably be extended and established in all States during the preliminaries of a Presidential campaign when delegates are chosen to represent the people at national conventions.





CAPTAIN AMUNDSEN AND THE CREW OF THE "FRAM"

## AMUNDSEN'S CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH POLE

THE entire world was electrified by the cablegram from Hobart, Tasmania, on the morning of March 8, announcing the fact that, some time between December 14 and 17, Captain Roald Amundsen had attained the South Pole. With four men and eighteen dogs, from his ship, the *Fram*, Captain Amundsen crossed the great Ice Barrier and reached the southernmost point of this planet in fifty-five days. According to the most accurate indication of his instruments he was at the South Pole at three o'clock on the afternoon of December 14. On the vast plateau, 10,500 feet above sea level, which the explorer named King Haakon Land, Amundsen unfurled the Norwegian flag. There was a light breeze blowing at that time, he tells us, and the temperature was only 9.4 degrees below zero (Fahrenheit), although he reports that previously the thermometer had dropped to 76 degrees below. In simple, direct, eloquent language, without superfluous words, given in detail to the London *Daily Chronicle* and the New York *Times*, which purchased the exclusive rights of Captain Amundsen's

story for England and the United States respectively, the descendant of the Vikings tells of the triumph of his ambition. For three days almost every hour they took observations to verify their position. This much is certain, says Amundsen, "we observed the pole as close as it is in human power to do it with the instruments we had." He reports "astonishing meteorological observations," which will be "a matter of a professional private report."

Until Captain Amundsen's full report is made public, it will not be possible to estimate the exact scientific value of his achievement. Locating the world's southernmost point is in itself, of course, a splendid feat. But in addition much new light will be thrown upon geological and meteorological questions by the observations Amundsen made. Weather experts agree that the Antarctic continent is a region "full of possible causation in many fields of scientific phenomena." They predict that a more definite knowledge of the wind currents of the south polar region will be of immense value in tracing the origin

and behavior of storms all over the world. Amundsen established the fact that it is probably always calm at the South Pole. The terrible blizzards experienced by Shackleton and other Antarctic explorers, he asserts, are not prevalent in the immediate region of the pole itself. He discovered new mountains and established the connection between chains already known to exist. He learned a great deal about the glaciers and observed enough to explain the nature of the celebrated Ross Ice Barrier, which is now known to be more than 800 feet thick and to cover an area larger than the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined.

Even when the full results of the expeditions of Amundsen and Scott are made public, however, there will still remain the fact that the interior behind the 8000 miles of Antarctic coast line, with an area twice as large as that of Europe, is a practically unknown land. Even its general structure is still largely a matter of speculation.

Captain Amundsen left Buenos Aires on his present trip late in 1910, with a small party of Norwegians, all experienced in Arctic work, and particularly proficient with skis, which were thought to be of great advantage in traversing the glaciers. He also took with him more than 100 dogs. On February 10, 1911, he tells us in his narrative, they left their winter quarters, having landed from the *Fram* some weeks before, and proceeded southward. Their winter camp was well provisioned, sanitary, and well lighted and heated. Amundsen made use of many modern scientific appliances never employed before in the polar regions. He found particularly satisfactory a new electric lamp which, he reports, not only supplied him during the long winter night with light equal to 200 candle power, but kept the temperature of the huts uniform at 68 degrees Fahrenheit, while outside the thermometer was indulging in subzero flights of 76 degrees. "Alcohol of every kind was absolutely barred on the journey." From mid-February to mid-April the route as far south as the 80th parallel was marked with flags indicating caches of food. The men spent the southern winter on the Ice Barrier. The long night, four months of darkness from April 22 to August 24, was devoted to overhauling the outfit and in scientific work.

In mid-October, with four associates and eighteen dogs, Amundsen started southward. He passed Shackleton's "farthest south," 111 statute units from the pole, on December 8, six days before he reached the goal. Com-



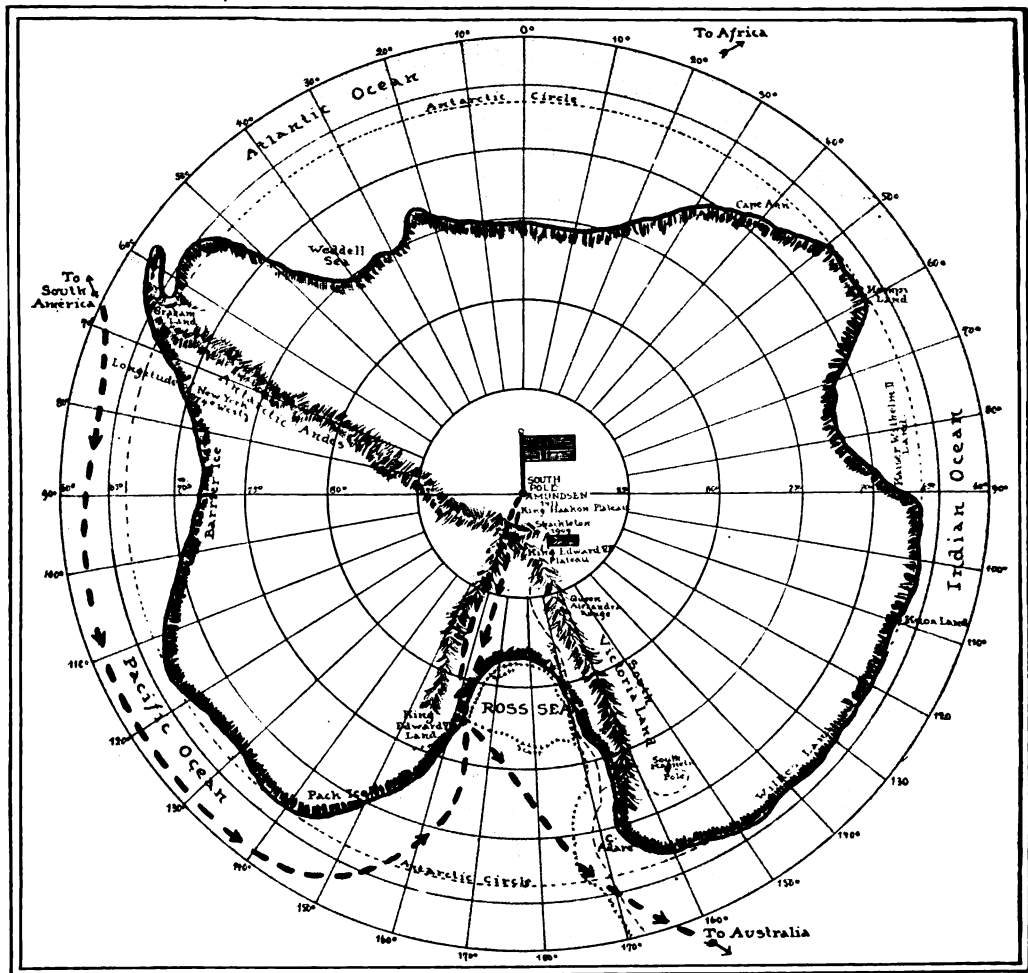
CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN

(Discoverer of the Northwest Passage and of the South Pole)

pared with the experiences of other polar explorers, Amundsen and his party had a comparatively easy time on their trip, and when the party reached Hobart on the return journey, they were found to be in excellent physical condition and good spirits.

The attainment of the northernmost point of our planet by Peary, on April 6, 1909, left the South Pole the supreme goal of adventurous humanity. The North Pole, Peary demonstrated, is in the midst of a hollow which holds the polar sea, and there is no land in the neighborhood of the Pole itself. The South Pole, on the contrary, is situated on a substantially founded continent which rises in the center of a vast plateau 10,000 feet or more above sea level. Shackleton proved this in 1909. This continent, surrounded by what is known as the Ross Ice Barrier, lies, apparently, at equal distance from the extremities of Africa, Australia, and South America. It is nearest to the last-named continent, Cape Horn being only about 600 miles away.

The Antarctic continent has been estimated to be at least twice as large as Europe. The evidence of paleontology is to the effect that Antarctica was once connected with the more northern lands, at least with South America; and that in prehistoric ages some tremendous convulsion of the earth's crust resulted in the sinking of the "submarine" floor, until in some



TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE SOUTH POLAR REGIONS

places it is now 4000 fathoms, or more than four miles below the surface. All around the great land mass of this continent there is a deep ocean bed cutting it off from every other land of the earth, and setting it apart as a region more unlike the rest of the globe than any other continent or island. Explorations have proven that in times before the advent of man upon the earth, this most southern land had a temperate, or even a warmer climate. There are fossils, both animal and vegetable, which indicate this. The formation of the rocks in Antarctica also is of volcanic origin and volcanic activity, notably in the case of Mt. Erebus, which is not yet extinct. A vast mountain range, perhaps at one time a continuation of the Andes, exists in Antarctica.

Twenty years ago a regular crusade began in England and Germany for the renewal of

Antarctic exploration. It is true that the Antarctic region was not reached by the first explorer until the Arctic region had been the explorer's goal for centuries, but the exploration of the Antarctic has been more deliberate and scientific in character. The ancients suspected the existence of land around the South Pole, and more than one old-time voyager round the Horn, meeting with contrary winds, was driven far southward into ice-bound regions. It was not until the last years of the eighteenth century, however, that any of these reached the Antarctic circle, or knew it if he did. In 1771 Yves Kerguelen set out from France to search for "a very large continent." He actually discovered the land now known by his name. The next name connected with Antarctic exploration is that of Captain James Cook, who, in 1773, crossed the Antarctic circle for the first time in



THE ANTARCTIC MOUNTAINS THAT BOTH AMUNDSEN AND SHACKLETON WENT OVER

recorded history, and explored a vast region south of it. Other honored names in connection with Antarctic exploration, which have immortalized their bearers, are Bellingshausen (1819), Weddell (1823), Biscoe (1831), Baleny (1833), Dumont D'Urville (1835), Wilkes (1836), Ross (1839), *The Challenger* (1850), and Larsen (1893-94). With the expedition of Carstens Borchgrevink, in 1894, a systematic effort began to explore the entire Antarctic region. This Norwegian and his party were the first white men to set foot on the Antarctic continent. The expedition of the *Belgica*, in 1895, made important discoveries. In 1898 the *Valdivia*, sent out by the German Government, made geological investigations. During the same year Borchgrevink led another fruitful expedition which had been equipped by English scientists. In 1901 Captain Robert Scott, supported by the British Government, and under the superintendence of the Royal Geographical Society, made an important expedition. At the same time, Professor Erich Drygalski, backed by the German Government, headed an expedition in the ship *Gauss*, and made scientific observations and collections of extensive value. Two private expeditions started at the same time, under Dr. Otto Nordenskjöld and Dr. W. S. Bruce. In January, 1904, and in 1908, Dr. Jean R. Charcot, a French scientist, led expeditions, and in January of 1908 Lieutenant Shackleton, who had been with Captain Scott on his expedition in 1901, himself led a voyage of discovery, equipped at his own expense and aided by personal friends, into the far Antarctic regions. Finally, in December, 1907, Dr. Douglas Mawson, who had been a geologist with Shackleton, left England for an extended stay in the Antarctic regions. All of these expeditions discovered new land. On January 9, 1909, Shackleton reached the latitude of 88 degrees 23 minutes South, and was forced to return when within 111 statute miles of the South Pole.

In 1910 no less than five expeditions were sent to the Antarctic for the purpose of reaching the Pole, or exploring the continent, or both. Captain Scott left New Zealand on his ship, the *Terra Nova*, on November 15, 1910. A German expedition, under Lieutenant Filchner, left early in the year to explore the other side of the continent. A Japanese expedition started for King Edward VII. land early in the year, and in June, Captain

Roald Amundsen left Norway, in his ship the *Fram*, equipped and provisioned for seven years, with the object of exploring the whole of the Antarctic region, and making a dash for the Pole.

Roald Amundsen is a typical Viking, in spirit if not in physical appearance. His whole career has been characterized by that indomitable courage, perseverance, and patience that is typical of the fierce sea rovers of old. It may be said that while, to a certain extent, good luck attended his expedition, as good luck attended that of Peary, in both cases it was the good fortune that always accompanies the strong and the brave. Both Peary and Amundsen did more than discover the poles. They besieged them, and the mysteries at last were unveiled to those who had the will and patience, the skill and the perseverance to dominate the situation.

For many years Captain Amundsen has been considered one of the most daring and skillful of Polar explorers. He has been a sailor from his youth. At the age of twenty-five he sailed with the *Belgica* expedition to the Antarctic. On his return he decided to devote the rest of his life, if need be, to the endeavor to discover the famous Northwest passage which had been sought for more than three centuries by such daring sea spirits as Frobisher, Cabot, and Franklin. For two years Amundsen studied magnetism and meteorology. Then in June, 1903, in the *Gjøa*, he set sail from Christiania. After three years wanderings through the ice, rocks and unknown lands of the Northwest, he eventually brought his little vessel through Bering Strait, and thus for the first time

navigated the Northwest passage. During this voyage he determined exactly the position of the magnetic pole.

Amundsen is forty years old, a strong-willed character of scientific equipment and modest as to his own achievements. He speaks highly of the work of the Japanese expedition, with which he came into contact on the trip, and refers respectfully and sympathetically to the expedition of Captain Robert Scott, the English explorer who left New Zealand on the other side of the globe from Captain Amundsen at about the same time. The equipment of Captain Scott's party and his own qualifications, aided as they have been by the advice and experience of Sir Ernest Shackleton, were believed to have given him even a better start in the search for the Pole than his Norwegian rival. Very soon after the start of these two men, the world began to refer to their efforts as a race. Scott's party intended to be more deliberate in its work, making scientific investigations and explorations of a more extended sort than Amundsen had set himself to do. It was expected that Scott would attain the Pole at about the time Amundsen actually reached it. The Norwegian, however, saw nothing of his English rival, and the latter had not been heard from up to the middle of last month. Amundsen admitted that Scott might have been at the Pole before his own party, and might have left a memorial that had possibly been swept away by storms. His own base, he said, was 500 miles from that of the British party. "I sincerely hope," he told the newspaper reporters, "that Scott's expedition was successful."



CROSSING A BRIDGE OF ANTARCTIC ICE

(From a photograph taken on the second French expedition, 1908-1910)

# WOMAN AND THE WAGE QUESTION

BY JEANNE ROBERT

THEY sang as they came down the stairs, winding in a narrow procession through the doorway into the street; they sang snatches of "Silver Threads Among the Gold," the song the barrel-organ was grinding out around the corner. They were young and flushed and eager, these factory girls who came from the great loft of the sky-scraper at lunch hour. Little wisps of lint clung to their coats and dark skirts; their hair was blowing about their faces. They attracted me and I stepped near them to listen to their voices. They were debating whether it was wiser to buy a five-cent lunch at a near-by restaurant, or to economize and save three cents by lunching on a roll and a doughnut purchased at a bakery. I had just paid sixty cents for my own lunch and had not thought it an extravagant outlay. Here were perhaps twenty girls hesitating over the expenditure of five cents for necessary nourishment. How much wage did these girls receive; how did they manage to make ends meet?

With these questions in mind, I walked up the three flights of stairs to the loft where the girls worked. It was spacious and well lighted, but the atmosphere was stuffy and devitalized. Long tables were set with sewing machines and piled high with shirtwaists in the process of making; the floor was littered with an untidy mess of scraps and ravelings. The majority of the workers had not gone out for their lunch; they were sitting in groups here and there talking listlessly and eating their noonday meal from lunch baskets or brown paper parcels. They were not as young as the girls I had seen coming down the stairs. Many looked old and weazened and all had the curious expression of indifference that the monotony of factory labor imprints upon the faces of women. Already the life in the factory had told on them; the grind had produced a weariness that was not merely fatigue, but a kind of malady. It had robbed them of their freshness; their eyes were dull, their skins pallid and anemic.

Had the work done this, or did the trouble lie in a lack of wholesome food and the simple comforts necessary to the maintenance of

good health? Would these factory girls become in the end the miserable old women of the great cities, the stoop-shouldered, knotty-handed old women, who struggle along the streets in rags with bundles of sweat-shop work in their arms? Is it work that robs the woman in the factory of her womanliness and health? No, for work is not the spoiler of womanhood if pursued under healthful conditions. Is it vice? Again, no, for the factory girl is as a rule right-minded and virtuous. What, then, is the cause of the rapid deterioration of the women in industry?

## WHAT IS A "LIVING WAGE"?

Those who have investigated the conditions surrounding workingwomen in various industries and who have also done much to alleviate misery arising from intolerable conditions think that the answer to this question lies in the fact that the need of work has been so great and women in industry so numerous that the employers have dictated their own terms to the workers without regard as to whether the wage offered was a *living wage*.

In the State of Kentucky there are 47,000 workingwomen who earn only \$5.50 a week and there are 3000 women in the tobacco industry who earn only \$4.50 a week. Investigations show that \$6.50 is the least that a woman can live decently on. Mrs. Glendower Evans, of the Minimum Wage Commission appointed last year in Massachusetts, sets forth facts taken from the Federal Labor Report which illumine this topic.

## THE MASSACHUSETTS INVESTIGATION

Of the store women investigated, 4.8 per cent. had insufficient food or housing, or both. These women were earning on an average a weekly wage of \$5.31, and the average cost of necessities, such as rent, food, light, heat, and laundry, was \$4.35, leaving less than \$1 to cover other necessities. Of a group of 1568 women workers in Boston, 62 per cent. had no margin whatever to spend on amusement. Every penny went to—"just live." In that city half the women



adrift, a matter of 20,000 or more, were living in lodgings or boarding houses and two-thirds of these—that is, between 13,000 and 14,000 girls or women, had to entertain their friends, men as well as women, in their bedrooms. This fact reveals how exposed young and friendless workingwomen are to circumstances of life that are not conducive to the best and highest ideals of conduct. The report of the Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards presented the analysis and the facts concerning the wages of 15,807 women engaged in four of the leading industries in Massachusetts. Some of these women were earning less than \$4 a week, many less than \$5, and most of them between \$5 and \$6 a week. In regard to the candy industry in Massachusetts, the report of the commission says:

The lowest range of wages is less uniformly distributed within an industry than the statement of an average would suggest. For instance, in the candy industry with its 41 per cent. of adult women receiving less than \$5 a week, a comparison of wage rates in eleven different establishments shows that the lowest wages are confined to four factories, in one of which, indeed, 53.3 per cent. of the employees received less than \$5, while the other seven factories paid not one single employee of eighteen or over so low a wage. The difference of these factories in the kind and grade of their product cannot account for the differences in the wage scale, as both the lower and the higher wage scale prevailed in the factories manufacturing the cheaper line of confectionery.

Similar differences between different establishments were found in the stores and the laundries. In the stores, the large and presumably prosperous establishments of Boston in many cases paid a lower wage than was paid in some of the small suburban establishments, and lower wages than in Brockton and in Springfield. Doubtless similar inequalities between different establishments would be found to prevail in other industries. In so far as this is the case, it is evident that industry must bear a higher rate of compensation than some employers pay. These latter, because of inefficient management or because they are making unusual profits, are doing business at the expense of their employees.

These inequalities of wages in the same industry are evidence of the fact to which some of the more thoughtful employers testified—that the rate of wages depends in a large degree upon the personal equation of the employers and upon the helplessness of the employed, and to a very inexact degree upon the cost of labor in relation to the cost of production.

#### IMPORTANCE OF SAFEGUARDING WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

If it is right that we should regulate child labor, it is right that we should regulate the conditions surrounding women in industry. If government orders that we safeguard the child in industrial conditions, it has not

grasped its responsibility in its entirety unless it also orders that we safeguard women in industrial conditions. If we desire to have the children of the coming generation strong and well-born, we must give the working-women healthful conditions surrounding their labor and pay them a living wage; for in the mothers as well as in the children rests the hope of the state.

#### THE LAW PROPOSED IN MASSACHUSETTS

In 1911 a commission was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to study the matter of the wages of women and minors. The members appointed were President Henry Lefevre, of Simmons College, Boston; George W. Anderson, who has taken an active hand in the employers' liability legislation recently secured in Massachusetts; Richard Olney, a wool merchant who in his younger days worked as a hand in a woolen mill; John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers of America, a labor leader of good judgment, and Mrs. Glendower Evans, who for twenty-five years had been trustee of the Lyman and State industrial schools, institutions for the care of wayward boys and girls.

This commission presented its report to the legislature in January last, together with a bill in which was recommended the establishment of a Minimum Wage Board. This bill provides that there be established a Minimum Wage Commission to consist of three persons, one of whom may be a woman, to be appointed by the Governor, the duty of these commissioners being to inquire into the facts appertaining to wages paid female employees in the Commonwealth and to establish wage boards of not less than six representatives of the employers in given trades and not less than six of the female employees in the said trade, and also one or more disinterested persons to represent the public. When two-thirds of the members of a wage board shall report to the Minimum Wage Commission the wage upon which they are agreed as proper compensation for labor at a given trade, the commission shall review the same and may decide favorably or may disapprove or may recommit the matter to the same or a new wage board. When the commission approves of the findings of a wage board, it shall issue an order declaring such determinations to be the legal minimum wage for women and minors in the said occupation and may issue an order to employers to become effective sixty days after date. After the lapse of sixty days it shall become unlaw-

ful for an employer to offer less than the rate of wage prescribed by the commission.

#### THE ARGUMENTS FOR "WAGE BOARDS"

It is evident from the nature of this proposed law that to be generally effective it must become in the end a matter of national legislation. If this were not so, a State having no minimum wage law could, by underbidding, easily destroy the industries of another State whose industries were controlled by a minimum wage law. This seems to be the only sound argument against the proposed establishing of minimum wage boards in single States.

The arguments in favor of wage boards are in the main as follows:

(1) That even a small rise in wages is a great gain to the worker.

(2) That, even if imperfectly enforced, they are certain to bring publicity that will be of value in the final adjustment of the question.

(3) That they will use labor organizations for the furthering of industrial peace.

(4) That they will protect the better class of employers from the undercutting and the underbidding of their unscrupulous competitors.

(5) That they will tend to make the employer develop the capacity of his employees, also to make the work as little seasonal as possible in order to hold his trained employees.

(6) That they will educate employers as to the ethics of the pay roll.

(7) That they will turn the searchlight of public conscience on the devious byways of private interests; for without being exactly aware of it, the public is the real sweater of the poor, owing to a lack of knowledge and the shirking of responsibility for the existing economic conditions.

#### HOW THE PUBLIC IS CONCERNED

The wage-reform movement has been opposed from all quarters—by the parents and families of the working-girls who have homes, because of the threatened reduction in the family income; by the girls themselves, because there were always so many waiting to take their places; by the manufacturers, because of the profit that comes to them from cheap labor; by the legislators, because they as a body are suspicious of anything that looks like reform; and, last, by the general public through its indifference to the questions involved.

Now the public really makes up a large part of the wage deficit with its various charities. Fifty-two per cent. of the charitable cases recently investigated were caused by destitution directly or indirectly traceable to misfortune and calamities which were the result of underpaying and the resultant underfeeding and unhealthful living. As we have nothing as yet that is comparable to the German system of old-age insurance, nor similar to the Lloyd-George Insurance bill, which recently became effective in England, there is no provision other than charity for the old age of the underpaid woman worker. No matter how faithfully she may toil during the years she is at full earning power, a matter of twenty years at the maximum (for the earning power of women declines rapidly after twenty years), there is no haven for her old age. She goes on working in the factories, as Charles Edward Russell says, "for \$5 a week and the privilege of being burned to death," and when health and strength fail, there waits for her the almshouse or the precarious existence of the old woman who does odd jobs until hunger and privation finish their work.

#### THE VITAL QUESTION OF HEALTH

Health is a social question and must be dealt with by government. The regulation of the scale of wages of women by the state is a step toward the preservation of the health of the worker. Those who insist on trying to bolster up the morals of the vast army of workingwomen, must first turn their attention to the physical welfare of these women. Mary Ann must have before her the ideal of pure womanhood, but Mary Ann must eat and be warm and have a roof over her head in order to *protect* that womanhood. Nor must she become a mother who is a beast of burden, a weary, bedraggled servant of a parasitic trade. Two children out of every four or five die before the age of five years. If the mothers can be given a little more comfort and a very little more leisure, we shall not find it necessary to raise the cry of race suicide in the streets.

#### THE MINIMUM WAGE IN AUSTRALIA

The state of Victoria, Australia, was the pioneer in the matter of fixing a legal minimum wage. The law was enacted in 1896 to prevent sweating and undercutting. The result was not injurious to the trades regulated. The wages of the employees were

raised on an average \$1.14 a week, sweating was abolished, and, as there has since that time been no depression in trade in Victoria, the employers as a rule uphold the wage boards. The promotion of industrial peace and the entire absence of strikes are the most prominent features of their adoption in Victoria, there having been only one strike of any seriousness in an industry under a "Special Board," since the enactment of the law. A similar wage law in England has thus far been applied to only four trades.

The ever-increasing immigration to America renders our wage situation much more difficult to regulate. It would seem, however, that the difficulties arising from the great

influx of foreign labor could be solved by maintaining a certain standard of efficiency in the ranks of the employed, and thus immigration need not stand as a permanent hindrance to the enforcement of wage laws. Special licenses under board regulation could be issued to workers physically defective and also to minors, which would permit the payment of a lower rate of wage than the minimum fixed by the board.

The proposed legislation in the matter of wage scales is based on the simple economic proposition that "the least wage consistent with sound theories of social and economic progress is the necessary cost of the worker's living and keeping in health."

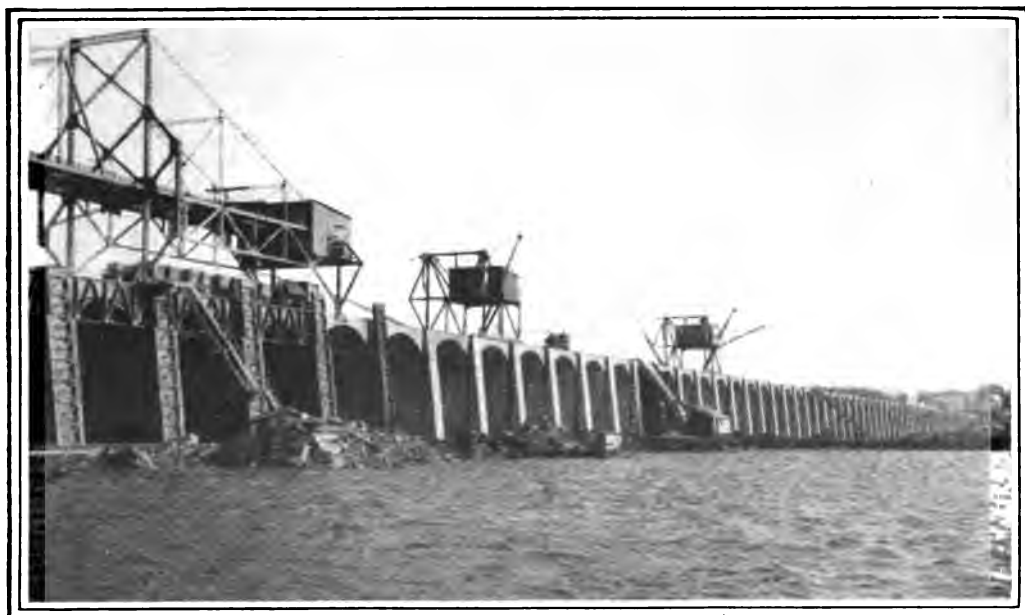
## A LEADER IN THE MINIMUM WAGE MOVEMENT

**S**INCE she was chosen by Governor Foss as the woman representative on the Massachusetts Wage Commission last July, Mrs. Glendower Evans has worked with unremitting zeal personally investigating the industrial conditions of certain trades and employing experts to probe into matters beyond her actual personal reach.

Mrs. Evans is a talented Boston woman, a descendant of Puritan stock. In 1882 she married Glendower Evans, of Philadelphia, and together they planned a life to be devoted to the ideals of public service. Soon after his untimely death in 1886 Mrs. Evans, undaunted by her loneliness and sorrow, went on with their jointly planned work and was made a trustee of the Massachusetts State Reform Schools and has served there continuously ever since. The Massachusetts Woman's Trade Union League has known her helpfulness and her sympathy with working people aroused her to action which led to the settlement of the Roxbury carpet-workers' strike of 1911.



MRS. GLENDOWER EVANS OF BOSTON



Photographs by Anschutz, Keokuk

# **PUSHING THE GREAT DAM ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI FROM THE ILLINOIS SHORE TO KEOKUK ON THE IOWA SHORE**

(The monolithic dam being cast of concrete in steel forms with cantilever traveler crane served by a three-track railroad on the top of the structure, all the machinery moving out as the dam progresses across the Mississippi.  
This is a view of the down-stream face of the dam, looking toward Illinois)

## **HARNESSING THE MISSISSIPPI TO ELECTRIC GENERATORS**

**THE POWER ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CENTURY**

**BY G. WALTER BARR**

**SO** quietly that even the newspapers hardly know about it, even after it is half finished, there is being built in the Mississippi, in the most violent stretch of the great river, at the foot of its impassable rapids, the greatest power dam in the world, creating the largest water-power plant in the world, to energize the largest single electrical installation in the world; and this is being done in the very center of the agricultural area of the United States to change with one move on the economic chessboard the dominant production of the first farming States in the Union from corn and chickens to manufactured products.

So large is this water-power development that when it is completed, early in 1913, it will shift the manufacturing center of the United States and greatly change the map of industrialism in this country.

It is a long step forward in the evolution of

power for manufacturing in America. This evolution has been somewhat of a return to the type in this nation of great natural resources: First, there were water wheels in New England and other streams with mills on the banks; then came the era of coal, which built up Pennsylvania; now the movement is toward turbine water wheels turning dynamos which make power in a form that may be transmitted easily to machines hundreds of miles away from the river. A similar change has occurred industrially: In the first era, the raw materials were taken to the power, because the power could not be moved from the overshot wheels; in the era of coal, there came a time when the transportation of the fuel was cheaper than the carriage of the raw materials, and some industries moved to the source of supply of the latter; now, power makes such a large part of factory cost that the movement is of factories to the power, as

in the beginnings of manufacturing in this country.

These economic principles have much to do with the evolution of all parts of the United States which have water power capable of being changed into electric power, which is also the cheapest power the world has ever known, due partly to the economy practicable in its use at the machines.

#### VULCAN IN THE GARDEN OF CERES

The new water power being developed in the Mississippi River is at Keokuk, Iowa, a city almost in the middle of the wavy line bisecting the map of the United States which represents the greatest river in North America. Keokuk's city limits touch the States of Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri. By the census of 1890, the center of corn production was within eight miles of Keokuk, and the center of pork production was within six miles of its post office. Iowa raises more chickens than any other State. Keokuk to-day is in the central part of the great agricultural area of the United States.

It is in this environment that there is being developed 225,000 kilowatts of power, the equivalent of over 300,000 mechanical horse power. At the same time, without a cent of cost to the public, there is insured deep-water navigation for sixty-five miles of the river, where the Mississippi is in its maddest mood, and the Des Moines rapids stretch for a dozen

miles an impassable barrier which is flanked by a government canal costing \$8,000,000 and now nearly worn out in service. These things are done with a dam which, with its appurtenances, is the longest monolith in the world, with its length over all of 9096 feet. The power house is over a quarter of a mile long, and will contain the largest installation of turbines and electric generators ever built, thirty duplex units of 7500 kilowatts each. The lock provided for steamboats to pass the dam is greater than any one lock in the Panama Canal, having the same width and a lift of forty feet, compared with a maximum lift of only thirty-two feet on the Isthmus; the Keokuk lock is 400 feet long, and there is also a large drydock for the use of the United States Government. All these structures are of monolithic concrete, and they involve several unparalleled engineering features.

#### LARGEST POWER PLANT IN THE WORLD

This one power house has an output of electric power slightly over half that generated by all the companies, on both sides the international boundary, at Niagara Falls. It will be used within a zone of 150 miles radius from Keokuk, and chiefly along the Mississippi River, if present plans do not miscarry; it is desirable to use the power near the site of the dam and power house—not on account of loss in transmission in these later



EXCAVATING THE LIMESTONE BED OF THE MISSISSIPPI FOR THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF THE LARGEST POWER HOUSE IN THE WORLD, 1730 FEET LONG

days so much as on account of the cost of maintaining transmission lines and the necessity of buying right of way for these lines as wide as a railroad requires. St. Louis, 135 miles distant by air line, has contracted for 60,000 horse power for ninety-nine years. The current will be taken there by a transmission line now building which will carry 110,000 volts, the highest electric pressure ever used to transmit power. A better comprehension can be gained of the magnitude of this new hydro-electric development in the agricultural center of this country by some comparisons. The power developed at Keokuk is about three times that now used in manufacturing in the State of Iowa; more than is now used in the State of Missouri; and one-third that now used in the State of Illinois, including Chicago and its environs. It is one-fifth of all the water power now harnessed in the entire United States, which was 1,647,909 horse power by the last census figures. The three States of Iowa, Illinois,



BEGINNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF ONE WALL OF THE LOCK WITH GATES LARGER THAN ANY AT PANAMA

and Missouri, at the junction of which is located this Keokuk installation, used in manufacturing only 983,211 horse power in 1905, the date of the latest census data on this subject, and this is only a little over three times the output of the electric generators going in where these three States meet in the middle of the Mississippi. Figures for 1911, made by careful factoring of percentages of gain before and after 1905, show a large increase in Illinois to about 1,150,000 horse power now used for manufacturing in that State, as against 651,578 horse power in use in 1905, when that census was taken.

As regards the more immediate vicinity of this new and great power development, statistics of the zone with 150-mile radius are as follows: Within this zone is a population (1910) of 4,205,919; factories in thirty cities to the number of 11,994, capitalized at \$590,085,000, and turning out annually products worth at the factory \$712,437,000; the population within the zone includes from 45 to 47 per cent. of the population of the States segmented, excluding Chicago, and includes nearly half the coun-



TUBES TO CARRY THE WATER FROM THE TURBINES TO THE TAIL RACE BELOW EACH OF THE THIRTY POWER UNITS OF 7,500 KILOWATTS CAPACITY

(Draft tubes at top are circles 18 feet in diameter; at bottom are 40 feet 2 inches in horizontal diameter, and 22 feet 8 inches in vertical diameter. Outlets are not ellipses, but two semicircles joined by straight lines)



THE TURBINES WILL FILL THE TUBES REPRESENTED BY THE  
CIRCLE IN WHICH STAND THE MAN AND THE IN-  
STRUMENT, ABOUT ON HIS LEVEL.

ties in each State, with an average of 57 per cent. of the most densely populated counties of the three States. And in the center of this zone is being created a combination of dam, turbines, and generators which will nearly quintuple the amount of manufacturing done within the 150-mile radius from the plant.

#### SOME ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

In the opinion of many economists and statesmen, especially those composing the "waterways" cult, all that is merely incidental to a still greater benefit from the Keokuk dam. It will provide deep-water navi-

gation for sixty-five miles of the Mississippi River, and that, too, exactly where the attainment of deep water seemed impossible. The Des Moines Rapids have never been navigable except in flood stages of the river; and this dam will drown them with over thirty feet of water at Keokuk, over twenty feet for many miles, and over seven feet in the channel sixty-five miles above its site. The federal government has spent many millions of dollars making a channel of less depth in the lower Mississippi; the project for deep water from the Lakes to the Gulf, from Chicago through the Illinois and Mis-

issippi Rivers, has many advocates and is almost convulsing Illinois; and in the worst stretch of the whole Mississippi sixty-five miles of deep water navigation is being provided, almost before anybody knows about it, and entirely at the expense of the stockholders of the Mississippi River Power Company, who are largely British and Boston citizens.

However interesting it may be, reasoning by analogy is accurate only when it collects enough special data to make a generalization. This must be remembered when passing over the line from the past and present into the future to look at this greatest



STARTING THE LOCK WALLS TO SUPPORT THE GREAT GATES, WITH STEEL LINING OF LOCK-  
FILLING SYSTEM LYING IN THE RIGHT HAND OF THE PICTURE.



water-power installation from another angle of view.

Analysis of several hundred water-power developments all over the world shows that in every case the population within the zone of use of the power rises to five times the horse power developed—the variation is a small decimal. Applying that factor to the Keokuk development, and remembering that it is hoped to sell that power to factories to move near the power, and subtracting the power sold to St. Louis, gives 1,200,000 as the population to be added to the vicinity of the big dam—say within fifty miles.

This, however, is a very small portion of the population of that great area of consumption, the Mississippi valley, in the center of which this water power is being developed, and in which is almost exactly half the population of the continental United States. Locating this great producing force in the center of consumption meets with the approbation of economists, albeit the location was by compulsion of natural conditions. The co-ordination of the location with raw materials is also excellent, as may be seen by a glance at the map with some knowledge of the places where cotton and wool, leather, iron and what-not are indigenous.

And yet, transportation's the thing that shapes all commercial ends. The Mississippi River is considered by some very good people to be even a better regulator of freight rates than the Interstate Commerce Commission. Major C. McD. Townsend, United States Army, Corps of Engineers, formerly in charge of the War Department work on the upper Mississippi, has written a paper on the subject which graphically shows the effect of the river on railroad rates. One typical instance is that a given bit of freight is carried by rail from St. Louis to Burlington, Iowa, 222 miles, for the same charge that is exacted for carrying the same box sixty-one miles westward from the same St. Louis freight house. Burlington is on the Mississippi above Keokuk. This new water-power development works will utilize at least four great railroad systems, all dominated, as to rates, by the Mississippi River.

#### RELATIONS TO THE PANAMA CANAL

Rightly or wrongly, the people along the Mississippi expect large benefits from the opening of the Panama Canal and the resulting short-line, all-water route from St. Paul and the intermediate landings to the Orient. Dr. David Kinley, director of the courses in



HUGH L. COOPER, ENGINEER OF THE KEOKUK POWER IMPROVEMENT, NEXT TO PANAMA THE GREATEST ENGINEERING WORK OF THE TIMES

business administration in the University of Illinois, made one of the principal addresses at the Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington last December, which was widely quoted by the newspapers, in which he argued that the States along the Mississippi River must make strenuous efforts and adopt all proper measures to increase their manufactures; and that "this necessity is becoming increasingly imperative as the time approaches for the opening of the new trade route between our country and the west coast of South America and the Orient." He opined that when the Panama Canal is completed, and deep water, like that being provided above Keokuk, is maintained in the Mississippi, "we cannot even guess at the impetus that would be given to the development of the heart of our country."

Aside from the Isthmian Canal itself, a large part of this impetus is being given by the water-power development at Keokuk, where three great States meet, where, Panama aside, the greatest engineering work of the century is rapidly approaching completion by the largest construction works in the world to-day. It will be finished shortly before the Panama Canal. The power will be sold at a lower price than that now paid for the power developed at Niagara.

## THE USUFRUCT OF THE PUBLIC

This water-power development, viewed from the political angle, is very simple to describe. The dam is in the States of Iowa and Illinois. These States, by joint resolutions of their legislatures, and joined by neighboring Missouri, asked Congress to grant the power company the rights the latter needed; the motive was increased industrial development for the States. The United States, by an act signed by President Roosevelt, made the grant, but under certain conditions. By these conditions precedent, the power company is building the lock and a dry-dock larger than any other in fresh water, with power for their perpetual operation, and deeds it all to the United States on completion; also, it is relieving the War Department of the herculean task of providing a permanent channel for sixty-five miles of the most difficult part of the whole Mississippi River; and incidentally, the present canal with its three locks, which costs the government \$40,000 a year to operate, and would have to be repaired soon to the point of rebuilding, is rendered unnecessary and will be abandoned and drowned thirty feet deep. Claims are

made that the United States gains \$15,000,000 by the development of the Keokuk water power; but a more conservative estimate, probably well within the truth, is that the usufruct of the United States has an actual value of \$5,000,000.

There was no grabbing of this greatest water power within the United States. Its development is the result of more than a decade of preliminary work followed by nearly five years of such nerve-racking search for capital as achievement has seldom suffered. The preliminary promotion was done by some of the strongest men of Iowa and Illinois, notably Judge William Logan, of Keokuk, and the money therefor came chiefly from appropriations by the city councils of Keokuk, Iowa, and Hamilton, Illinois, at opposite ends of the dam. The capturing of the capital of about \$27,000,000 and the building of the dam are the achievements of Hugh L. Cooper, who, while his age is still in the forties, crowns a notable career as an hydraulic engineer with this greatest engineering feat ever done on the mighty river hitherto associated with the name of Eads, the builder of great bridges and inventor of jetties.



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## THE RIVER AND THE GOVERNMENT CANAL AT THE FAMOUS DES MOINES RAPIDS

(The power dam is below—to the right of—the stretch of water shown in this picture. The canal, which cost the government \$8,000,000 and will be rendered obsolete by the new dam, is shown in the foreground)



GIRLS LEARNING TO COOK IN A NEW YORK PUBLIC SCHOOL

## VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY MARY JOSEPHINE MAYER

**"THE end of education,"** some one has said, "is to secure the power of adjustment to the social environment, in order to control it or to make use of it."

This definition may seem partial and utilitarian—doubtless it is, if applied to the vast field covered by the word education. But if we limit the field to that small portion covered by our public schools the definition is fairly adequate. Our public schools should send out their pupils with a measure of power, be it ever so small, to adjust themselves to, and make use of, their social environment,—in other words, the schools should give some sort of preparation for making a living. They should not throw upon the community an army of children with about as much knowledge of economic and industrial conditions as a litter of blind kittens.

Yet this is precisely what our much-vaunted public school system has been

doing. In the past fifty years the world has been made over, but the schools, until very recently, have shown little recognition of the fact. Formerly, they did their required work in giving the needed academic training to boys and girls who, as helpers in the house or on the farm, were in daily contact with industrial processes; the schools supplemented the practical training of the home. But when, one by one, home industries were relegated to factories, the schools proceeded in an academic training that had no bearing whatever on the industrial occupations of the community. Consequently, our boys and girls have been turned out into life with a minimum of preparation for any of its practical activities. And let it be borne in mind that 80 per cent. of the American people earn their living by some form of hand work.

The misfortune was not so great when the apprenticeship system flourished. But the

minute subdivision of manufacturing processes has made adequate industrial training by means of apprenticeship a thing of the past. With the failure, then, of the home and the shop to fit our boys and girls for a vocation, the burden falls heavily upon the school.

Now, in so far as the elementary school has only prepared for the high school, and this in turn for the college, our schools have shirked their burden. They should be for the masses—and statisticians tell us that but one out of eight of our school children complete the high-school course. This one-eighth alone gets the full value of the school system. For the needs of the other seven-eighths, who leave the elementary school to become wage-earners, almost no provision is made.

#### THE LOSS OF GOOD HUMAN MATERIAL

That so many of our children leave school as soon as the age limit of compulsory education is reached is, of course, largely a matter of economic pressure; their wages are needed by their families. But that a large number of those who drop out early could remain longer is beyond dispute. The fact is, that these children and their parents feel that the school does not give the needed training for life. Most growing, vigorous boys and girls require something more than an academic

course to hold their interest. They begin to feel the many-sided appeal of life, and they are eager to leave school, which does not interest them, and go out into the world. Once out of school, the temptation to earn money without delay is too strong to be resisted, and there is always a demand for errand and messenger boys, cash girls, and unskilled factory workers. So these children of fourteen drift into occupations of no educational value, without possibility of advancement. Those performing routine work in factories become either listless and stupid, or dissatisfied, in which case they go from place to place in search of more interesting work. Errand boys, cash girls, and the like are pushed out of their places by the constantly renewed supply of younger children. So these unskilled workers drift into the ranks of occasional labor, or join the army of the unemployed.

With a change in our school curriculum much of this waste of good material might be avoided; and until the course of study is made to bear more directly upon the vocations our schools must expect to lose their pupils early. But, above all, the course of study must be made to fit the individual child, who has too long been stretched on the Procrustean bed of a school system. We have arranged courses of study to meet the needs of that mythical being, the average child, and



LEARNING THE PRINTER'S TRADE



SCHOOLBOY APPRENTICES AT BOOKBINDING

have signally failed to provide for the varying aptitudes of the individual. Until each child's peculiar gift is discovered and trained, our public school system has failed to prepare him adequately for life.

#### THE DEMAND FOR INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

Dissatisfaction with existing conditions has led to a widespread demand for vocational training in our public schools. In this connection, the attitude of the trade unions is significant; they are beginning to understand that an increase in skill and in the number of skilled workmen is conducive to stability of wages and to the general good of the wage-earner. At its twenty-ninth annual convention, in 1908, the American Federation of Labor appointed a special committee to investigate methods of industrial education in this country and abroad; among the conclusions reached are the following:

It is believed that the future welfare of America largely depends on the industrial training of our workers. The boys and girls of the country must have an opportunity to acquire educated hands and brains, such as may enable them to earn a living in

a *self-elected* vocation, and acquire an intelligent understanding of the duties of good citizenship. Such an opportunity is not now within reach of the great majority of the children of the wage workers. The present system is inadequate and unsatisfactory.

Owing to past methods and false views, an absurd notion possesses the minds of too many of our youths which causes them to shun work at the trades and to seek the office or store as much more genteel and fitting. This silly notion has been shaken by the healthy influence of unions and will be entirely eradicated if industrial training becomes a part of our school system; and in consequence of this system of training the youth will advance greatly in general intelligence, as well as in technical skill, and in mental and moral worth; he will be a better citizen and a better man.

In response to the new demand our schools have entered a transition stage—in other words, they show that they are alive. For a school system can no more stand still than can a human being; it must either advance to meet new conditions, or decline. A distinct advance has been made along several lines,—in the establishment of technical, mechanic arts, and manual-training high schools; and in the effort to introduce industrial subjects into the elementary schools. Manual training, which was first taken up by

the high schools, soon pushed its way down into the elementary schools. In 1909 more than one-half of the cities of the United States of 4000 in population and over reported manual training in their schools.

#### TRAINING FOR LIFE-WORK

A high-school education need no longer be a preparation for college. It may bear more directly on the vocations. Side by side with academic courses, our boys and girls may take typewriting and stenography, book-keeping, dress-making, millinery, applied arts, and so on. And since home-making is the vocation of the greater number of girls, the courses in domestic science may also be regarded as vocational.

In addition to the introduction of these courses into existing schools, the last few years have seen the creation all over the country of a large number of high schools exclusively vocational in their aims—a few examples of which are, the Polytechnic High School, San Francisco; the two Technical High Schools of Chicago; the High School of Practical Arts of Boston; and in New York City the Stuyvesant High School and the High School of Commerce. New York has recently established a vocational school for boys of fourteen and over, that is attracting

widespread attention. Some of the subjects offered are carpentry, cabinet-making, wood-turning, forging, plumbing, electric wiring, printing, bookbinding, mechanical drawing, and industrial design. Those boys who have decided upon their trade are permitted to begin the study of it on entering; those who are undecided are required to take several lines of trade work; the instructors can then guide the boys to a wise choice. The length of the course is elastic, depending upon the individual progress made. This school has its complement in the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, founded by private enterprise and recently taken over by the city. The new and highly successful vocational school in Albany trains both boys and girls.

#### CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

That this movement toward the practical in our day schools is bound to keep more children in them longer than would otherwise be the case, can hardly be denied. But it is equally true that, under present economic conditions, a large number will still be driven out into the world at the age of fourteen. It is these children in the critical period, from fourteen to sixteen—before they can be reckoned upon as industrial factors—whose education must be continued.



THE OPERATING DEPARTMENT OF THE MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL FOR GIRLS



A SEWING CLASS IN THE TRADE SCHOOL OF THE WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK

The present existing means to this end is the continuation school—by which is meant any type of school that offers to wage-earners opportunity for further education and training. And it is precisely at this point that we lag so far behind the countries of Continental Europe. France, Belgium, and Switzerland have made tremendous investments in industrial training, but in this movement Germany leads the world. Her present prosperity and supremacy in the world markets are a result of a conscious determination to make educated brains take the place of poor natural resources. “The schoolmaster,” it has been said, “is the cornerstone of Germany’s great commercial and industrial progress.”

#### GERMANY POINTS THE WAY

Instead of establishing a few expensive trade and technical schools, as we have done in America, Germany has endeavored to create a widespread industrial education that shall reach the entire working class. Far-sighted German statesmen and economists have realized the fact that a state is bound to decline if it educates only the men at the top and neglects the masses. Germany spends as much, if not more, than we do on higher education; but it lays an equal stress upon the scientific training of the average man—the working man. In Germany vocational

training is compulsory; for, although the boy may leave the regular school at fourteen, he is compelled, in most of the German states, to go to a continuation school for from two to four years longer. The hours for this supplementary schooling vary in different localities—from four to six in the afternoon, or two mornings a week, or one day a week, as the case may be; but the boy must go to school, and it is the duty of his employer to see that he does so. If he attends an evening school, the employer is compelled to allow him a certain number of hours each day away from his work. These continuation schools, although the most important factor in the training not only of boys, but of men and women, for their vocations, are only one ramification of an unparalleled system of industrial education.

Here in America we have directed our efforts toward the perfecting of machinery, leaving the human being, the most important and costly factor in production, to pick up his training as best he might. Our higher institutions of learning and our admirable schools of technology turn out trained and efficient organizers of labor; but these generals have to deal with a raw and undisciplined army. Meanwhile, from all parts of our country comes a demand for skilled labor that is not met by the supply: and we import European workmen trained to a higher standard of skill than our own. One of our great national



failures is a lack of thoroughness—and the time is fast coming when, if we mean to hold our own, we can no longer be slipshod. We, too, must educate our workers.

#### COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE

As we have seen, such further education is compulsory in Germany; the Scotch law compels the attendance of boys and girls to sixteen years of age at some continuation school; and the recent Wisconsin Commission for the Extension of Industrial and Agricultural Training urges the adoption in Wisconsin of the Scotch law. Here, as a rule, there is no compulsion in the matter. Now the average boy or girl does not attend school without compulsion, nor does the average employer interest himself in such attendance unless compelled to do so by law. The fact that large numbers of our working folk, of all ages from fourteen to sixty, do attend the continuation schools points to the future that awaits the further development of these institutions

#### PUBLIC EVENING SCHOOLS

With us, as in England, the state-controlled continuation school resolves itself practically into the public evening school. It is to-day, and seems destined to remain for a long time

to come, the chief means of education for the working people. Public evening schools, originally founded to give instruction in the "three R's" to those who had missed the opportunities of the day schools, have, through a rapid development in the past twenty-five years, come to occupy a distinct place in the educational system. The most significant phase of their development has been the increasing effort to minister more directly to the needs of the people by the introduction of trade and technical instruction.

But, although the evening schools are doing an increasingly important work, in reality they reach but a small fraction of the illiterate, and of the great army of wage-earners in need of further training. Beside the continuation schools of Germany, and even of England, they make a poor showing. But even when pushed to its highest point of efficiency, any system of evening instruction will always have inherent difficulties to contend with. One of these is lack of regular attendance. Only the more ambitious and determined will, after working all day, resist the natural desire for diversion, to devote night after night to further study. Then a large number of pupils come to their evening work tired, and are, consequently, listless and apathetic. Under such conditions only the best of teachers can make work interesting—and such teachers are rare in our evening schools. The

majority teach during the day, and the methods of the day school will not apply to the evening school. It is now recognized that for this specialized work there must be specially trained teachers. Another drawback is shortness of time; in most of the schools the hours are two an evening for four evenings a week, and twenty weeks a year, making a total of but 160 hours all together; and the average pupil has no time to study out of school hours. It will thus readily be seen that educational opportunities for our young people who are at work are as yet but meager.

#### REQUIRED CORRELATION

It is true that many such opportunities exist outside our public-school system.



NEW YORK TRADE-SCHOOL PUPILS FRAMING A HOUSE



ELECTRICAL WIRING AND INSTALLATION AS PRACTISED BY TRADE-SCHOOL PUPILS

The numerous trade and industrial schools, the classes of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Cooper Union, the Pratt Institute, the Mechanics' Institute of New York, the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, the Armour Institute of Technology of Chicago, to mention only a few out of many, are all offering training to working people. And a number of our railroads and manufacturing concerns are carrying on excellent schools for apprentices. But such schools and classes, however good, are sporadic, and do not reach the masses.

To systematize in some way the present scattered opportunities; to adapt them more closely to the needs of the people; to regulate industrial conditions so that his daily toil shall leave the worker some remnant of mental and physical vigor to bring to his further training—this must be the work of the immediate future.

But industrial training must go hand in hand with all that makes for citizenship—with training in civics, in hygiene and sanitation, and in morals. That education which turns out only efficient industrial units is a

failure—we cannot build up the prosperity of the nation without building up the health of the average man and woman, and training them in the principles of good citizenship. Such education is seldom omitted in the best continuation schools abroad; and in Munich, famous for its schools of this kind, a boy has to take one hour a week for four years in the subjects of citizenship, hygiene, deportment, and social legislation.

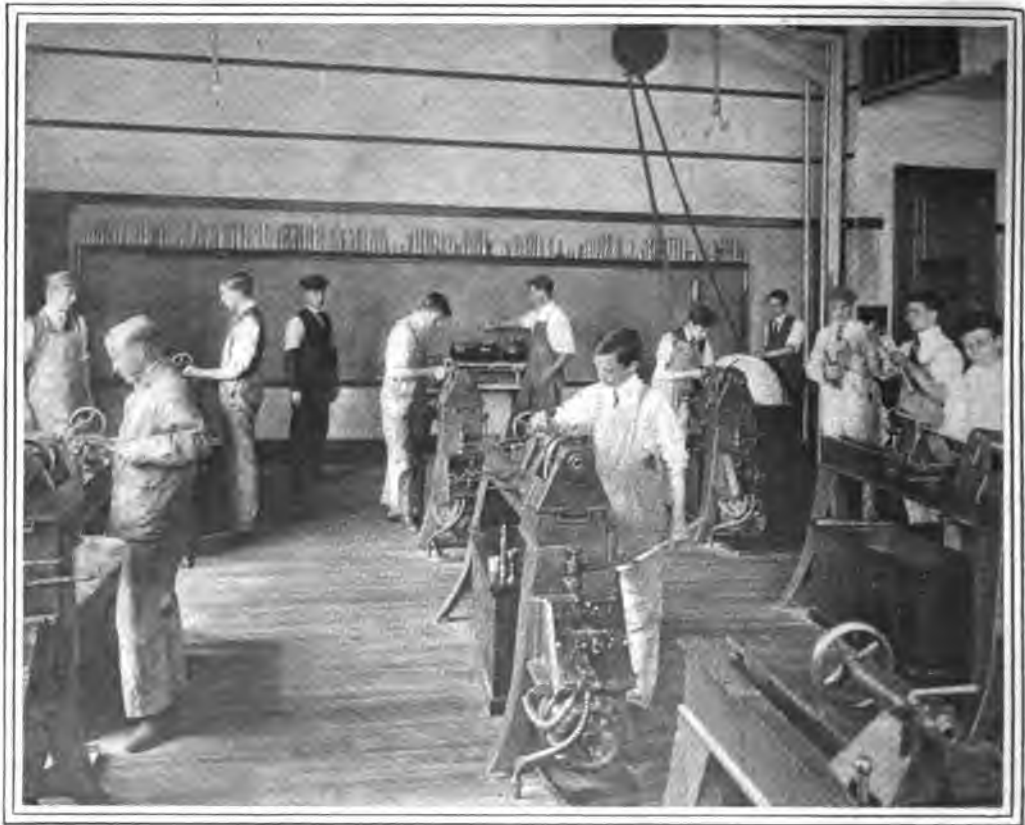
#### VOCATIONAL TRAINING NOT OPPOSED TO CULTURE

It seems evident, then, that we must infuse into our system of public education a vocational training that, by correlation with other studies, shall the better fulfill its function. The old idea that vocational education is somehow opposed to culture should be done away with. The so-called cultural studies, frequently forced upon the uninterested pupil, contribute little or nothing to his mental growth. But a group of studies related to and grouped around a central vocational aim may, by fully arousing the interest, lead to the pursuit of a wider knowledge.

But, even if this were not so, the first aim of our schools should be to fit our boys and girls for life—in other words, to give them some special knowledge by which they can make a living.

But following this first and indispensable step must come the opportunity for further education for our workers, both young and old. Public continuation schools, free lectures, social centers—all must give to the individual the special training he requires, either along vocational or purely cultural lines. And the better the workman, the more likely is he to broaden his horizon. "What is the most pressing need in legisla-

tion?" says Canon Barnett, the founder of Toynbee Hall. "It is that a way may be opened for an alliance between knowledge and industry, between the universities and the Labor party. It is a sign of the times that the trade unions send relays of men to study at Ruskin College in Oxford, and that an association of trade unionists and coöperators has been formed for the higher education of working men." It is quite as important for America as for England to build upon the vocations this broader outlook for the wage-earner; for not until public education meets the widest needs of all the people can it be said to be truly democratic.



HOW BOYS LEARN PATTERN-MAKING IN ONE OF THE NEW YORK CITY VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS



THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN INSTRUCTS THESE BOYS IN THE FACTORY WHERE THEY WORK

(The factory management has improvised this class-room and is giving the time of the artisan students for class work supplementing correspondence study, the university supplying an instructor)

## A UNIVERSITY THAT GOES TO THE PEOPLE

BY MARY BURCHARD ORVIS

**W**ISCONSIN'S University Extension Division has two fundamental aims,—to create in all the people a realization of their educational need and to satisfy that need. Education by "extension" does not mean that the laboring man is taught Greek and Chaucer, regardless of his individual want. It does not mean that knowledge is ground out to him by a soulless machine, but that he is stimulated to *live*, in the true sense of the word. Whether the means of that stimulation be vocational or cultural education, the end sought is the same. President Van Hise defines it as finding a "way for every man and woman in the State, who otherwise would not have an opportunity, to gain an education."

The Extension Division was created with the express idea of extending to the people not only the resources of the university, but of the several libraries grouped at the State

capital; of taking to their doors the advice of the various State bureaus of labor, conservation, and forestry; of making available the knowledge of the public-service and tax commissions.

The United States is noted for its public schools, and it is generally supposed that by means of them a good education is open to all. Yet this is to a large extent a delusion. Statistics show that, while the country *offers* to all the same opportunities for an education, less than 1 per cent. of the school enrollment ever finish a college course, less than 4 per cent. graduate from high school, and less than 19 per cent. complete the elementary course up through eighth grade. The same schools are open to all, yet 81 per cent. are without a full elementary education!

The relation of these figures to university extension is obvious—the 81 per cent. of uneducated youth constitute its field of

special endeavor, but not its whole field. "One is never too old to learn" is an adage of great truth, and the college graduate who is far from his alma mater can still make use of her many facilities by means of the varied activities of extension.

In Wisconsin, the seemingly impossible task of making the University a personal friend of every one in the State is attempted by means of a well-developed organization, headed by Dr. Louis E. Reber, who has been dean of the Extension Division since November, 1907, and has demonstrated over and over again his rare executive ability, as well as his broad human sympathy.

The correspondence department is the only one that deals primarily with individuals. Therefore it, more than any other, affords concrete examples of the way in which people are being helped to make the best of their abilities. Contrary to popular opinion, this work is, above all else, personal. Prof. William H. Lighty, who is in charge of it, has had years of "settlement" experience that is invaluable to one dealing constantly with all classes and all nationalities of people. A meter inspector writes of "the world of good" he has obtained from a

course which taught him the action of an electric current on the meter. An apprenticed pharmacist tells how much more benefit he has received from an extension course than from one in a private technical school. An apprentice writes from the shop that he can now figure out for himself things about his machine which previously made the assistance of the foreman necessary. So it goes, in all walks of life, from the clerk to the general manager of a department store, who credits correspondence work with his promotion to a \$3000 position. An emergency came; he was able to step in and "make good," for he had been taking one of the extension courses in business management. He declares that the practical knowledge of

business problems it gave him "has already been converted into dollars," and adds that he expects to double his income within a short time.

The growth of the correspondence work is shown in the statistics as of January 1, 1912: Total number of registrations, 7988; total number of students (some register for several courses), 6451; active students (some have graduated), 4209. There were over 300 new students added in the month of October, 1911. A conservative estimate of 200 a month to the end of the university year in June will make

the total of active students in the correspondence department 5500. These totals are made up of all kinds of people, having various degrees of knowledge. They include non-residents working for university degrees, graduates who want higher degrees, and shop men and boys fitting themselves for more efficient daily work. Courses are so graded as to be of value both to the day laborer and to the advanced graduate student, and the list of studies includes the whole gamut of university courses from the ancient languages to bacteriology, and business administration.

The work among shop men is especially

valuable; at least it affords the best opportunity for direct practical results. Moreover, the greatest number of enrollments is among men and boys who take up extension courses primarily in order to improve themselves in their especial line of work. The State and the employer coöperate in the following manner to make that improvement possible: The employer allows time for instruction in the shop during working hours, thus furnishing an opportunity to the university teacher to demonstrate his theme in a practical laboratory. The time allowed varies from one hour in two weeks to half a day each week, and is accompanied by no loss in wages. This feature, which is at



PRESIDENT CHARLES R. VAN HISE OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
(A vigorous exponent of democracy in education)

least unusual, has been most successful from all points of view, even from that of the employer. After three years' trial the various employers have come to realize that it pays in increased efficiency. Proof of this statement lies in the fact that none has abandoned it while the majority have increased the number of hours allowed for instruction. Nearly all who have tried the plan seem to feel that it increases the interest of the employee in his work. He learns how and why, and thus becomes an intelligent being, rather than a human machine with the one thought of putting in time and drawing pay.

#### RESULTS OF CORRESPONDENCE WORK

The gain to the employee is self-evident. Yet no one can realize, unless he has had the experience himself, just what this opportunity means to the ignorant yet ambitious workman. Possibly the reason the Extension Division has succeeded so well in reaching those who most need it, is that the teachers themselves have all served time in the different vocations which they teach. Mr. Norris, for instance, who has charge of texts used in shop courses, has "gone through the mill" and appreciates the difficulties that beset the path of the correspondence student. Yet those difficulties are reduced to a minimum by the system which employs men to give personal instruction in shop classes and supplements that instruction by correspondence work from the university proper. The average apprenticeship is four years,



DEAN LOUIS E. REBER

(An engineer by profession, who is making a striking success of the Wisconsin system of university extension)

but that time is shortened to two, generally, when the student takes advantage of the university courses.



A SHOP CLASS

(These factory lads have left their places of work, on the arrival of the traveling instructor, for an hour on "company time," to receive instruction in their correspondence-study work in a corner of the factory)

The time required for completion of a given course is determined mainly by the individual, his ability, his previous training, and his ambition. Some students finish in four months work for which others require two years. Needless to say, success here depends, after all, upon the individual—just as it does in all walks of life. And the individual is treated as such; he is looked upon as a possibility. While no entrance examinations are held, the abilities and limitations of the newly-registered student are carefully considered, so that he may be set in the right path. All possible encouragement is given him to broaden out and do the work for which he is best fitted, though very



few change their entire line of work. The primary aim is not to make the workman dissatisfied with his present occupation, but to make him realize its possibilities, to show him how he can become more efficient in developing it. Numerous letters of a personal nature pass between the student and the professor "on the hill," and the general opinion of university men seems to be that they become better acquainted with these distant students than with those in resident classes. The reason is obvious: the correspondence student works because he feels the imperative need of education and appreciates his opportunity; this is not always true of the average resident student.

The following table, made up of cases taken at random, shows clearly what extension study means to the men of various age and trades who take it up:

he was soon setting it and eight others. He became foreman and finally entered an automobile factory at \$135 a month. Soon after he had learned to set machines, he wrote his teacher at the university most glowingly of his new achievement and the help received from extension work. The professor (being a modest man) in turn wrote the employer for his opinion of the benefit received by his employee. The reply was most gratifying, stating that great improvement had been shown in his shop work, and added, "We believe the advantages received during this engineering course have increased and renewed his interest in his work." That seems to be the general attitude of employers—that the greatest benefit comes from the broader outlook and greater interest gained.

Number 19, a farmer lad, took a course of twenty lectures, and after six weeks at the

#### EXAMPLES OF PROMOTIONS OF STUDENTS AFTER PURSUING VOCATIONAL STUDIES WITH THE EXTENSION DIVISION

CASE	FORMER OCCUPATION	COURSES STUDIED	ADVANCED TO
1	Machinist	Shop Mathematics	Mech. engr. for gas co.
2	"	"	Foreman machinist
3	"	"	"
4	"	"	"
5	Apprentice	" and Drawing	Foreman immediately at end of apprenticeship
6	"	"	Foreman immediately at end of apprenticeship
7	Clerk	"	Appraiser for audit co.
8	Office Boy	"	Draftsman
9	Blueprint Boy	"	"
10	Tracer	"	"
11	Machinist	" Heat	"
12	Detail Draftsman	" Strength of Materials and Gas Engines	Gas engine designer
13	Stationary Engineer	Power Plant Mathematics, Heat, Fuels, Electricity & Magnetism	*Passed examination for first-class engineer's license and became chief engineer of a large plant
14	Machinist \$2.00 per day	Shop Mathematics	Foreman of gear cutting department of automobile co. at \$135 per month
15	Engineer	Power Plant Mathematics Drawing and Mechanics	Engineer at double former salary
16	Stock Clerk	Shop Mathematics	Traveling machinery salesman
17	Bench Hand	" Drawing	Erecting engineer
18	Machinist	Strength of Materials Shop Mathematics, Heat, Gas Engines and Boilers	Gas engine tester, *engineer of gas power plant, in charge of testing floor for gas engine mfr.
19	Farm Hand	Engine Running	Traction engineer
20	Draftsman	Gas Engines	Part owner of gas engine factory
21	Foreman	Shop Mathematics	Superintendent

\* Left original employer. † Returned to first employer.

Number 14 has an interesting history. He formerly worked on a machine whose construction was so complex that only the foreman could set it for the different kinds of work. The operator merely fed in and took out material. After four lessons in shop mathematics, this same man was encouraged to study his machine, with the result that

Engineering Summer School secured a position as traction engineer. Numbers 5 and 6, apprenticed for four years, became shop foremen after two years of study. One man writes as follows: "I want to tell you I've been promoted from foreman to shop superintendent. We are working eighty-four men."





#### A HALF-DAY APPRENTICE CLASS

(A factory class-room presided over by a traveling university instructor)

While nearly all these students start with shop mathematics, 56 per cent. of them ask for further material. Needless to say, such requests are readily granted. The enthusiasm and gratitude of these ambitious men, some of them fifty years old, make one think guiltily of neglected opportunities of college days. Given a glimpse of fields of learning beyond, the extension student is almost certain to ask for "more."

#### THE "PACKAGE LIBRARY"

Another fascinating side of extension work is that which is directly concerned with the education of the public mind. Debating and public discussion are activities that influence the voter vitally; therefore the work which presents for that discussion the best material to be found on both sides is a direct step toward the establishment of an enlightened public opinion. The means adopted for this end are the humble little "package library" and the university bulletin, which make clear to the lay mind the mysteries of scientific research. Mr. Frank Hutchins, head of this department, realized, long before there was any Extension Divi-

sion, the need that existed for some means of getting to the people proper material for public discussion of important problems. Therefore he is rightly called "the father of Wisconsin's traveling libraries." As President Van Hise says, "The American youth everywhere wishes to debate," and it is far better to give him a fair presentation of both sides of controverted questions than to let him come to a conclusion that is founded on fallacy.

These little libraries of the Extension Division are made up of four kinds of material—newspaper clippings, pamphlets, typewritten articles, and magazine articles; and are sent in response to any call, with the only conditions that the recipient pay return postage and that a time limit of three weeks be observed. There are absolutely no charges to citizens of the State and no requests are refused. If a library has not been prepared on the subject called for, one is at once made up to fill the new need. Just now calls are coming in for material on the Chinese uprising. The Department of Debating and Public Discussion is not allowed to become mossy; it must keep up with the times, though its only source of information be the

daily newspaper. The following figures (1910-11) speak eloquently of the scope of this work:

Number of bulletins distributed . . .	12790
“ “ package libraries lent . . .	1925
“ “ articles lent . . .	77000
“ “ localities assisted by package libraries . . .	259
“ “ subjects, assistance given, . . .	548

Considering that the average “library” contains forty articles and reaches not an individual, but a group, these figures are prophetic of an enlightened public opinion in Wisconsin. The subjects upon which enlightenment is sought are also significant, especially for the sociologist. The popularity of the ten leading subjects in 1909-1910 is shown by the following figures:

Subject	No. libraries lent
Commission Government . . . . .	102
Woman's Suffrage . . . . .	84
Income Tax . . . . .	57
Election of Senators . . . . .	53
Immigration . . . . .	52
Parcels Post . . . . .	51
Conservation . . . . .	47
Postal Savings Banks . . . . .	44
Bank Guaranty . . . . .	41
Tariff . . . . .	33

Requests come from women's clubs and from civic clubs; from principals of schools and sewing societies. One letter, typical of the sort coming from school teachers, asked for material to be used in opening exercises on the following subjects: “The House Fly,” “Tuberculosis,” “Reciprocity with Canada,” and “Jane Addams,” adding “also the University of Wisconsin and what it is trying to do!” Variety is truly the spice of life. One man wrote that his wife, as president of the woman's club, had aroused his interest in things educational. “What can I take up to help me along in my business and give me a little better education? I am forty-five years old.”

#### INSTRUCTION BY LECTURES

The department of instruction by lectures, like that of public discussion, deals mainly with groups. It seeks to keep in touch with organizations that are or *may be* interested in lecture courses and to fill in the best and most economical way their needs. Its field is that of the lyceum bureau, though its

motives are not financial but educational. The bureau run privately on a money basis seeks to give the people what they will pay the most for; the one run by the State University seeks to give them what they *need* for their best development. The one caters to popular taste, the other educates it.

Mr. J. J. Pettijohn is secretary of this department and works from a knowledge based on a thorough investigation of the needs of the people in the way of lectures and entertainments. He has visited nearly all the districts which he supplies, and is able to carry on his work with rare insight into local conditions. The virgin hamlet of one hundred souls is not going to appreciate as its first lecturer the professor of esthetics! “The House Fly as a Carrier of Disease” will prove far more attractive and useful to the average rural audience.

By undertaking the work of impresario, the university saves thousands of dollars both for consumers and producers of lecture material. “Professionals” can be secured at half their customary price, with financial gain to themselves, by this system, which dispenses with the middleman. University professors also can be made doubly useful as field lecturers, guided by the department whose duty it is to get the right man for a given club, society, or board in any locality from the largest city to the country district. This work is a logical function of the university in that it is a means of getting the best educational attractions to the people. Its staff of organizers and field workers meets individuals and clubs interested and acts as a means of stimulating them to further effort. It prevents old clubs dying a natural death from stagnation. It encourages the formation of new organizations of all sorts. To quote Mr. Pettijohn, “These lecture courses, given as they are, by members of the faculty and by professional talent, appealing as they do to all classes of people, people of all ages and of all grades of education, become a great avenue through which popular education and social progress are promoted.”

Attendance of lectures averages 150, and the department estimates that it reached in its public lectures last year over 100,000 persons, besides those attending commencement exercises, in which the attendance averages from 400 to 1000. What an opportunity for influencing popular taste! What a chance to counteract the debasing influence of the average cheap theater (to say nothing of the higher-priced comic opera). The field



AN HOUR OUT OF FACTORY TIME FOR INSTRUCTION

(These shop students have come directly from their work to meet the traveling instructor for help in difficulties or guidance in advance work)

of this department is, like that of the moving-picture show, unlimited.

#### DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL INFORMATION AND WELFARE

The Department of General Information and Welfare, as its name signifies, likewise has a practically unlimited field. Among its well-developed activities are municipal reference work, social and civic-center promotion, institute and demonstration management, vocational guidance, and the editing and distribution of reports of the achievements of research. Its scope extends through the whole field of betterment, including charities and correction, tuberculosis exhibits, sanitation, economics, conservation, and technical questions of all descriptions. In the achievement of its ends, exhibits, institutes, lectures, correspondence courses, and the answering of all reasonable questions are utilized. The institutions vary in duration from the Baker's Institute of three days to the Milwaukee Institute of Municipal and Social Service, which lasted six months. These last activities were partly self-supporting, but the great majority of its undertakings are carried on at the expense of the Extension Division and are without fees.

Two branches of this work are organized

into bureaus: Municipal Reference and Civic and Social Center Development.

#### MUNICIPAL REFERENCE BUREAU

This bureau serves as a clearing-house for information on municipal subjects, with the two functions of meeting inquiries and carrying on expert investigations. It makes use of the resources of the State and nation in serving cities. It is to the municipality what the Legislative Reference Library is to the legislature; it means cities that are better and more economically run. Very few cities can afford municipal reference bureaus; moreover, the State is best fitted to carry on the work which is so vitally important.

Ford H. MacGregor, in charge, compiles information and prepares bulletins on subjects of civic importance. In addition, when questions come in on subjects requiring technical information along scientific subjects, he puts in touch with each other the people who have that knowledge and the cities needing it. He is able to save municipalities thousands of dollars, by bringing together the university expert on sewage and the city engineer who needs his advice. He has prepared bulletins on the following subjects: "Commission Government," "Oiling of

Streets," "Municipal Garbage Collection," and "Home Rule." He has under way bulletins on "City Planning," "Municipal Fire Insurance," "Municipal Legislation Affecting Tuberculosis," "Paving," "Wheel Tax Ordinances," and "Municipal Cost Accounting."

This is pioneer work, which is rapidly being copied by other States. Cities all over the land write for information and receive it. In return the bureau gains their coöperation in compiling its reports and bulletins. Like nearly all the other departments of the Extension Division, the Municipal Bureau deals with groups—the largest group of all, the city. The extent of its influence within and without the State is, therefore, enormous.

#### CIVIC AND SOCIAL CENTER DEVELOPMENT

So much has been said and done all over the country in the way of social and civic center agitation that any explanation of this work is unnecessary. Its recent incorporation as a department of the Extension Division, with Mr. E. J. Ward as adviser, was due to the fact that it could perform a definite task for the university. That task is the organization of centers in every district, city and rural, which can be used for extension purposes. It gets people together, through the "common ground," the school house. With the

people thus organized, the work of university extension proper is greatly facilitated.

Mr. Ward compares his work with that of the other departments by saying that the correspondence department deals with individuals, the debating and lecture departments with already organized groups of a more or less "high-brow" character; but his work deals with communities as a whole, and everybody "who is alive" belongs. It takes the organized and the unorganized and makes them into one great group.

The foregoing account of the activities of university extension in Wisconsin merely illustrates. To form any real idea of its scope and its methods, one must see it. Yet to see it would be to visit every village and city in the State, for its students are the people of Wisconsin. Probably it owes its success in reaching them to its field work. Extension work has been advocated and carried on for decades, in the United States and abroad, but Wisconsin alone found an adequate means for carrying out its ideals, for making the work personal. That means its organization into districts, each branch office having its superintendent, organizers, and teachers, its class rooms and library facilities. Thus direct inspiration is furnished citizens living hundreds of miles from the university proper. This plan is best shown by a map



AN EVENING DRAWING CLASS AT A DISTRICT EXTENSION HEADQUARTERS

(Giving a suitable environment for doing the correspondence work and affording teachers' assistance close at hand)

of the State, indicating the centers of university influence with their surrounding districts. Think what this means to the farmer's family, or to the residents of Greenville! A miniature university exists, near enough to be available to all who care to use their opportunities; a university willing to go more than half-way.

Wisconsin's Agricultural Extension Department is too large a subject to be properly discussed in this article. Moreover, it has had an entirely different development from the work of the Extension Division proper and is carried on separately, with its own special appropriation. It is interesting to note, however, that in 1910-11, its 136 farmers' institutes and 41 cooking schools were attended by about 118,000 farmers and their wives; that in the same year 1900 farmers attended the ten days' farmers' course at the university, and 8500 the courses given in different places about the State.

Thus the university reaches its extramural students, nearly 6500 in number, who, with those in attendance at Madison, make the total about 12,000. Add to these 12,000 registered individuals the members of groups benefited by the work of the departments of Lecture Instruction, Debating, and General Information, and you get some conception of the number of people enjoying the privileges of the State University.

#### EXPENSE AND APPROPRIATION

A fee of fifty cents is charged for each assignment, or lesson, including the correction of papers and lectures by the field instructor, if there be one. Since it takes the average shop hand two years to complete a course of forty assignments, it can readily be seen that the total cost to the student is very small—\$20 for instruction that enables him, in many cases, to double his wages. Income from fees, however, amounts to only one-fourth the actual cost of such instruction to the university. The question arises, Do results justify the enormous outlay on the part of the State? The steady increase in appropriations speaks in no uncertain tones of the commonwealth's approval of the necessary expenditure. Prior to 1908 the annual



THE STATE OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING THE DISTRICTS AND CENTERS IN TOUCH WITH THE UNIVERSITY AT MADISON

appropriation was \$20,000. In that year it became \$40,000, and has increased steadily until in 1911 it is \$100,000, besides \$50,000 for an Extension Building! For 1912 it is \$125,000, making the total appropriation for two years \$275,000, exclusive of agricultural extension, which has a separate appropriation. When you compare this with the largest sum granted for similar work the current year in any other State, \$40,000 (Ohio), this becomes phenomenal.

Evidently the people of the State appreciate the work of the Extension Division, for they are going deep down into their pockets to support it. The farmer who has learned scientific farming, his wife who belongs to the District Woman's Club, and his son who debates in the village school, constitute a united family when the work of the university is under discussion. The man in the shop and his daughter who "clerks" have a common bond with the General Superintendent and his daughter who heads the Equal Suffrage League.

University extension means increased efficiency and earning power; it makes the individual a more social being and lowers class barriers. There is a distinct benefit to the State and nation in the enlightened public opinion which it creates. It is democracy.

# CAUSES OF WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

BY FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND

(Chairman of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency)

MANY playgoers have been amused at the efforts of Mr. Brewster to win an inheritance—the condition being that he must first demonstrate his ability to spend a million dollars within a few months without being charged with extravagance. The President of the United States has Mr. Brewster's task many times multiplied. When he takes the oath of office the possibility of an inheritance looms large before him. He would win reputation as an executive and the approval of his countrymen. But he is reminded that such a reward is contingent on ability to direct an expenditure of one thousand million dollars each year, for four years, without being charged with being wasteful, or, what is quite as vital, with indifference to duty as trustee.

Fortunate it may seem that the President does not come single-handed to his task. Long before inauguration day he is made aware that there are many who are willing to help him. When he is inducted into office he finds an organization of nearly four hundred thousand employees—each hungry for funds; each looking for opportunity to demonstrate what he can do to justify his position or employment. The chief executive of the nation also finds willing hands in the horde of irresponsible persons who claim attention on grounds of partisan affiliations. Furthermore, around his trusted advisers and administrative heads collects an army of agents of private concerns hungry for government contracts, each looking for opportunity to exchange his wares for moneys which have been provided to officers for the promotion of the country's welfare.

## THE CONDITIONS SURROUNDING THE NATION'S EXECUTIVE

From the start the outlook for the President is not one which may be considered favorable to the achievement of reputation as an executive. His responsibility is for the administration of the greatest trust that the human mind has ever conceived. The bene-

ficiaries of this trust, the American people, are increasingly exacting in their demands; they are not only demanding fidelity, but efficiency and economy,—efficiency premised on exact information as to what is going on; economy in the expenditure of funds provided for welfare purposes.

President Cleveland was particularly forceful in his description of the trust character of his office. President Roosevelt brought new vigor to public service in his insistence on efficiency as a qualification for government employment. In his recent message, President Taft has pictured his responsibility as that of chief executive of a "corporation whose functions are almost as varied as those of the entire business world—whose organization and undertakings are continental in scope, and whose activities touch the interests of every person living within the jurisdiction of the United States." But the handicap under which a conscientious executive labors has never been adequately described.

## LACK OF INFORMATION

In a special message to Congress (submitted on March 3, 1911) President Taft pointed to some of the difficulties under which the nation's executive is required to labor. Notwithstanding these varied responsibilities he said:

There have been no adequate means provided whereby either the President or his advisers may act with intelligence on current business before them; there has been no means for getting prompt, accurate and correct information as to results obtained; estimates of departmental needs have not been the subject of thorough analysis and review before submissions; budgets of receipts and disbursements have been prepared and presented for the consideration of Congress in an unscientific and unsystematic manner; appropriation bills have been without uniformity or common principle governing them; there have been practically no accounts showing what the government owns and only a partial representation of what it owes; appropriations have been overencumbered without the facts being known; officers of government



have had no regular or systematic method of having brought to their attention the costs of governmental administration, operation and maintenance, and therefore could not judge as to the economy or waste; there has been inadequate means whereby those who served with fidelity and efficiency might make a record of accomplishment and be distinguished from those who were inefficient and wasteful; functions and establishments have been duplicated, even multiplied, causing conflict and unnecessary expense; lack of full information has made intelligent direction impossible and cooperation between different branches of the service difficult.

#### REQUEST FOR FUNDS FOR EXECUTIVE INQUIRY

This statement was made for the purpose of bringing to the attention of Congress the conditions with which each administration is confronted. The message carried with it a request that an appropriation be made to enable the President to inquire more effectively into the methods of transacting the public business of the government with a view to inaugurating new and changing old methods so as to attain greater economy and efficiency.

The request for funds with which to make such an inquiry was urged with more than usual understanding of the magnitude of the executive task, the vastness of the organization, and the complexity of the activities to which official responsibility is attached; it was made with full knowledge that one executive after another had been required to go blindly to his work. Whatever might be the President's concept of opportunity before inauguration he has soon been made to realize that not a living man knew, or had the means of readily ascertaining, what the government of the United States is, how it is organized, what it is doing, what methods are employed, what results are being obtained.

Power the President has in full measure; heads of departments he may appoint and remove at pleasure; by authority of law each officer may be held to strict account; each employee may be disciplined and removed for inefficiency; each process may be molded to better adapt it to the business in hand. But to exercise these powers, to become effective with respect to any branch of the business, the executive must have prompt, exact, and complete information. This is lacking. The chief executive finds himself without the means of obtaining information which is needed as a basis for judgment and for the exercise of central direction and control.

In response to request Congress provided funds for an executive inquiry,—the first fund of the kind which has ever been requested. President Roosevelt had attempted to do

something of the kind in organizing the Keep Commission without special funds, but he had been promptly stopped by legislation. This grant added nothing to the legal powers of the President. It did provide opportunity,—the opportunity which had been effectively taken away. It provided the funds for obtaining information as a basis for the exercise of executive powers. The purpose of the appropriation was to enable the President to organize an expert *staff*; to enable him to become efficient in the exercise of his constitutional functions through knowledge of facts before executive orders were issued or legislation recommended. This was the alternative to a "cheese-paring" policy; to the unintelligent use of the surgeon's knife; to the cutting of "red tape" without regard for results; to the amputation without diagnosis of what at first sight might seem to be excrescences.

#### NEED FOR CAUTION

In a measure, "a cheese-paring policy" was demanded. In 1909, Mr. Tawney as chairman of the Appropriation Committee of the House startled the nation by calling attention to the fact that public expenditures were increasing at a rate unparalleled "except in time of war." Following this Mr. Henry Jones Ford in his "Cost of Our National Government" called attention to the fact that the appropriations as finally enacted were \$50,000,000 above the amount reported from the House. In 1910, Mr. Aldrich made a statement which was taken more seriously than any which had ever before escaped his lips,—one which was tantamount to charging the federal government with wasting enough each year to meet the expenses of every State west of the Mississippi.

As a result of these and other dramatic recitals it was commonly assumed that no mistake could be made if only expenditures were reduced. Nor were the dangers to the service and the difficulties incident to making changes realized. By many it was assumed that the government could be completely reformed within a few months. This was not the view of those who were asked to initiate the inquiry. Notwithstanding the urgent need for making changes in organization, method, and procedure, the character of the undertaking was accepted as one which required careful planning.

The theory carried by the act of appropriation was that the President would either issue specific orders himself or would make specific recommendations to Congress with respect



to the many technical details of the business of the government. Size alone suggested the need for more than ordinary care. But further than this, with each order issued and each recommendation, the President must assume responsibility for changing technical processes and working relations which, though necessarily complicated and expensive, were nevertheless essential to public service, until some better methods had been devised and installed to take their place.

From the simple plan which had been established by Alexander Hamilton, the business of the government had grown; the service had become more and more complex. Each year the difficulties to be encountered in making changes had increased. Not only had custom become a formidable factor, one to be considered in attempting to make changes in method and procedure, but as one department, bureau, subdivision, after another had been added the head of each administrative unit had come to exercise a monopoly over data pertaining to details and technique. Any action taken by the executive or by Congress, therefore, which was not based on a full understanding of the subject in hand, might result disastrously. Ill-considered action might reduce cost at one point, but it might more than correspondingly increase cost at another. To give orders or to recommend laws the effect of which would be to change the manner of doing business or disturb the customary working relations of branches technical in character would result in permanent loss of the efficiency and economy with which work is to be done.

#### A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY BEGUN

From the beginning of the fiscal year (July 1, 1910) until September consideration was given to the question: "How shall I begin?" It was then decided that a preliminary investigation should be made before the inquiry should be definitely organized. This preliminary investigation was placed under the direction of Mr. Charles D. Norton, Secretary to the President. On September 27, at the first meeting of the cabinet after the summer vacation, the policy of the President was announced and each head of department was asked to appoint a committee of department experts to cooperate.

Describing the general plan and purpose of the inquiry, an interim report was submitted by Secretary Norton as of December 31, in which it was stated that "it was assumed as a working principle that any constructive

proposals or changes of method to be recommended should be founded on full knowledge of the following facts: (1) The administrative problem (work) before each department, bureau or division head; (2) the organization or equipment provided for dealing with the problem; (3) the methods and procedure employed by those in charge of the work; (4) results obtained; (5) expert opinion as to what is the matter with the present organization, equipment, methods and results."

Having in mind obtaining these data at the least possible cost to the government and also the conditions necessary to the highest success of the whole inquiry, it was thought that the department committees or technical men of the service should be enlisted. A series of reports was therefore outlined with definite instructions. These were sent out "by order of the President." Through these reports much valuable information was obtained. They served the purpose both of a preliminary survey of the field and to indicate very concretely what supplementary facts were necessary to a complete study.

#### CONCLUSIONS REACHED AS A RESULT OF A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY

In many respects the data submitted were necessarily incomplete and the results unsatisfactory. Nevertheless they served either to confirm or to controvert the views entertained at the time this inquiry was inaugurated. They also gave to those in charge of the preliminary investigation a basis in fact and in opinion for recommendations looking toward the more effective organization of the work. From the data thus submitted and the opinions expressed in conference, conclusion was reached that the investigation should proceed along the lines of the chief causes of waste, and that for this purpose the following might be accepted as a basis for the more intensive study:

#### WASTE DUE TO LACK OF A DEFINITE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

One of the most conspicuous causes of waste is inadequate provision for getting before Congress a definite budget. That is to say: the government of the United States is without a plan; it is financed each year without a definite scheme of work to be carried on; there is no means employed for giving consistency to action and for enabling the Congress each year to act intelligently about questions of general policy. Although to Congress is given the power to determine what work is to be done, what organization

and equipment shall be provided, and what funds shall be granted, the law governing appropriations and estimates does not provide for the submission of such information as will enable Congress or any member thereof to consider administrative proposals in terms of general welfare.

Many appropriations are made annually for no better reason than that similar appropriations were made the year before; funds are provided in response to local demands and as a result of representations made by persons who are interested in special undertakings; large expenditures are authorized for new projects, appropriations are continued with little regard to the needs of the people. While it is difficult to estimate the amount of money which had been wasted in the past on account of action taken in response to local and special demands under this method of appropriation, the conclusion is well supported that waste must continue so long as a system prevails which does not get before Congress, the executive, and the people what the government is doing, and what it proposes to do—which does not make possible the consideration of proposals in terms of public policy.

#### LOSS DUE TO BAD ORGANIZATION

A second conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is lack of adaptation of organization to the work which is to be done. From lack of means for considering, in perspective, work done and work to be done and from lack of information with respect to the organization which is best fitted to carry on each activity, in many cases work is assigned to departments which is diverse in character and conflicting in interest. The Wiley controversy may be cited as one of the results of inconsiderate assignment of conflicting duties. As well place both the regulation and promotion of racing under a chief of police as to seek to enforce the pure-food law under a department whose primary purpose is to promote the very industries thus placed under restraint. There are many instances similar in kind. Inevitably such lack of consideration of adaptation of organization to work is lack of coöperation, lack of discipline, duplication and irresponsibility.

#### LOSS DUE TO INEFFICIENT PERSONNEL

A third conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is failure to provide adequately for an efficient personnel. It is an accepted fact that the local offices of the government

are largely controlled for political patronage. This unnecessarily costs the government many millions of dollars. In the Postal Service, the Customs Service, the Internal Revenue Service, the Land Offices, and other field services of the government there is not only duplication and waste but useless expenditure due to the pressure which is brought on Congress and on the executive for "placement"; wherever the spoils system is still in effect inefficiency must continue. The motive of a man must necessarily be, "pull" rather than "push." His tenure and his opportunity depends not on a "record of accomplishment" but on his standing at political headquarters. Both laws and executive orders governing the selection of government employees are defective in many respects.

Another element of loss which private establishments have come to recognize as highly important is found in the government—namely, inadequate provision for considering adaptability and fitness of persons applying for appointment. In Civil Service regulations the question of fitness of particular persons for special work to be done is in a measure ignored; inadequate consideration is given to inducements offered to employees to make a record for themselves in the service; there is practically no system of salaries and grades in the classified or the unclassified service. While no question is raised with respect to the zeal of the men who are striving to render efficient service (in point of fact many persons are performing public service with splendid results at a salary far below what they could command in private employment), until a definite basis for the consideration of adaptability, of efficiency, of personnel, is established, the percentage of waste to the government for the service as a whole must continue to be quite as large as it would be under similar conditions in private employment.

#### FAILURE TO PROVIDE FOR ADEQUATE EQUIPMENT

A fourth conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency in the government service is found in failure to provide adequate equipment. In many instances it is found that government employees are required to work with equipment which makes impossible a high efficiency. This is so important a factor that in private businesses where competition is sharp it is often found to be advantageous to employ experts who will be continuously on the watch for new devices by means of which labor and material may be more

effectively utilized and the cost of production correspondingly reduced. In government service competition has been lacking,—the motive to improve has been almost entirely absent. In fact, in certain branches, efforts to install up-to-date equipment have been openly resisted on the theory that if utilized the better device would decrease the number of places to which appointments might be made.

#### WASTE DUE TO INEFFECTIVE USE MADE OF EQUIPMENT PROVIDED

A fifth conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is found in failure to provide for adequate consideration of the use made of properties and equipment. By reason of the character of information submitted with estimates, no intelligent conclusion can be reached by Congress with respect to properties and equipment needed; practically no information is available indicating economy or waste in use; no standards are established as a basis for considering efficiency of management in the use of properties and equipment. In one office, space may be used to only 50 per cent. of its effective working capacity. In another office files and archives may occupy valuable space. Expensive mechanical equipment may be used only a small percentage of the possible effective time. While this character of expenditure represents a relatively small percentage of the total annual cost to the government, yet in the aggregate it means much.

#### WASTE DUE TO BAD METHODS

A sixth conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is lack of consideration given to methods employed for doing work. As the business of the government has expanded, as its methods have become more complex, as the organization has grown, one process after another has been added with little regard to adaptation. The institution being without a continuing administrative head, its organization has become highly bureaucratic; thousands of local jurisdictions have been established, each of which has become a center within itself. Each custom has not only the force of a fast-increasing institutional momentum, but private business, personal and partisan interests, have so far adjusted themselves to the present order that the government is fastened to all of the anchorage of its accustomed environment.

Under such circumstances any effort to make a change, whatever the economy and increase in efficiency which might result, that

could not have the united support of both the President and Congress was doomed to failure; its proponent was not only doomed to disappointment, but placed himself in personal jeopardy which too often has proved fatal. It has long been a conclusion generally accepted that all individual efforts to improve methods are worse than wasted. It is quite as generally accepted that present methods are wasteful; that the government is many years behind private establishments in the making of adaptations of methods to work.

#### LOSSES IN CONTRACTING AND PURCHASING

A seventh conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is to be found in contracting and purchasing. Although a central contracting agency has been established which has been doing excellent work considering its opportunities, it has not been effectively organized or adequately supported. Before this inquiry was begun there had been no classification of materials, supplies, and equipment attempted as a basis for considering questions of standardization of articles to be purchased and for the recording of purchasing results in such a manner that they might be considered for the service as a whole. Practically no provision was made for reporting on prices as a means of executive and legislative review and no common standard was available for use as a basis for judgment with respect to efficiency of management for making purchases. Under similar conditions large private corporations have found that they can save from 10 to 30 per cent. on the cost of things bought, and there seems to be no reason to conclude that methods which have proved successful with private concerns cannot be applied with as good results to the government.

#### LOSS DUE TO LACK OF CENTRAL DIRECTION AND CONTROL

Another conspicuous cause of waste and inefficiency is found in lack of provision for administrative planning and supervision of the details of work. The two main principles in the creed of the "Scientific Management" school of engineers are: *planning* and *obtaining exact information as a basis for planning*. In government work both of these elements are sadly lacking. Even in a well systematized business it has been found that by the introduction of a system of central office "planning" which is based on "scientific data" the efficiency of the personnel has been increased from 50 to 100 per cent. For those

who assume responsibility for changes in government methods here is a virgin field,—one that has scarcely been touched. The public demands that the government shall insist on the economic management of transportation and other public-service corporations as a necessary element of rate regulation. This same demand must ultimately extend to the service rendered by the government, which the public pays for direct. Until this is done those who are charged with responsibility for the management of the trust estate which is placed in their care and keeping,—the federal officers,—cannot hope to escape impeachment for gross incompetence or breach of trust.

#### THE DEPENDENT SEQUENCE

When considering the opportunities for saving in the management of public affairs this further fact is to be noted, namely, that the foregoing causes of waste and inefficiency are not alternatives but are cumulative. Not *each* but *all* of these causes are operative on each of the undertakings of the government; neither the present waste nor the possible economy which may accrue through a more intelligent handling of the business of the government can be determined except that *all* of these causes are considered. In other words, the economy work, whether conducted by the President or by Congress, must necessarily proceed along lines which take cognizance of what the efficiency engineer calls the "dependent sequence." To illustrate, let us assume that 10 per cent. is wasted on account of each of the causes above enumerated. The result would not be 90 per cent., but about 50 per cent. of efficiency. If there is 10 per cent. of loss due to lack of planning, 10 per cent. of loss due to bad organization, 10 per cent. of loss due to the element of political patronage and inefficiency in personnel, 10 per cent. of loss due to failure to provide adequate equipment, 10 per cent. loss due to failure to use properties and equipment with greatest efficiency, 10 per cent. loss due to inefficiency of management of purchases and contracts, the total efficiency in a dependent sequence having seven factors would be only about 47.8 per cent. With eight factors the percentage of efficiency would be reduced to 43 per cent. This further may be said,—that in every subject into which detailed inquiry has been made waste has been found and in some the waste due

to process or technique alone runs as high as 75 per cent.

From this the conclusion is not to be drawn that the commission can out-Aldrich Aldrich, but that there is large opportunity for obtaining better service and at a lower cost. The readjustment of organization to work, the introduction of new methods in an institution such as the government of the United States, in such manner as not to disturb or impair its present working efficiency, however, must necessarily be the work of years. In fact, it is a work that should be carried on continuously, for all time, by some agency which is properly adapted to doing such work. What ten years of continuous effort on the part of an executive who is properly equipped for doing such work may bring forth cannot be estimated. This further fact must be held in mind: That such an effort, to be successful must have back of it an intelligent press and an intelligent public. Unless both Congress and the President have behind them those in whose service the government is employed, no greater consistency can be given to the work of reorganization and reform of methods than has in the past been given to government business. Unless public opinion is organized, efforts toward greater efficiency must be spasmodic and interrupted, and efforts to improve must be a continuing cause of annoyance,—a serious disturbance rather than a help to those who are striving to give the public the best that there is in them.

#### WHAT ECONOMY MEANS TO THE PEOPLE

Above all there must be an appreciation of what economy means to the people. As was stated by the President in his recent message, "A reduction in the total of the annual appropriations is not in itself a proof of economy, since it is often accompanied by a decrease in efficiency. . . . The popular demand for economy has been to obtain the best service—the largest possible results for a given cost. We want economy and efficiency; we want saving; and saving for a purpose. We want to save money to enable the Government to go into some of the beneficial projects which we are debarred from taking up now because we cannot increase our expenditures. Projects affecting the public health, new public works, and other beneficial activities of the Government can be furthered if we are able to get a dollar of value for every dollar of the Government's money which we expend."

# THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ELECTORATE

BY WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL

(Professor emeritus, University of Minnesota)

IT is a matter of common knowledge that some large proportion of American voters are indifferent to public affairs, and are content to regard the suffrage as a negligible privilege, rather than as a duty.

How to make the elector more conscious of his public representative character, how to inspire him to do his part in municipal, State, and national affairs, is a problem of the first importance. The slow operation of general and civic education, the increase of social consciousness, the better appreciation of what government can do for the general good, and the development of rational patriotism—all these will contribute to inspire and dignify the electorate. But these are not enough, and their operation is remote and casual. Something more specific and immediately effective is needed: and that something, it is submitted, is the constitutional organization of the electorate: organization for public deliberation, organization for initiative, organization for united action.

Five thousand men scattered over a field do not form a brigade. Till some kind of grouping and coördination are established they are a mere neutral mass of human beings, inert and helpless. It can act only in one way; a shouted catchword and a frenzied leader may convert that mass into a howling, desperate rabble bent on rapine or murder. Without organization you have no action or mob action. Take those 5000 men; enroll them in companies, group those into regiments, and array the regiments together and you have a brigade capable of orderly and regulated action. Perhaps a better example of the effect of organization may be drawn from the Catholic Church, which enrolls and coörders its millions of individual souls throughout the world into a system of ascending jurisdictions. How trifling would their influence be but for organization!

## WHAT THE DIRECT PRIMARY FAILS TO DO

Now, our American electors have no legitimate organization; form no society; have no stated times and places of assemblage for con-

sultation or united action. The State having neglected to organize the electorate constitutionally, that elementary requisite of government has been left to private interests; and those interests have given us the machine. It was the machine or literal anarchy. Disgusted with the machine in its monopoly of initiative in government, some of our States are experimenting with primary elections. But the primary election finds the electors the same isolated, sporadic political unit-cells they were before. It has put the machine out of business, but it has not organized the electorate, and it has taken from them such opportunity for deliberation as the caucus and convention afforded. It has relegated initiative to individual electors.

A conspicuous result is the spectacle of ambitious, not to say presumptuous young men parading themselves as aspirants for office. And a sorry spectacle it is to see fledgling lawyers patrolling the streets of cities, handing out cards and photographs, and personally begging electors to support them for judgeships, memberships of State and national legislatures, mayoralties and other positions. The most undesirable candidate named by a political convention had a certain prestige and dignity because ostensibly proposed by an assemblage of electors. Under the primary system the aspirant is forced to parade himself as an "office-seeker." Many of the best citizens will not do this, and they have their opinion of the less scrupulous spirits who will. The primary election, therefore, operates to discourage men of merit and ability, who possess the modesty which accompanies those qualities, from aspiring to office and exercising the franchise.

## HOW SHALL THE ELECTORS BE ORGANIZED?

The burden of this article is, that if democracy is to survive and provide good government it must become organic, constitutionally organic. Electors must be visibly and physically associated, and possess an apparatus by means of which they can co-operate effectively. Without descending to

details, which had better be worked out as circumstances suggest, it will be in order here to propose a few leading postulates of electoral organization.

In the first place, there must be a carefully studied subdivision of territory into precincts, each containing, say, 300 voters, with provision for repartition as required.

In the next place, there will be a permanent enrollment of electors, and not merely a particular registration on the eve of an election. No person should be permitted to vote unless he has been enrolled at least ninety days before election, and is known to be a *bona-fide* resident of his precinct. There should be stated times for the enrollment of new electors, whether of residents reaching majority, or of persons moving into precincts, bringing proper transfer certificates.

A decent ceremony should attend the admission of young men to active citizenship, and a commission might be delivered to each, investing him with the electoral franchise.

The electors of each precinct would form a body corporate, clothed with all powers necessary to electoral functions.

In each precinct should be provided a suitable place of assemblage, and in that place should be transacted all electoral business in public. Of course, all voting will take place in the precinct house and in the presence of the assembled electors.

All nominations for local offices and delegates should be made in open meeting of electors duly called, and it should be a punishable offense to introduce any sort of written or printed ballot, previously prepared.

The primary effect of such a constitutional organization of electors should be to make the elector conscious of his political character, to impart dignity to the franchise, and awaken a sense of responsibility for its exercise. The voter would have a forum for the discharge of his high duty, and for consultation with fellow electors on an equal footing.

The point of vantage in all government is the initiative. The Greeks had the same word for the two. Whatever individual, or group has the right, power, or privilege to organize the caucus, convention, or legislature has the better of all others who attend without a formulated scheme, and a spokesman. The man who calls to order gains a point for himself or group. The possession of the initiative gives monarchy its capital advantage. So long as a political machine has the privilege of organizing any meeting of electors, the ordinary plain citizen has little inducement to attend.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF ASSEMBLAGE

The constitutional association of electors ought to operate toward the self and social education of electors in public affairs. The mere opportunity of orderly assemblage in a place set apart for the transaction of public business would naturally give importance and solemnity to such business; very much as church-going gives dignity to religion. Frequent, stated and solemn assemblage is insisted on by every teacher of every religion. Why should not patriotism have its congregations of guardians of the public welfare?

Assemblage for consultation and coöperative action will naturally impress electors with their representative capacity. Government by the people must be representative. If the precinct is to be governed by constitutional representatives, much more must all larger and higher jurisdictions be controlled through representation. Precincts will be federated into ward or town associations, and these into city, county and State delegacies.

#### THE VOTER'S INCREASING RESPONSIBILITIES

The organization of the electorate assumes a new and greater importance in view of the recent increasing demands made upon our democracy. Jane Addams has put it that the cure for the evils of democracy is "more democracy," and toward that position we seem to be rapidly drifting. The referendum, long applied to the ratification of constitutions and constitutional amendments, is being extended to a variety of mere legislative matters. Electors are asked to act directly on measures which we used to think could only be handled by statesmen. The initiative in legislation and the recall of elected officials are under trial in many States and cities, and the fashion will probably spread. Might we not expect that in the congregations of the organized electors, under circumstances favorable to deliberation, the democracy would act both the more intelligently and conservatively, and employ these institutions to the good of the state?

Present indications point to the extension of the elective franchise to women throughout the Union. It may be suggested that the stated, solemn convocations of the electors would furnish an appropriate forum for the exercise of their influence in public affairs, and assist in their political enlightenment. It is time for the communal element in politics, heretofore almost wholly suppressed, to be given the larger scope it deserves.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE BRITISH MAGAZINES

THE larger issues of imperial and domestic politics are a favorite theme of discussion in the reviews of Great Britain and her dependencies. The problems of empire and the thorny questions that press for settlement in the United Kingdom itself may always be expected to furnish the topics for more than fifty per cent. of the articles in the serious reviews. Besides those phases of general political alignment and the wide subject of party government itself, the British governing class has to consider peculiar situations arising from the empire's relations to its world-wide governmental structure and the heterogeneous character of the populations that owe allegiance to the Union Jack.

There is not wanting in the current British magazines evidence that Britons are beginning to have grave doubts not only of the efficacy of their political methods, but of the soundness of the very principles upon which they are based.

The unrest that characterizes the present-day Britain is simply a phase of modern life all over the world,—for unrest is “the watchword of the twentieth century.” Mr. Frederic Harrison, now in his eightieth year, shows extraordinary vitality in an article on this phase of modern life which appears in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. He says:

Journalism, Politics, Literature, and Art ring with one cry—“All change here!” Not that it is often change for any definite gain. It is “change for the sake of change,” the thirst to get out of our old life, habits, thoughts, and pleasures, to get into new lives, new selves. It runs round England, Europe, America, Asia, and the world, like the dancing mania in the Middle Ages. We are all whirled along, thrust onward by the vast restless crowd, ever calling out for “something fresh”—“something up-to-date”—for the “last thing out!” Poetry, Romance, Drama, Painting, Sculpture, Music, Manners, even Dress, are now recast to suit popular taste.

### The “Failure” of Party Government in England

Most of the thirteen serious and closely woven articles in the *Quarterly Review* deal with pressing subjects of imperial British politics. Dr. Theodore Baty recites “The History of Majority Rule.” This writer be-

lieves that the notion that the “mere majority should control a considerable minority” is of comparatively recent growth.

Except within narrow limits, it corresponds with nothing in nature. Nature—physical nature—gives to opposing forces the accurate effect of their resultant. It is the depth of political imbecility to ascribe an omnipotence to the odd man which does not belong to the odd ounce. Yet the maxim of deferring to majorities, true and useful within narrow limits, is carelessly accepted as the last word of obvious political wisdom.

Dr. Baty refers respectfully to the theories of the American statesman, John C. Calhoun, regarding “the superiority of common consent to the will of the majority.” He then traces the idea of the majority rule in England, and ascribes its triumphs largely to what he calls the exigencies of party practice. He believes that nothing will save Great Britain from the “tyranny of the majority” except the “impartiality of the Crown.” “The justice of the King is the sole safeguard of the minority in the coming days when a permanent majority of strikers seems a probable feature of British politics.”

“The House of Commons is a perfect farce.” “There is wholesale bribery by those in power.” “Log rolling in England is a political science.” “Party strife in Britain is sterile and blighting.” These are a few of the characterizations which abound in an article on party government in Great Britain contributed to the *Westminster Review* by Dudley S. A. Cosby. This writer admits that “Britain has done her best in the past under the party system—which gave both sides an alternate inning, but its usefulness is no longer apparent when it is seen to have developed into a system of wholesale bribery by those in power in order to retain that power for an indefinite period.” Blind allegiance to party has “dragged the business of the House of Commons into a hopeless state of impasse and confusion”; and so rigid and unscrupulous is party discipline, that “even questions upon which both sides are agreed cannot be permitted to pass without an attempt being made by the opposite party to damage the reputation of its opponent. Organized ob-



struction is in full swing; and bills have to be forced through the House without proper amendment and consideration."

The House of Commons, continues this writer, no longer represents the electorate, nor is it in a position to carry out the wishes of that electorate, for

over all its work there floats the blighting influences of a sterile party strife—which relegate the business of the country to a quite secondary place. This ancient House can now only be said to reflect the will of a cabinet clique; private members being no longer free agents, while their duty is merely to march mechanically and as expeditiously as possible through the division lobbies to record the will of the cabinet.

The immediate result of party worship in Britain is "unbridled and unblushing bribery, and class legislation, in which one class is robbed and taxed in the interests of another class, who happen to have the vote, and could use it against the party if they chose. Why statesmen like John Bright, Palmerston, Gladstone, Chamberlain, Lord Morley, the late Duke of Devonshire, Lord Rosebery, Arthur Balfour, and Lord Lansdowne seem to stand shoulders high above hundreds of other equally able statesmen, is because they are, though in a sense all party men, of varying opinions, statesmen first, and party men afterward."

The line taken by the government is "always that which is believed by the wire-pullers to be best calculated to gain, or at least not to lose, the party votes at the next election. Numbers of bills are sacrificed at the end of the session because party government is incapable of even considering them." This is how party government is carried on to-day, "while a helpless country looks on in disgust." The remedy is, "to make the House of Commons really representative of the whole country; and this can only be done through a redistribution and proportional representation bill." Party government "has had its day," the country is sick of it, and would gladly welcome a government that would tackle the great questions of the day in a spirit of fair play to all classes alike.

For many years, says Lord Willoughby de Broke, "both parties in Great Britain have owed their victories in general elections not to their own excellencies, but to the unpopularity of their opponents." This writer, in an article in the *National Review*, maintains that the House of Commons is as much in need of reform as the House of Lords. What England needs, he declares, is a "restoration of the constitution."

It would be the height of impertinence to try to describe the British Constitution in a sentence, but it is not extravagant to say that the object of parliamentary government, as we have understood it since the party system received definite shape, is that the majority in the House of Commons for the time being should enjoy the legislative power and control the executive. The rights of the minority should be preserved by all legislation running the gantlet of free debate in the House of Commons, and of safe passage through the House of Lords before receiving the royal assent. This is the means by which Draconianism, so distasteful to Britishers, has in the main been avoided the absence of any guaranty that power always reside in the hands of the just, and the benevolent, most people consciously desire, and most unthinking people subconsciously desire, both these safeguards. The radical cabinet has destroyed them both.

### War and the World's Community of Interests

Lord Haldane's statement, made in the course of the announcement of his purpose in visiting Berlin, that we must always regard international affairs "from the point of view of the world at large, from the standpoint of humanity," forms the text of an article in the *International Journal of Ethics* by Mr. R. M. MacIver, of the faculty of the University of Aberdeen. The progress of the world, says this writer, has brought on an age in which war is "strictly and simply without meaning."

The social conditions out of which war arose have been transformed into social conditions which leave no place for war. . . . "War," say the publicists, "is a relation between state and state." True, and there was a time when war had a very clear meaning as the hostile relation of states. At that time states were not only independent but separate, and separation makes hostility possible. At that time it was not merely states but communities that were separate and independent; and state and community were one. The state *was* the community. When the state went to war the community went to war. It was the people, the tribe, the city, the nation, and not merely the state that entered into war. But can we say to-day that the state is the people or the nation? Are the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the rest, states and nothing more? We speak as if they were and thereby show our blindness to one of the most remarkable and far-reaching movements of modern civilization. Let us remember that war is the breaking down of all community, and ask what right the state has to carry on warfare, when, as is now the case, the state is not co-extensive with society. Men are beginning to see that there is something more ultimate even than the state, that the state is not the whole expression, or the widest expression of the common will of man, that it is one fundamental institution created by society—in a word, that society is greater than the state.

An exceedingly luminous article appears anonymously in the *Round Table* on the credit system of the world, and how it would

be affected by war. The article is entitled "Lombard Street and War." The writer, who displays an unusual knowledge of the workings of the money market and the forces that govern it, after referring to the "infinite number of strands which bind all the great nations to one another . . . all radiating from the great nerve centers of credit," says:

Gold must be always available somewhere. And it is always available, but only from one place in the world. London, alone among the great financial centers, has undertaken the task of meeting every legitimate demand in gold at all times and to any amount. No other banking nation has ventured to face the risk of meeting not only the demands of its own depositors, but of the world itself. If Germany has to pay gold to Turkey for a loan newly granted, she gets it from London; if New York wants gold, she gets it from London; if the Argentine or Egypt or India have had good harvests and want gold, they get it from London. . . . What, then, is likely to happen on the outbreak of a war? Suppose, for instance, Germany declared war against us. A crisis in the money market would be at once precipitated. Everybody would be seeking to place themselves in a position to meet their engagements. Money would dry up, and the bank rate would be forced to a high figure. At the same time there would be a tremendous fall in value of all securities on the Stock Exchange, so great a fall that the Stock Exchange might even have to be closed. Banks would have to "carry" their customers who had borrowed against securities, and would find a large part of their assets unrealizable. The discount market—i. e., the bill market—would be no better off.

London finances Germany by means of acceptances to the extent probably of about £70,000,000 sterling at any one time. This means that accepting houses in London will have made themselves responsible during the two or three months after the outbreak of war for the payment, mainly to the Joint Stock Banks, of £70,000,000, against bills drawn on German account, which these banks and others will have bought in the discount market. But the accepting houses would only be in a position to pay the whole of this large sum if they receive, as they would in the ordinary course of affairs, the same amount from their German clients, to finance whose business the bills were drawn. It is quite probable that these clients would not or could not pay. Everything would depend on the action of our foreign clients as a whole. If they took fright and demanded immediate payment in gold, London might have to put up her shutters as a free gold market, simply through lack of time to save herself by the realization of some of her immense assets abroad. London might never regain her place.

The moral of this is, according to the writer, that "the British fleet is the best protector of London's gold reserve." To vary the phrase, "Lombard Street floats in the British Navy, and the nerve center of the world depends for its safety upon the maintenance of the standard of two keels to one." In other words, Lombard Street cannot permit a reduction of armament.

### Discussion of the Liberal Policies

The exposition and defense of the social policy of the present Liberal government, being the substance of a paper read before the Institute of Sociology at Brussels in February by Mr. A. G. Gardiner, appears in the *Contemporary* for March. The specific social legislation for the past six years, says this writer, as successfully carried out by the Liberal government, may be classified under six heads as follows: (1) The treatment of the aged poor; (2) protective measures for the working population; (3) the treatment of the child; (4) public health; (5) social betterment and the administration of justice; (6) finance. Much yet remains to be done, he admits, but:

In spite of the large increase in the national expenditure, the poor and the middle classes are paying less relatively than they did six years ago. The taxation on food which presses so heavily on the poorest has been lightened, and the differentiation between the tax on earned and unearned incomes has brought relief to the middle classes. Practically the whole of the charge for the social policy of the government is borne by the monopolies and the very rich. In six years a new foundation has been laid to society. The morass of poverty has been drained. The area of pauperism has shrunk. The state has entered definitely upon the task of caring for the child, safeguarding the interests of the worker, and preserving the liberty and independence of the aged poor. The cumulative effect of these changes cannot yet be estimated; but that it will be profound and beneficent can hardly be doubted. Much yet remains to be done. The housing problem needs drastic handling, the Poor Law must be dealt with, and the pressure of the rating system calls for serious readjustment, and for the transfer of the burden from industry to land values. When these things are attended to, we shall have a social system which will challenge comparison with anything in history—a system which will give opportunity and a fair start to the child, security and a reasonable reward to the worker, independence to the aged, decent homes to the poor, access to the land to the laborer, and relief to the struggling middle class from the crushing burden of the rates. These beneficial consequences will react upon the state, for in improving the lot of the parts we shall improve the condition of the whole commonwealth.

Sandwiched in among its more or less special articles on subjects dealing with the military and naval professions, the *United Service Magazine*, edited in London by Lieutenant-Colonel Alsager Pollock, a well-known writer on British military subjects, publishes a brief analysis of the National Insurance bill recently engineered through the House of Commons by Chancellor Lloyd-George. The writer criticizes the bill for making any reference whatever to soldiers. The

military man, says the writer, stands in no need of insurance against employment while in the army. What he does need is insurance against unemployment after service.

The conspicuous fault of the bill, so far as the army's interests are concerned, lies in its failure to ameliorate the acute problem of the unemployment of soldiers (for at least some months in the majority of cases), immediately following their discharge; in this important respect the old Deferred Pay scheme was immeasurably superior; and, in view of recent investigations proving that some 70 per cent. of our recruits are "out-of-works," some serious damage to recruiting in the future is to be anticipated from a scheme that promises the worker a bigger weekly payment when unemployed than the infantry soldier receives for his exacting toil during the first two years of his service—and simultaneously with a distinct diminution in the latter's financial position!

The trend of articles in the *Westminster Review* is always strongly sociological. This magazine has been devoting a good deal of attention, during recent months, to the discussion of the reform of legal procedure in England and the "demolition" of British officialdom. "Modern political progress is attuned to the key of social reform." This is the opening sentence of the first article in the current issue, by H. J. Darnton-Fraser. The rise of the radical movement in England is attributed by Ronald C. Davison to the so-called revolt against officialdom. There is an article on Henry George's teaching, which Alexander Mackendrick commends to the thoughtful attention of all Britons. "Ignotus," who wields one of the most trenchant pens in British review writing to-day, insists that the British people must free themselves from what he calls legalism—the "Brahminic caste of the lawyer." "Ignotus" denounces the technical formalism which characterizes legal procedure in the United States, and commends Mr. Roosevelt's attitude on the subject of "recalling" court decisions.

Mr. A. Bonar Law, who has, apparently, been finding it very difficult to fill Mr. Balfour's shoes as leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, in an unsparing attack upon the government, late in February called especial attention to the fact that the government had not kept its promise to the country in bringing forward a comprehensive reform measure for the House of Lords, having apparently satisfied itself with taking away from that body the power of veto. Commenting on this speech, the London *Spectator*, one of the most influential of the Conservative weeklies, says:

We believe that the people of Britain are very rapidly realizing what the uncontrolled power of

the House of Commons means. The Insurance act has opened many eyes. Here was a measure, never mentioned at the last election, vitally affecting every worker in the country, carried hurriedly and confusedly behind the people's backs. No doubt the House of Lords in passing it put themselves in an illogical position, but the ordinary man is less concerned at their passing it than at the fact that under the Parliament act the government had the power of forcing it through. He is beginning to wonder how this state of affairs is to be reconciled with any kind of popular government. He looks to the Unionist party, not so much to change the composition of the second chamber as to give it the power of referring a measure back to him. Sir John Simon declares confidently that the right of unlimited veto will never be restored—but it depends on what is meant by the unlimited veto. The pre-Parliament act status will not be restored; that is certain. Mr. Bonar Law spoke for every member of the party when he said that he would not repeal the Parliament act without undertaking at the same time the reform of the second chamber.

### The Home Rule Problem

A long and exhaustive analysis of Home Rule finance appears without signature in the *Quarterly Review*. The entire constitutional fiscal relation of the three sections of the United Kingdom is considered by the writer of this article, from the time of the Act of Union in 1816, soon after which came the "Amalgamation of the Exchequers," until the present day. By long process of close reasoning and apparently authoritative statistics the article arrives at this conclusion:

The credit of England, Ireland, and Scotland has been hitherto interdependent. They have had a common purse since the union, and more than a century of mutual commitments. No colony and no dependency ever stood in such a relation to the United Kingdom as that in which each member of the United Kingdom stands to the other. The failure of Ireland to meet her obligations voluntarily or involuntarily will involve loss to every individual Englishman or Scotsman who holds an investment in any of the three kingdoms. If England goes to war when Ireland has Home Rule, the Irish executive may, without arming a man, bring England to humiliation by stopping the payment of the land annuities, and shaking down the credit of Guaranteed Land Stock, and with it that of all other government securities. War is carried on by credit. Home Rule Ireland has only to threaten to stop payment, and British credit falls and a blow is dealt vaster in its effects than a great disaster on the field of battle. Once the imperial Parliament gives up the executive control of Ireland and of Irish finance, it betrays not only Irish Unionists but the whole people of Great Britain.

It has long been believed by British statesmen that the only way to permanently settle the Irish government question is to adopt the so-called principle of "devolution," that is, to grant autonomy to each of the divisions of the United Kingdom. On this point Mr.

Asquith, in a noteworthy article in *Nash's Magazine*, says:

The constitutional problem—the greatest of all the constitutional problems in the immediate future—is to set free the imperial Parliament for imperial affairs, and in matters which are purely local to rely more and more upon local opinion and knowledge. Ireland is by far the most urgent case. The goal is inevitable. Are we to go on, generation after generation, treading with blind steps the same old, well-worn, hopeless track which zigzags between coercion and conciliation, but always returning to the point at which we started? Or—and this is the only alternative—shall the British people be brought to a higher and wider point of view, and recognize that in Ireland, as elsewhere, it is in the union of imperial supremacy with local autonomy that the secret and the safeguard of our empire are to be found?

### Disestablishing the Welsh Church

The announcement by the Liberal government of its intention to force through the House of Commons this year a bill disestablishing the Church of Wales has given rise to some vigorous comment in the *Contemporary Review*. The Bishop of St. David's reproaches the government for minimizing the importance of the issue in their election addresses and announcements. The bishop contends that "the Welsh Disestablishment bill, being a far-reaching and irrevocable measure of great gravity, ought to be referred to the poll of the people of England and Wales." The disestablishment of the Church in Wales, he asserts, must carry with it the whole question of the existence of a national church. It will have a baneful effect on secular education in England, the bishop believes, upon philanthropy and charity, as well as upon foreign missions.

The cultured, thoughtful peoples of India, China, and Japan have hitherto looked upon England as a great Christian state. They do not understand our "unhappy religious divisions." . . . It cannot but be a question of the greatest gravity to all Christian believers whether the nations of the Far East would not regard Christianity as unnecessary for the highest civilization if England should appear to them, through disestablishment, to repudiate the national profession of Christianity as the historic foundation of its national strength.

In the same issue of the *Contemporary*, Mr. Llewelyn Williams has a strong article in favor of disestablishment. The Church in Wales, he insists, is an "alien" church, and "Wales is the only country in Christendom which still has an alien church established by law."

The Established Church of Scotland, whatever be its faults and defects, is Scotch in origin, in

tradition, in character, and in sympathy; it is in no sense an "alien" church. Ireland, as every one now concedes, had an alien form of religion established by law until the year 1869. The disestablishment of the Church in Ireland by Mr. Gladstone was a great act of justice and conciliation. Irish Episcopalians to-day acknowledge that, by reconciling the Church to the nation, Mr. Gladstone proved a benefactor to the Church. . . . The Church of Ireland is sounder, purer, and stronger to-day than ever it was before. In England the Established Church is an accurate reflection of the English genius. . . . The Anglican establishment, with all its defects, is racy of the soil, and to a considerable extent it represents the nation in its religious aspect. That cannot be said of the Church of England in Wales. . . . The English Church is an exotic, an alien growth, in Welsh soil.

He concluded by insisting that it is non-conformity, not the Church, that has built up the nation.

Wales owes her all to dissent—the preservation of her language, the revival of her literature, the awakening of her spirituality, the development of her education. . . . Nonconformity found Wales derelict; it has reared up a new nation. It found Wales pagan; it has made it one of the most religious countries in the world. It found Wales ignorant; it has so stimulated its energies that to-day Welshmen, largely by their own self-sacrifice, have provided for themselves the most complete educational system of Europe. . . . One of her sons—a characteristic product of Welsh nonconformity, unaided by the culture of the schools—is the second man in the government of the empire.

### "Votes for Women"

British comment on the latest outbreak of the militant suffragettes in London ranges from the bitter denunciation of the daily press echoed in such reactionary reviews as the *National*, and weeklies such as the *Spectator*, to the exultant satisfaction of the women's journals and labor press, which say in substance: "Now John Bull will sit up and take notice. Force has been used." More restrained and probably, therefore, more representative of the opinion of the great mass of British women is the editorial opinion expressed in *The Englishwoman*, the object of which is "to reach the cultured British public and bring before it, in convincing and modern form, the case for the enfranchisement of women." In the March number of this monthly Mrs. Millicent G. Fawcett, one of the best-known leaders of the movement in England for woman suffrage, states editorially that Premier Asquith is responsible for the unsatisfactory attitude of the cabinet on the question that interests the women of Great Britain. Mrs. Fawcett regards Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane and Chancellor Lloyd-

George as the women's friend in the cabinet. She also compliments the British Labor party, which she says is "fully prepared to make a real sacrifice for the sake of justice to women." An anonymous correspondent, in the same issue of the magazine, argues that giving the vote to women would not disturb the balance of parties in England. In the first place, he says, the average woman voter will have no more influence than the average man voter at the present time; in the second place, she will form her political views on the same ground as men form theirs; and finally, even though women may come to look at things in a different way from men, they will not act differently.

They often arrive at their conclusions with perplexing rapidity; men see more difficulties and get there more slowly. But when a woman goes into business, she acts as men act. If she succeeds, she succeeds in the same way as a man succeeds. If she fails, she fails from the same causes that make men fail. The conclusion is that the grant of the franchise to women will make no appreciable difference to our political system or methods of government. Nor will it be of much benefit to women as women until they learn to combine. How hard it is to make women combine is well known to those who have tried to organize female labor.

### Import of the Coal Strike

The numbers of most of the British monthlies and weeklies available at the time this "round up" was prepared were issued before the beginning of the great coal strike, which, last month, had brought to a state of virtual paralysis all the industrial life of Great Britain. A sentence in the current *Fortnightly Review*, in an article by Mr. Cecil Battine, seems almost prophetic in this connection.

It seems not altogether unlikely that the severest strife which our people will be absorbed in in the near future may be the internecine struggle of industrial quarrels, brought about in a large degree by the hard fate of the least successful in the pitiless economic struggle of daily life in the peaceful shires of England and Wales.

The *New Age*, a monthly of socialistic tendencies, had published, at about the time the strike was declared, as an editorial, an article in defense of the minimum wage principle. The writer points out that if the minds and wills of the workers of the world were released from their burdens by such a wage, their power of work would be greatly increased. He says on this point:

Our argument for the present occasion does not depend upon the probability of increased production. The case for a minimum wage in the coal-

fields is able to stand upon its own legs. Profits in this industry are enormous from the royalty owner, through the colliery companies and the railways, to the coal merchants who bring it to our doors. At its present yield the coal industry, if its proceeds were equitably divided, would be able to pay a high minimum wage to the miners as well as sufficiently thumping profits to the owners and carriers and vendors. There is not the least reason why it should not be made to do so; and if we were a million miners having a million wives and two million children dependent upon us, our battle cry would be a minimum wage for the lot of us, or perish!

The *National Review* sees in the strike impending, as this issue went to press, an argument in favor of a change from free trade to protection. Why, he asks editorially, is Great Britain above all other nations "afflicted by this continuous epidemic of unparalleled strikes"?

Are these among the blessed fruits of Free Trade, which used to be represented as a bulwark against Socialism and industrial anarchy, and yet nowadays we never seem to be out of the wood. The railway strike was largely a protest against low wages, but the miners have had an uncommonly prosperous time, and many of them, if not a majority of them, receive substantially more than any suggested minimum wage. The employers, we understand, are prepared to pay a fair wage for a fair day's work. Many collieries cannot afford to pay a minimum wage unless guaranteed a minimum of work, and herein lies the crux of the controversy.

### The Problems of India

The Indian reviews consider the topics of particular interest to their own race and land, in temperate, liberal fashion. They also print many articles on subjects of imperial and world concern. The January and February numbers of the *Hindustan Review*, published in Allahabad, contain articles by native and Occidental writers. Mr. E. B. Havell, in a long article on "Indian Builders and Public Works," reproaches his country for letting so many of its public works buildings be constructed by European architects, and calls upon the "Indian master builder" to reassert his "artistic preëminence." Mr. S. M. Rauf Lai, a barrister of Calcutta, sets forth the scheme for the proposed Moslem University. Mr. J. L. Chatterji raises the question of what shall be done with the depressed classes of India. He believes that the reform of the caste system is in the hands of the Brahmins themselves. Professor Samaddar sets forth data which show that "the educated classes throughout the length and breadth of India have come to all strongly condemn drinking." Dr. K. M. Munshi

finds that there is a noticeable growth of the democratic spirit in India. This has been fostered by education and foreign travel, which are beginning successfully to combat "the principal Hindu vice, a strange sort of apathy for public affairs."

In the *Modern Review* (London) Bhai Parmanand points out the extent and significance of immigration from India to different parts of the world; to Africa, the West Indies, South America and Canada. A universal Hindu consciousness has come about, says this writer.

Greater India has arisen without noise of drum or trumpet, under the palm trees of tropical America and on the snow-girt plains of Canada. It is time to take stock of our position and think in terms of a universal Hindu consciousness. The children of these colonists should be educated along national lines.

The *Indian Review* and *East and West* have special Durbar numbers. The success of the coronation in India, says Mr. H. P. Mody in the latter magazine, is largely due to the personality of the King-Emperor.

King George may not yet enjoy that general personal popularity which his late father commanded in such a large measure. There is a wide difference in their habits and temperament. But King George has shown, during the brief period which has elapsed since his accession to the throne, that he possesses in a remarkable degree the purpose and capacity that make a ruler of men.

Sir William Wedderburn, in a long article in the *Contemporary Review*, traces the development of what he calls the two most important political factors in India, the people and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. "These two great powers are at grips, and they both make appeal to the British people." There can be no doubt, says Sir William, that the British King and the British people will, in the end, decide against the bureaucracy.

### Prohibition in New Zealand

Problems connected with railway construction, with labor legislation and banking expansion, are those that chiefly concern the parties and voters of the commonwealth of Australia. The Labor party has been victorious for many years in the commonwealth. The trend in New Zealand, the neighboring British dominion in the South Seas, is directly opposite. The Conservative forces have generally come to the fore in New Zealand. Perhaps the most significant issue fought out at the last election campaign in New Zealand in December was the question

of how to deal with the liquor trade. Mr. W. H. Judkins, editor of the *Review of Reviews for Australasia* (Melbourne), thus describes the gains made by prohibition sentiment in New Zealand:

New Zealand has done magnificently in her recent contest with the liquor trade. At the poll the Prohibition party polled 55.93 per cent., while all of the twelve No-license districts maintained their position. The result must surely make the trade gasp. Only the barest fraction over 4 per cent. was necessary to wipe the trade out of the dominion, and the Temperance party may look forward with the greatest confidence to winning at the next poll three years hence. It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholic Church issued throughout all its churches a direction to its people to vote against prohibition. Had that not been done, it is certain that the issue would have been carried. The result more than ever proves that the people of the dominion have been unfairly handicapped by the imposition of the 60 per cent. majority necessary to carry the issue. Here is a result which would be counted a fine victory in any political conflict, but in this fight the losers win, although in numbers they are far behind. It is certain that the party will do its utmost to secure an amendment of the law in the direction of getting the handicap removed.

### Britain in Persia and Egypt

Two opposing views of Britain's much discussed policy in Persia are presented in the *Fortnightly*. Mr. Sidney Lowe, addressing "the most Christian powers," takes a very gloomy view of British and Russian policy in Persia. He says, in conclusion:

Is the existing Persian nation, which through all the vicissitudes of twenty-five centuries of history, and under all its conquests, has contrived to maintain its unity and its identity, to be finally sacrificed to the indolence of Britain and the acquisitiveness of Russia? Is another crime as bad as the partition of Poland to be consummated in this year of arbitration, treaties, and pacifist speeches? One hopes not, but it seems very likely to occur.

Captain Battine, in the same issue of this review, presents the other side of the shield. He points out how impossible it would be for England to maintain a policy of antagonism to both Germany and Russia at the same time, and says:

Great as the temptation may be in England to regard Russian ambitions with jealousy and distrust, the fact remains that we must come to a decision as to what powers we can regard as friendly, and so shape our policy toward them as to eliminate friction and suspicion. If Russia is to be an ally in Europe, she may reasonably insist that British policy shall not injure Russian interests in Asia unless undoubted British rights are involved. It is not for us to play the part of knight errant, nor are our resources equal to the rôle.

## HAVE WE A REAL ARMY?

**I**N the form of an interview given to George Kibbe Turner, of *McClure's Magazine*, General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, makes a striking and significant statement regarding the unsatisfactory condition of our present military establishment, and shows how plans already perfected, if favorably acted upon by Congress, will result in the complete reorganization of our military forces, substituting efficiency for inefficiency and waste without materially increasing present expenditures.

Although the United States spends over \$100,000,000 a year on the army, it cannot be said that the organization is as strong to-day as it was years ago, when much less was appropriated for it. So much of the army as is not required for service in the Philippines and in other distant possessions is split up into detachments averaging 600 men, which occupy the fifty military posts constructed at great expense in Western reservations. The care of the villages and parks into which the military posts have largely been transformed absorbs the energies of the troops to a great extent, and the army has really been, as General Wood puts it, "split up into companies of walk-cleaners, battalions of lawn-mowers, and regiments of patrolmen." "From the commander of a post to the last common soldier the thousand petty details of house-keeping and landscape gardening crowded out, and still crowds out, the work of training for war."

General Wood calls attention to the fact that the peace strength of one of our companies is only sixty-five men, and out of these, very frequently, only twenty-five or thirty men are available for instruction. Under such conditions effective instruction is very difficult.

General Wood concludes, therefore, that our army is not organized as an army, and under the present scattered location of posts, there is no way to organize it. "Individually we have, perhaps, the best officers and enlisted men in the world—a fine body of men largely diverted from their ordinary military training by their duties as landscape gardeners and caretakers of so-called military posts, which we maintain not because of military efficiency, but as the inheritance of a vicious system. In the larger movements of an army they are, from the standpoint of actual experience, entirely untrained."

General Wood maintains that our present system of enlisting men for three-year peri-



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MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

ods, and offering inducement for reenlistment so as to keep a man continuously in the army, is a most wasteful system. Suppose, for instance, the full term of thirty years' service is rounded out. At that time you would have, according to the existing cost figures, over \$30,000 invested in a man who is too old for war. The European method, on the other hand, is to train as many members of the population as possible to the use of arms just as they are entering manhood, at the age when the training will create the least possible interference with their economic career. From the regular service the soldiers pass into a reserve of trained men subject to a recall in case of war. It has been computed that by the adoption of such a policy and the employment of the militia, this country could be provided with a possible army of 460,000 men, and that the cost of this army could be kept down so that the total expenditures for our military establishment need not exceed what they have been during recent years.



## WHAT FREDERICK THE GREAT DID FOR "ALL GERMANY"



FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA

ON January 24 Germany celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of Frederick II's birth. Through him she recalls that Prussia's fame belongs to German annals, Bavaria's very existence was assured and the first seed sown for the Empire of to-day by Frederick's introduction of the duty principle into the hereditary prince caste. In the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipsic) Professor Theo Sommerlad, of Halle University, reviews Frederick's work as political economist.

Like Bismarck in the political sphere, in the economic Frederick accomplished a task of completing and perfecting rather than of creating and establishing. He believed with the English theorists of the seventeenth century that national prosperity would be on a high level as soon as a country's export balance outvalued the import. From this standpoint the founding of factories and encouragement through rewards, money advances and loans was advisable. All of the iron, steel, paper, velvet, wool and cotton manufactories as well as the sugar refineries and the Berlin Porcelain Works have shown that they were in no way dependent on stimulus from the State.

Frederick's endeavors to introduce silk factories were doomed to failure. But the

foundry and mining industries were destined to development beyond even his conception. The regulation of the iron trade and the free trade stipulation in 1779 for Silesian iron, the incorporation of the mining and foundry department in the government and the Silesian mining law have all contributed to this great development. But as with Colbert, Frederick's economic labors extended to agriculture as well as to commerce. He accomplished marvels in turning barren stretches into fertile fields in Lithuania, and in Prussia, in the Kurmark and in Oderbruch. And though he cared for the preservation of the great estates of the landed nobility by the creation of credit institutes and government mortgage bureaus to guard against usury, such as the Berlin Loan and Exchange Bank, founded in 1765, still he was interested in the great social question of that day—the peasant caste. The hereditary allegiance to their overlords he abolished in East Prussia, Lithuania, and West Prussia. The most complete exposition of Frederick's policy is his Prussian Law book that appeared after his death. In a genuine mercantile spirit these laws favored the increase of population in an under-populated country, divorce was made more easy, feudal serfdom abolished, and private property considerably limited in the public interest. And in the second part he rose to the height of declaring it the duty of the State to care for the citizens who were unable to care for themselves and to supply work to all those who lacked opportunity proportional to their strength and talents. A hundred years later Bismarck added to this article the great Civil Law of the new German Empire.

### Frederick as Historian

There are many heavier articles on Frederick in the German reviews. His claims to be known as a historian are considered by Elizabeth von Moellen, in an article in the *Deutsche Rundschau*.

The works of Frederick the Great are said to be twice as voluminous as those of Goethe, and they were all written in French, for the King, with his contempt for German, could hardly speak, and certainly could not write, his own language. In Prussia's edition, published under the auspices of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1846-7, the King's writings run to thirty volumes. These include his

famous history of the three Silesian Wars, the third war being now better known as the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). It may here be remarked that Frederick did not use the designation "Seven Years' War"; that title was invented twenty years after the war by G. F. von Tempelhoff, in his history, made popular by Archenholtz, another historian.

Frederick's history of the Seven Years' War was never subjected to revision, like the previous histories, and many errors, rather trifling it may be admitted, have crept in.

Various causes are given for the inaccuracies. The King complained of his bad memory, but more probably the chief causes were the haste in which the history was written and his "sovereign carelessness." The work was taken up as a kind of recreation after the day's work. He did not approve of that painful accuracy which seeks to avoid a mistake even in the smallest detail; it seemed to him pedantic and lacking in intelligence. "Our historians," he thought, "have always made the mistake of not distinguishing between chief and secondary things." He despised details which diverted attention from the main point. According to one critic, never did a King speak so impartially about his own deeds, or, as a statesman or general, so frankly about his motives or his mistakes. Frederick never emphasizes his own great deeds; he merely states facts. He apologizes for his use of the French language. He had considered the difficulties for a German, but, on the whole, he thought French the most precise, as it was also the language

most in use in Europe at the time. Like Cæsar, he writes in the third person, and refers to himself as "the King."

It is not possible to say how much time he spent on the history, but the bulk of it was probably written in the last seven or eight months of 1763. Though said to have been finished in December of that year, the preface is signed March 3rd, 1764. On February 16 he wrote to Maréchal d'Ecosse—"I am at work writing down my political and military follies"; and on April 7 he wrote:—"The memoirs just completed convince me more than ever that the writing of history is making a collection of human follies and chance experiences."

The two chief objects he had in view in writing his own account of the war were, he said, first, to prove to posterity that it was not possible for him to avoid the war, and that the honor and welfare of the State prevented him from making any other terms than those agreed upon; and, secondly, to explain his military operations. The history was thus a "justification," military and political. At the outbreak of the war, as we know, he took the aggressive, but he explains:—"The real aggressor is undoubtedly he who compels another to arm and undertake a less serious war to avoid a more dangerous one. One must always choose the lesser of two evils."

## "CONSERVATION" IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

ALL the world knows how our conservationists hold Germany up to us as a model for the conservation of natural resources, but it will be news to most of us that the Germans are returning the compliment, by holding us up as a model for themselves. Such, however, is the fact, to judge by a series of articles recently appearing in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*. To be sure, their case is somewhat different from ours, as it relates to wild game, instead of to water-powers and forests, and to the colonies instead of to the home-country.

Singularly enough, while our colonies have been admirably administered in this respect, in contrast to regulations at home, with the Germans the reverse is the case. It seems that, to judge by the statements of the writers, among whom is Prof. C. G. Schillings, one of the leading German authorities on the subject, that game-laws in the German African colonies are practically non-existent, or that such as exist are disregarded, and that the slaughter of large game has been going on there at a frightful rate.

This is particularly the case with German East Africa, not many years ago one of the richest spots in large game to be found in the entire world, possessing, according to Professor Schillings, the astonishing number of 160 species, of which twenty-four were prominent members of the fauna. Within recent years this wealth of wild animals has been shot off and otherwise destroyed at a rate that threatens its early annihilation, if immediate steps are not taken looking to its preservation.

The responsibility for this state of affairs is laid at the doors of the Colonial Office, and particularly at that of the colonial governors, of whom the present Governor Baron von Rechenberg is named as the chief offender. Not content with permitting the slaughter of game and exploitation of spoils by all comers *ad libitum*, this official is accused of having himself helped on the slaughter by decreeing the utter annihilation of all large game over a strip fifty kilometers wide and 400 long (about 7700 square miles), with the alleged object of preventing the rinderpest from

spreading from the adjoining British colony. This exploit was undertaken with three companies of troops, and helped on by native negroes, and 600,000 cartridges were shot off. Reports tell of the slaughter of 30,000 head of game, and 16,000 skulls are said to have been piled up in the single station of Moschi.

"What a demoralizing effect," remarks one of the writers, "such a procedure must have had on the natives and black soldiers, to whom game shooting is strictly forbidden, anyone who knows the nature of the negro may easily conceive." The remedy, needless to say, was far worse than the disease, but after it was all over, the official discovery was made that no rinderpest existed in the English district!

Tourist-hunters from other countries are not responsible for any serious injury to the fauna; it is the Boers imported from South Africa, who are now repeating in the new land the devastation which they long since brought about at the Cape. These Boers are immigrants of the least desirable kind. They are ignorant, unprogressive, know nothing and care nothing about game-preservation, and live like negroes in the bush, on practically nothing, moving from one place to another, and slaughtering all the game they can find for such spoils as they find it worth while to carry away to the nearest port. "As pioneers of civilization," remarks one writer, "they are an irony." The Boer cultivates nothing but a little field, two months in the year, just sufficient to permit him to pass as a settler, while the rest of the time he is pursuing his work of devastation, far from the haunts of Europeans, and hidden from official eyes. It is the Boers who have made game so scarce on the African steppes that it now cannot be found by visiting hunters except after long marches.

The writers complain that while the Colonial Office might remedy this state of affairs, it pays no attention to representations and will do nothing. By way of contrast, the excellent game-protection laws and their rigid enforcement in the adjoining British colony are referred to, as are also our game-protection laws in the West and in Alaska. Professor Schillings cites the authority of Theodore Roosevelt among others, and quotes Carl Hagenbeck as saying to him, "Do what you can, and do it quickly, for if this goes on there will be nothing left: I will stand behind you with all my knowledge and

experience." The present official indifference, Professor Schillings terms a relic of barbarism.

It is not proposed by the writers to prevent all kinds of hunting of wild game, but to institute and rigidly enforce such a license system as now exists in British East Africa, which without in any wise endangering the game, is a source of great profit to the colony, whereas under the present lack of system there is not only little profit, but there soon will be none at all. It is shown that of a hundred million hectares only one million is in cultivation, and that at least one or several million might without any disturbance to



CARL HAGENBECK THE ANIMAL TRAINER  
(Who demands protection for African game)

immigration be set apart for a game-park, instead of, as Governor von Rechenberg is said to have done, removing the restrictions from a small game reserve that had already been established.

## DENMARK'S LIFE PROBLEM

**D**URING the negotiations between France and Germany over Morocco, it was by no mere accident that the *Politiken* and other leading Danish papers frankly discussed Denmark's feeling toward "Germanism," and assumed either an enthusiastic tone or, at least, a mild and friendly one. That portion of the Danish nation that controls its foreign policies was intensely interested in the German negotiations, not as to the guaranties, or as to the amount of "compensation," but as to the general question of war and peace. For, confessed or not, the Danes know that their existence as a people may be involved in the foreign policies of Germany. While popular sentiment was, undoubtedly, at heart pro-French, there was also a strong feeling in favor of Germany. This apparent contradiction, as well as a full discussion of other serious problems that confront Denmark, is treated—from the German viewpoint—in the *Gegenwart* (Berlin).

Two great problems enter into Denmark's foreign policy: the North-Schleswig question and the land defense of Copenhagen; ministry upon ministry has fallen on account of the latter. The point is: Shall Copenhagen, the head and front of the little realm, be protected against maritime attack by batteries, mines, etc., only toward the Baltic, or shall it entrench itself, on modern lines, landward as well? The old land fortifications are absolutely inadequate. Even the radicals admit this, but they claim that an armed defense of the capital would mean a positive danger—and they are right. For a neutral state is spared. A country that arms in defense experiences, in case of defeat, the fate of a foe. This might be said about the coast fortifications likewise, but these have

their significance as protection against Norway, Sweden, and all sorts of contingencies.

Shall Copenhagen be a fortified town? Nobody doubts that such defense would mean protection against Germany alone. If the English were to land at Esbjerg, in order to invade Schleswig-Holstein, every Danish nationalist would rejoice and the government, entertaining pretty much the same sentiments, would, at the utmost "protest," as a matter of form. The Danes are ardent friends of England, and apprehend no danger from that quarter. By far the greatest part of Danish imports and exports are interchanged with England. On the other hand, the Germans are their hereditary, warmly hated enemies, whose discomfiture would please them greatly. But suppose if the Germans were to divine this, and, forestalling the English, would occupy Jutland, prevent the entrance of the English fleet, and force the Danes to unequivocal action? In 1870-71 the Danish troops were in marching order, ready to regain "South Jutland" in case of German defeat—which was fully expected. But at the news of the German victories they silently retreated to their homes. Doubtful neighbors these, the Germans feel, for such things cling to the memory. How, then, does the case stand: strict neutrality or not?

That is the fateful question that has again confronted Denmark with the Morocco affair making war seem a likely contingency. In North-Schleswig reunion with the "Kingdom" is more or less openly agitated. In Copenhagen the people disclaim any knowledge about it. "We do not think of such a thing," has been the emphatic assurance the last weeks. But who has questioned them? This seemingly motiveless excuse and assurance looks suspicious. Officially, of course, they wish to ignore it—otherwise there would be a direct clash. But if, for example, Germany were to be defeated in a war with France and England, and Schleswig were offered to the Danes, would they reject it? If they were wise—yes. But as far as we know them, they do not seem wise enough for that. Even should the government hesitate, the people with their



A VIEW OF THE HARBOR OF COPENHAGEN AND THE SOUND

fanatical, passionate temperament would force it to accept the tempting offer, and it would be Denmark's death-warrant. For a nation like the German would not brook such a defeat, would, perforce, retaliate before very long and, in the interests of its future, regain the forfeited territory. For the rest, the Danes have probably lost both the taste and the power of playing an ambiguous rôle a second time. Some of the sober-minded among them, well aware of this, warn their compatriots against the intoxication of cherishing secret hopes of a Utopian future. Denmark's rôle as a "great power" is a thing of the past. Even a moderate sense of self-preservation must show her that she must restrict herself to her present status, and seek satisfaction in herself, her culture, and spiritual activity.

Thus the problems of defense and of North-Schleswig are most intimately allied. And hence it is that Germany must, upon precautionary grounds, regard any attempts at fortifying Copen-

hagen as a questionable factor from which she may reap evil results. If she is to lend credence to the loyal and zealous assurances that the question of regaining North-Schleswig is closed for all time, they must be complemented by a declaration, backed by facts, of absolute neutrality. In that case it were superfluous to fortify Copenhagen. For it never enters any one's mind in Germany to inflict the slightest injury upon neutral Denmark. Should the Danes be unable to prevent a landing of English troops by diplomatic means, they should "protest" as much against their invasion as against the Germans' repelling them from Danish soil or anticipating their landing. The Germans would then bear the Danes no ill will. On the contrary, a loyal attitude on the part of Denmark at a single critical juncture would at one blow remove all suspicions from the relations of the two countries and open up possibilities of future benefit to Denmark. An equivocal line of action, on the other hand, as in 1870-71, may seal the country's doom.

## A PHILOSOPHICAL, RELIGIOUS REVIEW THAT PAYS

THE most notable achievement in the domain of serious periodical literature that has occurred in the last twenty years, says Mr. W. T. Stead, writing in his *English Review of Reviews*, has been the creation of the *Hibbert Journal*, the English quarterly review of religious, ethical, philosophical and metaphysical topics.

In its way, he continues, it is one of the landmarks of literary history.

It ranks with the creation of the *Edinburgh Review* and the founding of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. If any one had asked me or any other editor of periodical literature in the year 1899 whether it was possible to secure a paying circulation for a half-crown quarterly devoted to religion, theology, and philosophy, the answer would have been emphatically in the negative. At that time the public seemed to have lost its appetite for serious reading. High thinking had gone out of fashion in the days immediately preceding the Boer War. The public mind which was not absorbed in the acquisition of territory and the exploiting of gold mines was intent upon the reform of the material conditions of the life of the poor. It was a materialistic age, which abhorred metaphysics, and regarded theological speculation with the same pitying contempt that we look upon the ingenious calculations of medieval schoolmen as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle.

It was at this time, nevertheless, that certain men, of whom L. P. Jacks was one, arose and conceived the daring idea that there might be a remnant of thinkers who would, if the opportunity were offered, support a journal exclusively devoted to the high matters of the mind.

This daring optimist lives in Oxford of all places in the world. His name, even to this day, is hardly known to the multitude, although he has successfully accomplished one of the miracles of the time. This man, then only forty years of age, is a professor in Mansfield College, Oxford. When full of his great idea he went to the Hibbert trustees and asked for their support in his novel venture. The trustees listened to him with sympathy for his ideal, but with a not unnatural doubt born of their mature experience. After he had finished setting forth his conception of what a *Hibbert Journal* ought to be and what a *Hibbert Journal* might accomplish, a trustee asked him how many copies of such a high-class, religious, metaphysical, philosophical journal, published at half a crown a quarter, did he think he would be able to sell? The promoter of the scheme, taking his courage in both hands, boldly replied that if he were fortunate he expected he would have a sale of seven hundred copies per quarter! "Seven hundred!" exclaimed the Man of Experienced Wisdom. "Seven hundred! You will be lucky, indeed, if you can sell three hundred." Nevertheless the trustees showed their courage and foresight by generously backing up the enterprise.

Under these discouraging circumstances, the *Hibbert Journal* was born.

To the amazement of every one it was discovered that, to use the cant phrase, it filled a long-felt want. There was a public for a metaphysical, philosophical, religious review that was counted not by hundreds but by thousands. It was a success, and a paying success, from the first. When at the close of last year the decennial number was issued it had secured a circulation of about 10,000 copies. The decennial number went up to 12,000 and the *Hibbert Journal* is still going strong.

So phenomenal a success is due, Mr. Stead maintains, to the editor who first of all divined the fact that even in the midst of this

materialistic generation there was "a faithful remnant which had not bowed the knee to Baal, and who had the courage, the persistence, and the skill to carry out without flinching his own conception of what the *Hibbert Journal* ought to be."

In his hands the *Hibbert Journal* became the arena in which all the doughty gladiators of modern thought were free to do battle in their own way for their own ideas. There was nothing topical about the *Hibbert Journal*. Anything less "palpitating with actuality" could hardly be conceived. It was to the bookstall purchaser simply "too dry for anything, heavy, unreadable, an altogether impossible publication." Yet the editor has found his public, and the *Hibbert Journal* circulates 10,000 copies.

How can the success be explained? It certainly is not due, as is the success of some magazines, to the all-pervading personality of the editor.

Never was there a more impersonal editor. So far as the reader is concerned, the identity of the editor is hidden behind an impenetrable shroud of thick darkness. His name does not appear on the title-page, and his occasional contributions rank simply side by side with those of other contributors. Yet his brain has created the journal. His power of selection, perhaps still more his instinctive genius for rejection, is perceptible in every number. He is an ideal keeper of the ring. No one can tell from the choice of essayist on whose



EDITOR JACKS OF THE "HIBBERT JOURNAL"

side the editor ranges himself. He is concerned solely about two things: Has the man a thought, and can he express it?

## THE LATEST FRENCH IMMORTAL: HENRI DE RÉGNIER

ON the 18th of January the poet Henri de Régnier was received by M. C. Comte de Mun into the Académie Française. M. André Chaumeil in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris) reviews the achievements of M. de Régnier, if one can use such a positive term for the elusive, graceful tales that are his most valuable contribution to French letters.

Henri de Régnier has the passion for old provincial gardens, blossoming apple orchards not far from a château, charming as in a Watteau background. His secret bent is not the mountain or the deserted somber heath, but for groves, avenues with the perspective of a façade richly ornamented with the nymphs of Diana de Poitiers. And everywhere, side by side with the smiling Nature of parks and orchards, he has sung precious stuffs, ivories, and bronzes—a world of dazzling form and color—that has become by work of painter, sculptor, or craftsman a sacred deposit for a fleeting image of beauty. In this world there occur sumptuous and vio-

lent deeds, sometimes quaint and singular and often laughable. There are dryads and naiads, centaurs, noble Venetians, comedians, lovers, soldiers and merry women, and the shadow of the Roi Soleil. But the past breathes from all these tales with an airy mystery and poetic charm. Pleasure, laughter, and tragedy have the softened tones of old engravings and take on the seeming serenity of things that are laid aside in an old cabinet.

Through this aspect of his art, a mellow dignity is lent to the indulgent melancholy that may be regarded as M. de Régnier's salient note. At a time when his countrymen were singularly lacking in idealism, grace, and faith, he has not undertaken to preach to them, but in spite of innovations and the fashion of the hour, he has told the glory of Versailles and the Grand Monarque, the calm of the cloister and the splendor of the gods of the Renaissance. In "Couleur de Temps," which was of the blue of Maeterlinck's imagery, the atmosphere is of a fresh and dewy May morning



suddenly darkened by ominous clouds. In the "Trèfle Blanc," the poet has mirrored the silent dreamy provincial town with herb-grown pavements and gardens with fruit-laden boughs, fragrant with pinks and box hedge. Another day M. de Régner meets on his promenade those individualists that the eighteenth century called libertines. There is no book which has so astonishingly rendered the age full of stately reverences and rich brocade as "La Double Maitresse." We do not see an arbitrary arrangement serving to evoke an epoch, but that epoch itself, colored, detailed, life-sized. "I have only sought to slide several shadows *à la française* through

my magic lantern show," said M. de Régner in the preface, and because these silhouettes bear themselves with such robust gallantry and a moral insouciance as gracious as in a pagan pastoral, this past which seemed so inert and moss-grown is quick in our own veins, our tastes, our desires. With M. Chaumeil we could believe that all the fairies of old France—elf of grove and fountain, dame-fairy of palaces and noble speech, sparkling cobweb of rapier and seductive Vivien of fine adventure—have flitted by the poet and entreated him to guard intact the memory of their grace and splendor for those who still may have fancy's eye to see.

## THE DECADENCE OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE

PROTESTANTISM occupies an anomalous position in France. The proportion of Protestants to the total number of inhabitants is as 1:60; and yet one often hears it said that a town is three-fourths, four-fifths, or nine-tenths Catholic where the Protestant population is negligible. Or a town is stated to be Protestant which is Protestant in reputation only. The deputy, a native, is a Protestant; the mayor and his assistant are Protestant; likewise the greater number of the municipal councilors; the physician, the notary, the justice of the peace, the tax-gatherer, the principal grocer, the leading merchant—all the public men and the richest men in the town are Protestant. "But," writes M. Onésime Reclus in *La Revue* (Paris), "all that glitters is not gold: when the evening sun strikes the glass of a castle one at a distance may see the windows more easily than the dungeon." He recalls one such town, famous twenty leagues around for its good society, its wealth, and which was known as Protestant "from the justice of the peace to the man who with beat of drum proclaimed the price of bread," whereas the people were Catholic by 20 to 1. Times have changed.

The aristocracy, or, to be exact, the Calvinist citizens, have disappeared. One sees only some old men and women at the Sunday morning services; twelve, fifteen, eighteen persons assist at the prayers; on the fête-days perhaps there are eight or ten more. Half of the faithful sleep in their pews before sleeping in the cemetery; and so much has the faith decayed that it is not certain that they believe in their resurrection from the dead as did their fathers before them.

This is no exceptional case: in many another town has Protestantism decreased little

by little. And yet in many places where according to their numbers, the Protestants should have an infinitesimal place in the machinery of the state they are almost the chief factor. Formerly there was reason for the superiority of the Protestants over the Catholics. Fifty to sixty-five years ago the former were really the élite of the nation, because they were better educated and more noble-minded than their Catholic compatriots.

From the first, the Gospel was read to them in the vulgar tongue; the Psalms were chanted in French instead of in the Latin of the plain song. . . . The paternal or maternal home served to inspire serious thoughts. The occupants of such homes were brought to believe in the seriousness of life, that probity was better than deceit, even from a business point of view.

As illustrating the reputation for honesty attained by Protestants, M. Reclus relates the following anecdote:

One day five or six young men, poor Huguenots of the Southwest, presented themselves at a pension where the living was good but dear. They were not prepossessing in appearance; but when the landlady learned that they were Calvinists, she welcomed them with the following: "Gentlemen, I will receive you without hesitation. You may pay me when you please; in twenty years if you like. No Protestant has ever robbed me of a sou."

This was but one example in a thousand.

One chief reason for the decline of Protestantism is held, by the writer in *La Revue*, to be the very large number of sects into which it is split up; and in this connection he cites the case of Canada whose last census gave more than sixty different denominations or bodies, ranging from "The Church of the World to Come" to "Reincarnationists."



In France itself the divisions of the Protestants number a dozen or so, from the Salvation Army to Darbyists. And these sects, at least some of them, are irreconcilable in regard to doctrine. The orthodox believe the common formula, that "Christ is God crucified for our sins and resurrected for our justification." The Liberals "regard the so-called Son of God as an ordinary man, but exceptionally good, 'popular,' and fraternal."

Before the Franco-Prussian War there were in France about 800,000 Protestants; in 1903, 650,000. The Lutherans had decreased from 281,000 to 80,000. This is explained by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. In Paris the proportion of Protestants to the total inhabitants is 1:54; in the whole country, as stated above, it is 1:60. They have thus become but a mere leaven. But "where the dough does not rise, the leaven dries up." The Protestants, says M. Reclus, "will continue silently and by degrees to disappear." In one parish known to him, in which in 1820 the Protestants numbered 1820, at the beginning of the present century not 600 were to be found. The decrease was due "to mixed marriages, religious nonchalance, increasing indifference to religion, and, above all, to voluntary sterility." The Calvinists in particular are brought under the last-mentioned ~~the word~~ "They are too rich." The Protestants, the practice of theosophy it is clear that there is much that is merely an outcome of primitive religious conceptions. The technical term for the main idea of the practice is "tapas." By tapas is meant self-inflicted punishments, and constant self-abnegation, and a species of persistent asceticism.

The writer then goes on to examine the essentials of Sankhya, the philosophy of Vedanta, and Buddhism. From this examination he is led to say that the Indian philosophy of to-day is the outcome of the influence, on the one hand, of the most primitive religious practice, with the highest possible form of devotion to God, and the God idea, on the other. For a Western man the system is still very quaint, but it has been imported both to England and America by devotees of "Theosophy" who have undoubtedly derived their inspiration from this Indian system.

Proceeding Mr. Huet examines the effect of European thought upon Indian, and of Indian thought upon Western, as a result of higher education on the one side, and an acquired interest on the other. The effect of modern thought upon India has been felt most since it has been under British influence, and the tendency has been to evolve a sort of



PASTOR CHARLES WAGNER, A REPRESENTATIVE  
FRENCH PROTESTANT

with; for they have been the instruments of their own decay. Their own Book says 'One cannot serve God and Mammon': they have ~~believed in Mammon~~ essentials of the Christ ideal, and the surviving thought of the other systems. What the influx of Indian thought is doing in Europe and America is another matter. The writer holds that no doubt the pantheism of Spinoza existed outside that conception in Indian thought, and he does not assume Spinoza knew of it even, but he is not so sure that it has not had tremendous effect upon the modern thinkers, who favor a pantheistic *cum* materialistic system of philosophy. Calderon's idea that "Life is a dream" must be very sensibly near to the Indian philosopher, and therein it is not dissimilar to the materialistic philosophy of Schopenhauer. Thus does the writer clearly show his main thesis, that Indian "Theosophy" is not without its significance in encouraging the prevailing materialistic tendency of the times. He makes this more clear by asserting that Eduard von Hartmann, whom he calls Schopenhauer's disciple, and who is of course the very high priest of the materialistic cult, is undoubtedly obsessed by the fascinating cult of the Indian.

Praising Buddhism for much that was good in the past, he scathingly attacks the

more recent disciples of Theosophy, and says he:

The theosophy of wily Madame Blavatsky is a mere aping of Buddhist mannerisms, with materialistic doctrines, and even worse practice. There are in England and America certain various exponents of Indian "Theosophy" who give a fair and genuine representation of the same, whatever their beliefs; but a strong protest must be made against the horde of theorists, who commit the most unspeakable atrocities, under the guise of religion, and with the claim that they are following the practices demanded by their theosophical system. Still the success in so many lands of the Theosophical societies, presents a strange phenomenon, and is not to be ignored. To many who have become its adherents it no doubt presents something newer than the old-fashioned ideas of their native churches, that and nothing more. But it must also inevitably be that there are those within the fold who are there because they are anxious to think out for themselves a religious solution, and have thought deeply upon the problem which it devolves every intelligent human to think upon.

One of the attractions of this teaching undoubtedly is, says the writer, the doctrine of reincarnation. This doctrine is far more spread than one usually thinks, and theosophy is by no means without its chance upon this aspect of religious speculation, apart from its bearing upon others. In France alone—which normal country which has the reputation to be not interested in this kind of subject—are five writers who have devoted themselves to a consideration of this topic, Ernest Leroux, Jean Reynaud, Flammarion, Figuer, and there are possibly others. The writer concludes by expressing his belief that the interest of the subject will induce considerable further investigation of the matter and therein, because of its indorsement by prevailing materialistic tendencies, of primary significance for professors of all religions.

## THE OVER-SEA RAILWAY TO KEY WEST

JANUARY 22, 1912, witnessed the realization of the life-dream of an American citizen and the opening to traffic of what is probably the most remarkable railway in the Western hemisphere. An all-rail route to Key West!—the thing seems impossible. Yet the apparently impossible has been achieved; and an over-ocean iron road, which twenty-five years ago would have been regarded as the vision of a dreamer, has been brought into operation and come to be looked upon as a commonplace factor in everyday life.

The official title of this unique piece of railroad engineering is the "Key West Extension" of the Florida East Coast Railway; and this represents a line 156 miles in length, from Homestead, just south of Miami, to Key West, at the southern end of the State. The February *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union gives some details of the work, from which we learn that "all construction work of the ordinary railroad kind had to be abandoned, new methods and new principles had to be introduced, and a unique system had to be devised before accomplishment was assured." This new system consisted in "the erection of the track on stone arches whose foundations were the bed of the sea, and the continuance of that substantial trestlework into the open ocean, at one place even out of sight of land."

This series of viaducts connects the small islands of the coast, with drawbridges at

intervals, so that the navigation of the sailing fleets and small steamers is not interrupted. Concerning these viaducts the *Bulletin* says:

Southwest of Long Key, ninety-two miles from Miami, the first of the wonderful viaducts begins. . . . The first viaduct is over two miles long, the track being thirty-one feet above low water. It has a series of one hundred eighty arches of reinforced concrete, built to stand wave action as well as to bear trains of a substantial structure. It has the appearance of a Roman aqueduct. The spans are almost fifty feet, although some are sixty feet, resting on piers set into solid rock and strengthened by piles. The base of the pier at rock is twenty-eight feet, and at the springing line is twenty feet seven inches. From the water crown of the arch is twenty-five feet. . . . From Knights Key to Big Pine Key, about thirty miles . . . there are three viaducts, a total stretch in all, crossing water thirty feet deep.

While allowing all due credit to the engineers and others who assisted in the construction and physical tasks involved, every one of the *Bulletin*, acknowledges "that the scheme in whose mind the scheme was evolved by Henry M. Flagler." In carrying to a successful conclusion this remarkable over-ocean railroad, he "renewed his youth, while to the world one of its greatest facts of civilization."

Mr. Flagler was born in 1830; in his life he has lived in Michigan, Ohio, and

York, but did not become interested in Florida until his maturer years, when he had planned a virtual retirement and sought a winter home there. Then he saw, better than any other, the possibilities of growth in that peninsula. His large fortune, accumulated during his activities with the Standard Oil Company, gave him the power to do, and with that he developed the city of St. Augustine, the upper portion of the Florida East Coast Railway, and the chain of hotels stretching along the coast as far south as Palm Beach and Miami. But his strength of character, together with his trained imagination, led him at once to the perception of the essential value of the railway, if extended in this unique manner along the keys to the tip of the State. With the inspiration of this idea he began what may be called a new career, and for twenty-five years he has worked toward this single end—the completion of the railway.

For some years a line had been in operation from Jacksonville to St. Augustine, a distance of thirty-seven miles. As southward travel increased, this line was continued to Palm Beach, a stretch of 263 miles. Further augmentation of travel and agricultural development resulted in the extension of the road to Miami, sixty-six miles farther; and, finally, it was decided to carry the line to Key West, 156 miles away to the south.

The schedule time for the journey from Washington, D. C., to Havana, as now advertised, is forty-six hours; but it is proposed to transfer the trains bodily to large steamers of high speed, and thus to convey both passengers and freight through to Cuba without any change between New York and Havana. Perishable fruit from Cuba will now be at Boston, New York, or Washington hours, and perhaps days, ahead of the present ocean transport system. Moreover,



THE FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY, WHICH JOINS KEY WEST TO THE MAINLAND

Key West being the nearest port in the United States to Panama, with the opening of the Canal a vast amount of traffic will be drawn toward the Florida East Coast Railway.

## EGYPT, TURKEY, AND ENGLAND IN THE TRIPOLITAN WAR

SINCE the beginning of the war the Egyptians have done their utmost to help, morally, industrially and in every other possible way, the fighting Moslems in Tripoli. Committees have been organized to raise funds for the Ottoman navy, for the "Red Crescent," and for defraying the general war expenses. Volunteers by the thousands have crossed the closely guarded frontier into Cyrenaica, with arms, munitions, camels and horses. In short, Egypt has, in the words of many Turkish journals, done more to help the war than has Turkey herself. At the head of these various committees are prominent Egyptian pashas, princes, and among

the contributors to the funds are the Khedive, the princes, the ladies of the court, and the rich Egyptian landowners as well as the poorest inhabitants, Bedouins or Fellaheen. More than £1,000,000 have been subscribed, and priceless stores of provisions and war ammunitions have been sent over.

But much more important are the four or five "Red Crescent" missions sent by the central organization in Cairo to help the wounded. These expeditions are perfectly organized and complete according to the latest scientific discoveries. A full contingent of volunteers, doctors, apothecaries, nurses, etc., accompanies each expedition,

and thus a great lack of the service is filled by the generosity of the Egyptians.

It was feared at the beginning of hostilities that the entire "Egyptian question" would become one of actuality, as the Sultan, according to firmans (Imperial edicts) and treaties, could call upon the "Imperial Egyptian army" to protect the border provinces of Cyrenaica or Tripoli, or possibly request the permission of the Egyptian Government—



A SUGGESTION OF FALSEHOOD  
(England annexing Egypt whilst Turkey is otherwise engaged)

his vassal—to allow the free passage of Ottoman troops through the Canal and over Egypt to Tripoli. Fortunately these questions were not raised.

The powerful nationalist movement in Egypt is using the present events to invite the population to insist on the right of helping the suzerain state in Tripoli. Egypt, however, has declared her neutrality, and the British troops are trying to observe it, except that the aforesaid smuggling of war material, food and men is going on, of course under some difficulties. Recently the orders were more severe, and these have excited the native Egyptian press to a high degree. They declare that while the government is trying to be neutral regarding Turkey, it is helping Italy by allowing various fishing and other crafts to leave Alexandria and other ports daily with food for the Italian fleet. There have been various public demonstrations, when the populace have demonstrated their allegiance to their Sultan and Caliph by carrying flags, inscriptions, and speeches, and while most of these have been orderly and

peaceful, some of these parades finished by riots and fights, which the Egyptian press accuses the Italian inhabitants of having caused, as was the case in Alexandria. The general boycott against Italy, Italian manufactures, and Italians has found in Egypt quite a large field, so much so that the Italian diplomatic representative has repeatedly protested against it.

The greatest demonstration of all was the recent visit to Egypt of Ziaeddin Effendi, the eldest son of the present Sultan of Turkey, Mehmed V., to greet, in the name of his father and the suzerain of Egypt, King George of England, on his way to India, to be crowned there as Emperor. The importance of this visit at the time was great. It was a good diplomatic stroke of old Saïd Pasha, as it was calculated to greet a friendly sovereign passing through Ottoman "territory" and water, to thank the Egyptians for their patriotism and fidelity to the Sultan and Caliph and to stimulate them more, to show to England and the rest of the world—especially the Moslem powers—the influence of the Sultan over the 300,000,000 Moslems of the world, and how easy it was for Turkey to influence the behavior of Egyptians, and possibly also the fidelity of the Moslems in India to their new Emperor.

The Egyptian press attached great importance to these two visits, and as these journals are among the best known in the entire Moslem world, their opinions are respected. Some of the Turkish journals had their special correspondents there for the occasion. This is what the correspondent of the *Jeune-Turc* had to say:

The visit was a masterpiece of diplomacy of the Grand Vizier, because from the Ottoman and international point of view it will have a considerable effect. . . . It is an historical event of first order.

The Egyptian press has acclaimed the arrival of the prince and has discussed his interview with the King at Port Saïd in such a manner that one is astonished to find this press so well aware of the interests of the country and the Ottoman Empire.

The receptions to the prince and his suite of great advisers to his father by the people, the King, the Khedive and Lord Kitchener were great and the patriotism and enthusiasm of the Egyptians were worthy of their renown. . . . The sentiments of loyalty and attachment shown by the Egyptians to the son of the Caliph and Sultan, notwithstanding thirty years of British occupation, were a revelation for many. . . . All Egypt was joyful and the valley of the Nile felt the patriotic sentiments of Ottomanism, so much that if ever Turkey should abandon Egypt, the latter will never abandon Turkey.

## MOROCCO AND THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM IN SPAIN

**B**ISHOP CREIGHTON once wrote to Gladstone advising the publication of a series of works which should give a *résumé* of the political history and the constitution of the principal European states, it being, in his judgment, "highly important that public men should know what they were talking about when speaking of France or of Russia." "My observations convince me," he added, "that our ignorance of the events of the past sixty years is simply colossal."

An anonymous writer in the *Correspondant* (Paris), who cites the foregoing in the introduction to his article on "France, Spain, and England in Morocco," facetiously observes that England is not the only country in which such a series is indispensable. He begins by reminding his readers that England, after having held Tangier from 1661 to 1684, evacuated it in the latter year, "and since then has never ceased to regret having done so." In 1859, a few days before war was declared between Spain and Morocco, Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord John Russell: "It is evident that France aims, by means of Spain, to obtain on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar fortified points which, in case of a war between Spain and France on one side and England on the other, would by cross-fires render the passage of the Straits very difficult and very dangerous, and would virtually close the Mediterranean to us." He advised that the Emperor of Morocco should be requested to ask England to occupy Tangier in his name during hostilities. By the peace of Tetuan certain portions of Moorish territory were ceded to Spain.

Rivalry between France and Great Britain continued till 1904, in which year an agreement was entered into whereby England, in exchange for the recognition of the *status quo* in Egypt and various other concessions, assented to France's proposal that she should establish order in Morocco and introduce certain military, financial, and administrative reforms. Early in 1905 France sent a mission to Morocco seeking to extend French influence in that country, but Germany, which had not been consulted in the matter, suddenly took a hand in affairs; the German Emperor visited Tangier and announced his determination to allow no power to receive preference at the hands of Morocco to the detriment of German interests. The Conference at Algeiras followed, the net results

being that while French aspirations received a setback, the *entente* between France and Great Britain was strengthened.

The *Correspondant* writer deems it wise to remind his readers of these events, the



SPAIN COMING OUT OF THE MOROCCAN TROUBLE  
IN THE USUAL WAY

better to delineate the course of conduct pursued by Spain the while. It has been charged by certain malcontents that Spain was willing, owing to her losses in the Antilles and the Philippines, and troubled as she was by internal discords, to submit to "the yoke of France," and to follow in the footsteps of that country with regard to Moroccan affairs. But, as Señor Maura stated in August, 1907,

Spain will not take the offensive in Morocco, unless the aggression of the latter shall be of such a nature that to ignore it would entail great shame. . . . We shall remain simple spectators of the internal struggles which will distract Morocco and France should the troops of the latter country penetrate the interior of Moorish territory. In that case we, for the defense of our national ideals, should spare no efforts, nor should we shirk any sacrifice.

The noteworthy feature in this connection is the manifestation of a resurrection of nationalism throughout Spain. A writer in the *Nuestro Tiempo* of September, 1911, says:

The elements of Spanish national life in all their purity, found in the army and in the clergy, faithful to their historic traditions, are found also in the people, who by instinct are conservative in

their hatred of France. At the side of the people, the clergy, the army, are also the men who represent most truly contemporary Spanish mentality. . . . Young Spain is at this moment solemnly resolved. . . . In all that concerns the Moroccan policy, the conjunction of Spanish mentality, the people, the army, will so cooperate as to gain the victory. The clergy will wash their hands, so to speak, in order to hold the sword. This by no means excludes the Liberals, who, while they are Liberals, are also Spaniards, and who will renounce the ideas of radicalism imported from France for the ideals of our people and our nation.

The *Correspondant* writer warns Frenchmen that it is a great mistake to assume that Spain is "dominated by France," and to ignore the grand movement toward nationalism which to-day animates all classes of the Spanish people. He quotes M. Thiers, who, remarking that he considered that the war with Spain was the cause of the downfall of the great Emperor, added: "The chief interest of France is to be on such terms with Spain that she shall be certain never to find in the latter an enemy."

## WHY AMERICAN MUSIC STUDENTS SHOULD STUDY IN AMERICA

THE Shakespearian dictum, "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits," does not, in the opinion of Miss Louise Llewellyn, apply to young American students of music. Writing in *Musical America*, that lady concedes the advantages to be derived from foreign travel by American artists. But, if the artist is in search of "atmosphere," he need not go abroad for it.

Every country has its own peculiar atmosphere. America is no exception. The atmosphere of America is not the same in kind, of course, as that of the Latin countries, for instance, but it is one, nevertheless, of infinite value to the development of an artist and of a man. An atmosphere of youth, vigor, enthusiasm, hope, is one that should produce profound and enduring qualities in art and in character; for all great art is analogous to life itself. They are almost interchangeable terms. True art helps one to live. True living helps one to art.

If the young student has only a limited time for study, and is obliged to choose between Europe and his native land for his work, Miss Llewellyn advises him (in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred) to stay at home, for "if he be serious, he will find his opportunities and make his atmosphere." She advances seven reasons for giving this advice:

In the first place, there are just as good teachers in America as there are in Europe, and no doubt more of them.

Second, this country is mentally healthier for young people, just as surely as a bright sunny garden is a better playground for a child than a conservatory filled with the rarest flowers.

Third, transplanting is always an experiment. Any sensitive organism when he loses contact with old associations may lose also his alertness of judgment, his normal sense of values. . . . I have known a number of sane, well-educated young Americans of good families who have gone to Paris, settled down in the "quarter" and ended by exchanging entirely their own code of manners,

morals and habits of thought for what they thought was the "French point of view." As a matter of fact, the point of view with which they come into contact there among the minor poets and salon painters and sidewalk diners is not the "French point of view" any more than that of Broadway, the Casino, the Herald Square and the Bijou Theater is the American point of view.

Fourth, mental influences aside, complete physical acclimation rarely takes place in less than a year of time.

Fifth, studious concentration must be interrupted by the attention required by the difference in material conditions and foreign customs of various sorts.

Sixth, by lack of familiarity with these conditions, students are sometimes led into errors during their first year of study abroad, the results of which affect their entire careers.

Seventh, the difference in the attitude toward life of the foreign teacher and his American pupil. The heritage and training of the Continental are so essentially different from that of the American that there cannot exist between them the temperamental understanding that exists between people of the same race.

Turning from negative to positive reasons, there are many advantages to be gained by an American music student from studying in an institution at home.

The institutions of Europe, being essentially for native talent, for the most part subsidized by the government, are able to admit only a very limited number of Americans, whose chances for advancement, even then, are not likely to equal those of their comrades. Consider, then, some of the opportunities, little enough appreciated by the people who cry down America from the art standpoint, of a student in an American institution. His course is extremely broad, if he be regularly enrolled, including numerous subjects, both theoretical and applied, so that, if he be talented and industrious, he has the chance of winning the respect and personal interest not only of one, but of all of his professors, each of whom has his own personal relations which aid him in the advantageous placing of his pupils. Then there are the immense benefits of the ensemble music.



## AUGUST STRINDBERG, THE MAN

THE greatest living writer in the Scandinavian North and one of the greatest in the whole world, is the way Edwin Björkman characterizes August Strindberg.

Writing in the *Forum* of Strindberg and the main facts of his life, Mr. Björkman tells us that "no artist was ever more personal in his choice of material, and none more impersonal in his treatment of that material. Thus his life and his art are, to an exceptional degree, rendered inseparable." Strindberg had a very unhappy childhood.

The *leitmotif* of his childhood was built of two jarring notes: misunderstanding and isolation. He was an unwelcome child. Throughout life he has remained unwelcome, misunderstood and isolated. And if at times we find in his work a note of bitterness bordering on hatred, we must recall not only the sad beginnings, but also the subsequent stress and struggle through which he has had to force his way to the point where he stands to-day.

Coming up through grinding poverty and the most antipathetic surroundings, "young Strindberg's story is the same one told by one man of genius after another."

They are all fitted for some particular task—and until they find that task they are helpless. Rousseau, Balzac, Wagner, Ibsen, Shaw, are among those that may be mentioned in illustration. And it is to be well noted that during the period in question Strindberg was firmly convinced of his own inability to write. He had tried, and—"nothing would come." His family regarded him as a good-for-nothing. And he himself was, on the whole, fearful that their judgment might prove correct.

Then, suddenly, he discovered that he had in him the fine gift of poetical creation.

It was as if some frozen fountain had thawed out and sent a flood of inspiration through his whole being. In a couple of months he produced several comedies and a five-act tragedy in verse on a classical theme. This he named "Hermione," and to this day it remains distinctly readable. A one-act verse play was accepted and played at the Royal Theater. Strindberg was then twenty. A little later another small play, "The Outcast"—an historical prose study undoubtedly suggested by Björnson's "Between the Battles"—won him the attention of King Charles XV and a stipend from the monarch's private purse.

His first masterpiece, "Master Olaf," an historical prose drama grouped around the Luther of the Swedish Reformation, was completed in 1872.

Forty years of shifting literary fashions have failed to sap its strength or dim its charm. But while it still seems great to-day, even when com-

pared with the epoch-making works of universal literature, it stood unique in Swedish literature at the time of its completion—a landmark proclaiming the inception of a new era. That play was rejected—scornfully and sneeringly rejected—by the literary arbiters of the Royal Theater, then the only stage available for the production of such a work. No publisher could be found for it. Nor until five years later was it placed before the public in book form, and then in altered shape, after its author had rewritten it five times in compliance with the edict of the critics that verse alone was suitable to the historical drama.

Strindberg was most unfortunate and unhappy in his matrimonial experiences. He was married three times, always seeking and never finding peace and happiness in the marital relation. His second masterpiece, a novel entitled "The Red Room," established his reputation as a writer. It was written under the stimulus of the happiness that came with his first marriage. In a work subsequently published, in 1884, entitled "Marriage," he endeavored to present modern marriage as he saw it—"based not on ideal claims, but on economic conditions." It aroused the opposition of the government, and at the instigation of the Queen he was "criminally prosecuted," not for "immorality" but for "sacrilegious treatment of the established religion."

The whole country was literally split in twain over the issues involved. It was the old and the new fighting for supremacy. The jury at last brought in a verdict of "not guilty," and the author was acclaimed with a fervor rarely if ever displayed toward a literary man in Sweden. He was thereafter the acknowledged leader of the band of radical poets and artists who called themselves "Young Sweden."

As the years passed, "the relationship between him and his wife grew more painful." The tortures he endured as this grew worse have been pictured by Strindberg in his autobiographical novel, "A Fool's Confession," with a minute exactness and a psychological penetration that have probably never been surpassed.

At all times, from his earliest youth to the present day, says Mr. Björkman, Strindberg has been keenly interested in every aspect of life not only as an artist but as a thinker also.

Strindberg's hold upon his own people and his claims to be a world figure were attested last January in the celebration of his sixty-third birthday, which was recorded in these pages at the time.



## THE GIGANTIC HAIL PROBLEM

TWO articles on the hail problem have recently appeared in the *Country Gentleman*—viz., "Fighting the Hailstorm," and "Hailstorm Insurance"—their *raison d'être* being asserted by the author of both in the following words: "The total damage done to rural industries the world over by hailstorms averages not less than *two hundred million dollars a year*." About the same time several French journals,—notably *La Nature* of January 6, and *Cosmos* of December 23,—presented descriptions of the latest of the devices for hail protection, now being tested on a large scale by the Government of France. These publications enable us to summarize a question of vital concern to agriculture throughout the world.

Mankind has attempted to solve the hail problem in two ways: first, by devising some process capable of preventing the fall of hailstones; second, by insuring the crops. At the present time the consensus of scientific opinion countenances only the latter of these two methods, though a few French *savants*—notably M. Violle, of the Institute—believe that the attempts at actual prevention should not be discouraged. These have varied from age to age. In antiquity it was the custom to shoot arrows or hurl javelins toward the gathering clouds, in the hope of frightening them away. In the middle ages ecclesiastical or occult agencies were invoked: "hail crosses" were erected (some of them are still relied upon in the Tyrol); the ringing of church bells was considered efficacious against both hail and lightning; special prayers to the same end vied in popularity with the incantations of the professional "tempestarii," or weather wizards.

The custom of firing cannon at the clouds to avert hail began centuries ago in Styria and northern Italy, and it was well established in France before the Revolution. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, another method of hail protection was introduced in France, whence it spread over the rest of Europe. This consisted in setting up tall metal-tipped poles, imitated from lightning rods, but constructed with little regard to the scientific principles of the latter. It was supposed that these poles, which were known as *paragrêles*, would draw the electric charge from the clouds and thereby (though no one could say why) prevent the formation of hailstones. By the year 1827 upward of a million *paragrêles* had been installed in half a dozen countries of

Europe; but shortly after that date their vogue rapidly declined.

History has recently repeated itself. A revival of "hail-shooting" began in the vine-growing district of Windisch-Feistritz, Styria, in 1896; spread with amazing rapidity over Southern and Central Europe; and is only now on the wane; while a modified form of the *paragrêle*, introduced in France a few years ago, is now attracting wide attention in that country. The new methods of bombarding the clouds include the use of a special variety of cannon, the muzzle of which is provided with a sheet-iron funnel. The effect of this attachment is to send a whirling, hissing rim of smoke aloft, which widens as it ascends. Although there is no projectile, the action of the discharge is violent enough to splinter sticks and kill small birds several hundred feet away. Other devices are the hail rocket and the hail bomb; both designed to burst within the clouds, and thus exercise a maximum effect where it is supposed to do the most good. The process is wholly empirical; no one has even attempted to explain why an explosion of this kind should have an influence upon the immensely powerful mechanism of a thunderstorm. Moreover, all methods of hail shooting received a severe setback a few years ago, when they were officially investigated by scientific commissions in Austria and Italy, and pronounced absolutely worthless. Lastly, the fact has recently been established in Germany that even if these processes were efficacious they would entail more expense upon the rural community than universal hailstorm insurance!

The form of *paragrêle* now in vogue in France is essentially a very large lightning rod of pure copper, grounded by means of a broad copper conductor. Such rods have been installed on lofty church steeples and other edifices, including the Eiffel Tower. The French Government has been induced to appoint a "Comité de Défense contre la Grêle," which is planning to install these devices all over France, Algeria, and Tunis, while the municipal authorities in Paris are promoting a similar undertaking locally. The rods have been christened "electric Niagaras," because of the belief that they draw down veritable torrents of electricity from the clouds. Erected at intervals of about six miles along a line transverse to the usual path of hailstorm they are said to act as a dam or barrier, in passing over which the storm clouds become innocuous as to both

hail and lightning. So far as hail is concerned, this project rests on no scientific basis, and in practice it has conspicuously failed in several cases; but the enthusiasm of its advocates does not appear to be dampened.

Hailstorm insurance is, at present, the only solution of the hail problem regarding the utility of which there can be no dispute. This institution has existed in Europe since the eighteenth century, and is now represented by scores of companies. In some countries the companies enjoy government

subsidies; while in one (Bavaria) the state itself insures the agriculturist. An elaborate technique has been developed, and there is an extensive literature on the subject, mainly in German. The institution suffers, however, from the lack of an adequate statistical basis. Accordingly the International Institute of Agriculture is now urging the various governments to collect more complete information regarding the frequency, intensity, and distribution of hailstorms and their effects on different kinds of crops.

## AN EASTERN VIEW OF THE WESTERN WOMAN

THE modern feminist could scarcely wish for a more caustic, vigorous arraignment of man in his relation to woman than that given in a recent issue of the *Modern Review* by a Hindu writer, Har Dayal. There is not much for women to choose, this writer maintains, between East and West.

The fine talk of Europeans and Americans about the superior position of women in the West is, he says, simple falsehood. "As regards woman, man is the same gross, brutal egoist everywhere." Beneath all disguises peers forth "the same old figure of the unchivalrous, disdainful, indifferent man-brute and the stunted, weak, timid, dependent and ignorant slave, woman." The boasted higher position of woman in the West is a myth.

In the middle and upper classes, says the writer, the life of a woman between the age of fifteen and her death is one continual crucifixion. With the all-important question of marriage, the tragedy of woman's life begins. It is a sadder tragedy in the West than in the East, for in the East the duty of finding a breadwinner falls on the girl's parents. Education, accomplishments, deportment, are all intended to fit the woman for the marriage market.

Marriage is secured by a woman in Europe by a hunt or by purchase:

No pen can describe the anguish of those women who cannot find purchasers in the market or who fail to bag some game in this hunt. They are stranded, and no one pities them. Their lot is one of terrible hardship in these upper classes. They become mere human wrecks, the refuse of the market, which the managers throw into the garbage box.

Is not the condition of the Oriental woman, who finds a husband, a home, and assured maintenance provided for her as soon as she reaches maturity, a hundred times better than that of these pitiable scramblers in the matrimonial market, where, to add to their troubles, the supply far exceeds the demand?

M. Letourneau pronounces true marriage by purchase to be more common in France than elsewhere. The economic emancipation of woman appears to the writer a confession of failure:

This advancing civilization must drag her in the mire of modern commercialism; she must also learn to lie and cheat, to haggle and calculate, to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. This is what this boasted emancipation of woman in the professions really means. But there are no traces of the immense superiority over the Turkish women that some people ascribe to the educated ladies of the West. They are all alike *as yet*. They all chatter trifles. They are all credulous and shallow-brained. There is no great difference between the East and the West, or even between Africa and Europe in this respect.

Working women suffer still more, concludes the Hindu writer:

The life of the women of the working-classes is worse than that of helots. Girls of tender age are overworked in factories like beasts of burden. . . . No Turkish woman or Soudanese slave leads such a life of unremitting toil and brutish squalor. *This is almost the nadir of human degradation*, and it is found in the West, which is said to honor woman.

Perhaps, however, comments Mr. Dayal, it is another case of the darkest hour being before the dawn.



# SOME SIGNS OF PROSPERITY

## WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

### The Only Nation With a Trade Credit

SECRETARY OF STATE KNOX sent a message to American business men, just prior to departure for his "swing around the circle" of Central and South American countries last month:

If our production is to continue at its present rate, if capital is to continue to seek investment in industrial enterprises, if factories are to be kept in operation, and adequate employment at good wages is to be provided for American labor, it seems to me it is vitally necessary that the most energetic measures be taken to secure a firmer hold upon foreign markets than we now possess.

This was followed by a call of President Taft for a meeting of business men at Washington on April 15, to discuss plans for a national association to advise with the government on measures looking to the expansion of our foreign trade in general.

The proposal has been enthusiastically received. It is especially interesting to study in the light of recently published comparisons between this country's trade last year and that of other nations. The United States appears to have been the only nation in the world that had a "balance" to its credit—an excess of exports over imports.

There is additional encouragement in the showing made thus far this year. January exports of \$202,586,074 were the largest in our history for any corresponding month, save January, 1908. Notwithstanding a new high record of imports for that month—\$143,557,222—the nation's "foreign balance" was more than \$59,000,000. This has been exceeded in but four Januaries during the last ten years.

It is significant that this result was accomplished in spite of a double handicap—the necessity of "buying high" most goods bought in foreign markets, and of "selling low" the chief commodities of export—cotton and steel.

Take the seven months' period ended January 31; the showing is still more encouraging.

The twelve-year table below contrasts current returns with those of the same periods in previous years. It shows the totals, both of

exports and imports this year to best on record. The balance in the United States was surpassed only in 1901 and 1908.

	Exports	Imports
1912	\$1,307,292,380	\$912,878,929
1911	1,258,583,050	894,041,387
1910	1,084,686,910	891,193,710
1909	1,031,750,776	697,499,433
1908	1,189,090,551	756,888,151
1907	1,129,697,650	809,729,176
1906	1,056,624,825	695,724,641
1905	901,190,026	625,914,513
1904	929,146,344	565,339,684
1903	856,482,039	598,149,514
1902	872,668,418	526,116,998
1901	902,237,970	459,038,141

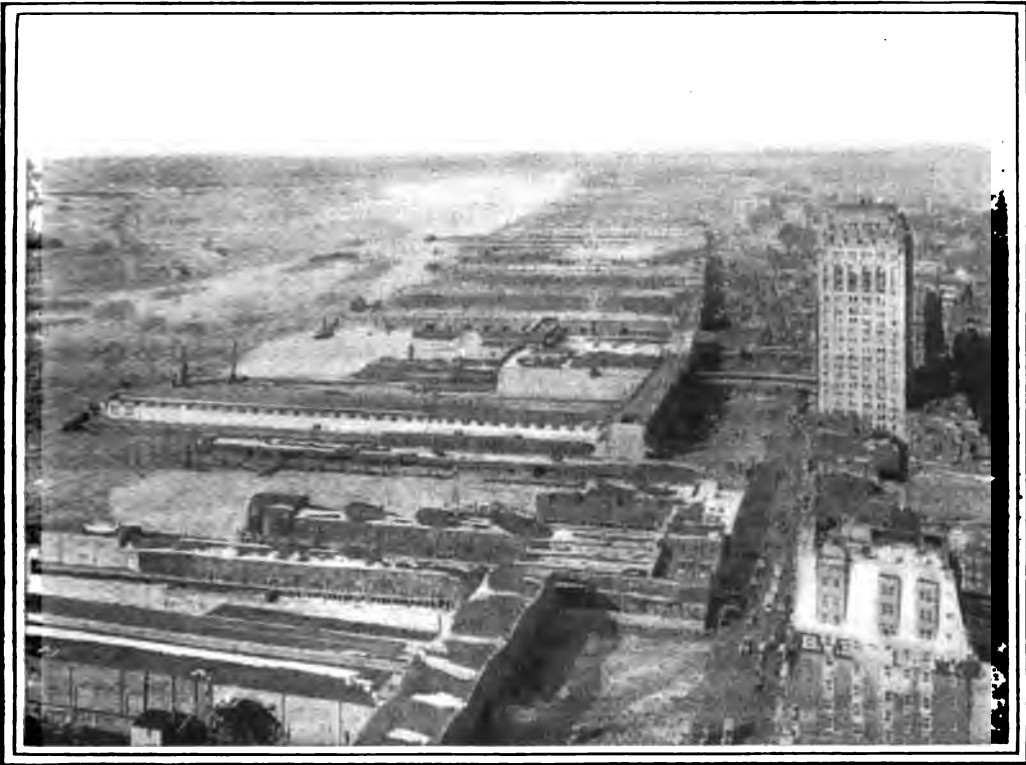
Connect the low export excess of the business reaction of that year, excess of 1908 with that year's recovery from the panic. It is clear that "international balance sheet" matters little importance as a factor in the prosperity. It will, at least, bear while so many causes of complaint in the quietness of domestic trade.

### A Silver Lining of Savings

THERE is a silver lining to the "swelling expenses" and excess in living, noted in this department as neither an urban nor a sectional. The bright streak is partially revealed in returns at hand from savings banks in parts of the country.

On March 11, a report submitted to the legislature showed that New York is the center of such institutions. In January 1 last, its savings banks held \$1,619,115,648. This is approximately one-third of such deposits for all America. Before, the figures from the Empire State have prime importance as an indication of the thrift of wage-earners at large, and the nation's progress depends to some extent.

The point to these returns is that during last year the amount deposited exceeded withdrawals by 210. Compared with the excess in 1901, it is an increase of 300 per cent. The necessities of life obvious



#### HOW LAST YEAR'S TRADE CREDIT WAS EARNED—NEW YORK HARBOR

(Through the two ports of New York and New Orleans passed most of the steel and cotton, respectively, that made up the largest part of the American trade credit in 1911—the only one earned by any nation. Other countries could balance international books only by their "invisible" securities—loaning money, supplying insurance, entertaining tourists, carrying ocean freight and so on)

cause folks to fall back upon the last re- York State is \$542 against \$530 a year ago sort—the savings bank—so generally as and \$523 in 1910. might have been expected.

It is important, also, to note from the table below how the net result of the flow of money in and out of the New York banks during the last three years compares with the flow during the years 1907 and 1908, which included a period of great financial stress throughout the entire country.

	<i>Balance</i>
1911	+ \$19,626,210
1910	+ 6,208,354
1909	+ 33,921,584
1908	- 42,542,417
1907	- 31,608,852

The average amount credited to each of the 3,000,000 savings depositors in New



COTTON ON THE WHARVES AT NEW ORLEANS

From other localities comes the same cheerful news. Twenty savings banks in Boston report that during three months ended February 1, their combined deposits increased \$2,590,000. Grand total, \$252,815,000, a new high record. This increase is at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, better than the average rate for several years.

In Cleveland, Ohio, the gain in savings deposits since December 5, 1911, has been nearly \$5,000,000—the greatest in the city's history for a similar period of time.

On the first of last month fifty-five State banks in Chicago reported deposits in their savings departments of \$209,654,925—a gain of over \$4,000,000 since December 6, and of nearly \$21,000,000 since March a year ago.

These are ever welcome signs to business enterprise. For, after all, it is upon the average citizen's ability to save more than he spends that enterprise must count for the "new capital" it requires from year to year.

### One Hundred Millions in Two Weeks

**B**IG businesses borrowed nearly \$100,000,000 during the first two weeks of last month.

It may have been something more than a mere coincidence. But it was while the re-assuring savings bank returns were coming to hand, with other fresh evidences of the nation's latent investment resources, that bankers were found willing to take over this mass of new securities from important railroad, industrial and public service corporations.

The amount of "new capital" placed in the treasuries of the corporations since the first of the year was thus brought up to \$700,000,000—about \$150,000,000 more than during the same ten weeks of 1911.

The industrials alone this year have been accommodated with two new dollars, for expansion and development, for every one last year. This spells more business confidence. Then, the full tide of the spending of the money has not yet been reached; most financial students believe it will not be until politics is out of the way.

The *Journal of Commerce* figures add up as follows:

Bonds, stocks and notes sold by industrial and miscellaneous corporations (not including railroads), January 1 to March 1, 1912.....	\$269,150,899
Ditto, 1911.....	139,164,050

Some representative industrial concerns that obtained the new money:

International Harvester,  
Case Threshing Machine,  
Pennsylvania Steel,  
Pennsylvania Textile,  
Sherwin-Williams,  
Sealsight Oyster System,  
Porto-Rican-American Tobacco,

F. W. Woolworth Co.  
Studebaker Company.  
Sulzberger Sons  
Briar Hill Steel.  
American Felt.  
Lowell Machine.  
Solvay Process.  
United Cigar Mfg.

Up to March 1, the railroads had received \$311,427,197 against \$301,954,000 during the same period last year. Like the industrials, they sold less bonds, more stock and short term notes. The recent demand has been largely for securities adapted to the investment of money unemployed in the channels of trade temporarily.

### Profit-Sharing and "Small Business"

**L**AST month Alexander Smith & Sons, a carpet company in Yonkers, N. Y.—one of those quiet concerns that rarely furnish material for the chronicler of financial news—sent checks for \$65,000 to employees.

The treasurer announced the event as the company's second semiannual distribution of profits. He explained that workers of ten years' standing were receiving amounts equal to ten per cent. of their earnings for the six months ended December 31, last; and that those of more than five years' standing but less than ten were receiving amounts equal to five per cent. of their earnings. In all, 2500 persons participated.

Profit-sharing has generally been looked upon as something to which a corporation's "bigness" was a condition precedent—something which might be practiced only by concerns equal in stature to the United States Steel Corporation, the International Harvester Company, or to the Eastman Kodak Company. The last named figured conspicuously in last month's news, through its announcement of a plan to divide among its employees, all over the world, surplus earnings amounting to a half million dollars.

On March 12 the great Prudential Life Insurance Company gave out the news that it had inaugurated a pension system for its 5000 employees. Retiring, a man or woman gets one per cent. of the average annual earnings over ten years, multiplied by the number of years of service.

It is generally assumed that such splendid acts of justice cannot be performed by smaller concerns. Various captains of industry, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, have suggested that such systems were possible only for the great widely owned "trusts."

In opposition, Louis D. Brandeis declared before the same body:

"Wise business men are seeing that, if they want to get the best they can out of the men, the men must work for themselves. It must be their business, and they must get all the fruit of what is earned over a fair return on capital. Instead of profit-sharing being possible only for capitalistic institutions, we (in Massachusetts) have found by far the finest and best fruits of the system in small concerns; some of them family concerns, or concerns with a small number of partners, or stockholders, who were expanding and developing their business."

Mr. Brandeis instanced one comparatively small manufacturing concern in New England—the Dennison Manufacturing Company,—which, after paying a liberal return on its capital, distributes each year to its employees, in proportion to their salaries, every cent of the remaining surplus. Another example was a grocery concern which pays 6 per cent. on its capital. It gives the remaining profits, one half to its executive officers, and one half to its working force, in addition to their salaries and wages.

In England, profit-sharing has long been successfully practiced in many of the staple trades, as "a substitute for the old personal bond between employer and employed." Over there they look upon the system as one practical means by which the small manufacturer and the small shopkeeper can perpetuate their business and compete on equal ground with their bigger brothers.

### Insurgent Investors

"INSURGENCY," observes the *Wall Street Journal*, "seems to communicate itself easily from politics to finance. There never was such a time for minority stockholders to come into their own as at present."

Some recent events have strikingly illustrated the point of this observation. One was the exciting meeting held by stockholders of the Central Leather Company on February 27, at which the directors were called angrily to account for their persistent refusal to furnish information about the corporation's affairs.

Resolution after resolution was offered by the "insurgent minority." They wanted to know why, with a management of seven directors, each of whom last year held his services at \$30,000, satisfactory profits could not be shown. They had been completely

surprised, down to the most skeptical, by a deficit of more than \$2,000,000 just reported as the result of last year's operations.

Resolution after resolution was promptly "tabled" by the overwhelming "proxy" vote of those in control. But many of the insurgents declared the fight only begun. They acknowledged the experience of the management, but pointed to the old saying that "the dwarf on the giant's shoulders sees the farther of the two."

A good start would be to reform the income account. This has always followed a method which is conventional among industrial companies. As described by one financial critic, it "begins with net earnings, or profits, omitting gross earnings, operating expenses, depreciation and everything before profit; it is a conclusion without the argument."

Such "arguments" are becoming of wider value every year. With the spread of plain financial facts, more and more investors are learning to read, instead of merely filing, such reports. And there is no doubt but that the guiding genius of the investment world—the careful, conscientious banker—is demanding from all great corporations "more accounts and more accountability."

One such banker declared to inquiries about the stocks of an important corporation: "We have felt that we could not recommend them because of the meager information given by the company about its affairs. The only statements of a financial nature made by the company are its annual reports—and these consist merely of a few pages of remarks by the president, a three-line balance sheet and an equally abbreviated profit and loss account. The company is making a bid for popularity by setting forth what it has done in the developing of its business, and it seems strange that a similar policy is not pursued toward the stockholders, from whom essential information regarding their own affairs is constantly withheld."

On the day following the tumultuous Central Leather meeting, this news item appeared: "Justice Kellogg in the Supreme Court at Gloversville, New York, on February 28, in the suit brought in 1907, by a committee of minority shareholders of the United States Express Company, handed down a decision compelling the directors to call a meeting of shareholders to elect a board of directors. The committee has been dissatisfied with the management, and with the failure to hold a shareholders' meeting since 1862."

# ECONOMICS FOR THE LAYMAN

**T**HE fact that Professor Taussig, of Harvard University, has elucidated "Principles of Economics" in 1100 printed pages may or may not be a matter of interest to the representative "man in the street." Few "practical" men read books, we are told, and of that small number only a beggarly minority is likely to be impressed by a new treatise in the dismal science. Yet this saving remnant will find in Professor Taussig's two-volume work a most readable and essentially novel presentation, not of theories merely, but of important facts of human experience.

## PRIVATE PROPERTY

To begin with one of the fundamentals, Professor Taussig recognizes the changing attitude of society toward the institution of private property. In his discussion of single tax on land values, he says: "The dogma of an unrestricted right of property and the belief in the expediency of the exercise of that right, without a jot or a tittle of abatement, have been shaken beyond repair. The rights of property must approve themselves on examination in each particular case, and must submit to modification where a balance of gain for the public can reasonably be expected." Yet he realizes that the movement for taxing the unearned increment on land must be a gradual one, and that many difficulties and complications in the actual method to be pursued are still to be solved. So with property in general. The essentials of private property will certainly remain for a long time to come, and with them there will continue to be inequality. But various methods of limiting and regulating the institution of private property will gradually be developed, and it is to these modifications of the practical workings of the capitalistic system that Professor Taussig devotes the greater part of his second volume.

## THE CLOSED SHOP

Business men will be interested in the economist's conclusions regarding the closed shop. These are, briefly, that with the present temper and intelligence of the workingmen it is undesirable that they should have that degree of control which the universal closed shop would give. On the other hand, it is no less undesirable that the employers should have that degree of control which the universal open shop would give. In many American industries we now have partly open shops, partly closed shops, and this situation Professor Taussig regards as fairly satisfactory. "The existence of the open shop prevents the unions from carrying their policies to the point of harmful restriction; they must face the competition of the unfettered establishments. The existence of the closed shop prevents the employers from abusing the advantage which they have in dealing with unorganized workmen; they must face the problem of unionization." Professor Taussig finds serious difficulties, however, in the plan of keeping an

individual shop half open and half closed,—employing half union men and half non-union. He thinks every shop should be either one thing or the other.

## CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS

In his study of railroad problems Professor Taussig has reached the conclusion that "public control of rates is indispensable under any circumstances, whether the monopoly power of a railway be qualified or absolute." He points out the inconsistency of those well-meaning conservatives who admit that railway rates should be "reasonable" and that "unreasonable" rates should be prohibited, and yet oppose the granting to any public body of authority to "fix" rates. In his view the difference is only one of words, at most one of method. To prohibit an unreasonable rate is the same thing as to fix a reasonable rate. For better or worse, he says, competition has ceased in great branches of industry. So far as it has ceased, public control of prices, by direct or indirect methods, is inevitable. He admits that the problem is a peculiarly complex one as to railroads, and that it should be taken in hand with great circumspection; but it must be taken in hand.

As to public ownership and public control of public utilities we still have much to learn. Professor Taussig will go no farther than to say that the ideal solution is that the great monopoly industries should be under efficient and progressive public management, but he does not believe that this ideal will be attained easily or quickly. He thinks that the experiment of public ownership and operation should be tried in some municipality of moderate size.

## SOCIALISM

Professor Taussig welcomes the discussion of socialism because it centers attention "on the fundamental problems of society, on the basis of existing institutions, on the sources from which coming growths must proceed. It points to a goal that has had charm for some of the noblest of men. It deserves the respect of those to whom the goal is not attractive, or to whom it seems quite unattainable. But it affects in no serious degree present endeavors and aspirations. As to these there is a noteworthy accord of opinion. The course which society should take for the next generation or two is not obscure, and all men, socialists as well as social agnostics, can join in the effort to turn it in the direction admitted by almost all to be that of progress." A socialism might be built up, it is true, which would crush individuality. On the other hand, there might be developed a regulated and refined system of private property which would give individual liberty hardly attainable in any socialistic state. Professor Taussig himself is apparently in doubt as to which sort of social organization gives promise of the fullest development of personality. In the socialist state there would still be restrictions on individual freedom, as now.

<sup>1</sup> Principles of Economics. By F. W. Taussig. Macmillan, 2 vols. 1120 pp. \$4.



# THE NEW BOOKS

## BIOGRAPHY AND REMINISCENCE

**T**HERE has been no lack of biographies of Cardinal Newman. The literature of comment upon his life and work has also been extensive. Until Mr. Wilfrid Ward's new "Life" appeared, however, there was nothing comprehensive and adequate based on the private journals and correspondence of the churchman himself. The two-volume work is entitled "The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman,"<sup>1</sup> and there are a number of photographs. Mr. Ward's services to education and ecclesiastical polity in England, as well as his experience as editor of the *Dublin Review*, have been varied and extensive, and have given him a peculiarly useful equipment for handling a work of this sort. His other works on the Oxford Movement and the Catholic revival in England, as well as his "Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman," are already known to American readers. The life of Cardinal Newman, based on his correspondence, shows that whatever may be the agreement as to Mr. Ward's services to the Church or to religious development in England in his day and generation, history will remember him very largely, not as a theologian or a religious philosopher, but as a strong master of English prose whose writings belong (to use Dean Stanley's phrase), "not to provincial dogma, but to the literature of all time." After Newman's brilliant apprenticeship at Oxford, says the present biographer, "we see him from 1828 onwards undergoing a profound religious reaction which grew into a conviction that he had a definite mission in life." This was one of "relentless war against a liberalism in thought that was breaking up ancient institutions in Church and State, and would not cease from its work until it had destroyed religion." This work was to be done, "not by talking of unbelief before the world at large saw it coming, not by alarming the simple souls who were to be the soldiers of the truth; but by strengthening the English Church as the home of dogmatic religion; by imparting intellectual depth to its traditional theology and spiritual life to its institutions; by strengthening and renewing the almost broken links which bound the Church of England to the Church Catholic of the great ages—the Church of Augustine and Athanasius. And this was the object of the Oxford Movement of 1833."

About fifteen years ago the American public beyond the confines of Wall Street began to "take notice" of J. Pierpont Morgan. There was just enough mystery about his personality to make the quest for the facts of his career fascinating and absorbing, but when the facts were not forthcoming the newspaper romancers resorted to fiction. So it came about that the accepted portrait of Mr. Morgan is a strange blending of stern reality and vain imaginings. The years have only added to the impressiveness of Mr. Morgan's stature in the world of finance. The formation of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901 and the important part played by Mr. Morgan in averting disaster during the panic of 1907 made him a national figure. He had been fifty years in "getting to the top" and

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*. 2 vols. By Wilfrid Ward. Longmans, Green & Co. 1281 pp., por. \$9.



CARDINAL NEWMAN IN 1884  
(From a crayon drawing by Emmeline Deane)

at the time of life when many men are retiring from business he had hardly reached the fullness of his powers. Not more than fifty men in the financial district of New York can to-day claim personal acquaintance with Mr. Morgan, it is said. Yet the things that he has accomplished are of record and they are of surpassing interest. In "The Life Story of J. Pierpont Morgan,"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Carl Hovey goes back to Mr. Morgan's early life and business beginnings and shows that while family influence was important in giving him his start the man himself was solely responsible for the use that he made of opportunities in a career that has resulted in something more than individual profit or advantage. Mr. Morgan is respected by some and feared by others, not because of his personal millions, but because of the control that he exercises over countless other millions. Mr. Hovey's book goes far toward revealing the secret of this extraordinary power.

It is a rare tribute to a living American statesman to have his life written by an eminent German scholar, and it may be said, with no fear of exaggeration, that there is only one American of his time whose personality would be chosen for such an honor. Dr. Max Kullnick's entertaining biography of ex-President Roosevelt, entitled "From Rough Rider to President,"<sup>3</sup> is an exceptional book in more ways than one. As a German, Dr. Kullnick has recognized in Colonel Roosevelt qualities that, in

<sup>2</sup> *The Life Story of J. Pierpont Morgan*. By Carl Hovey. Sturgis & Walton Co. 352 pp., por. \$2.50.

<sup>3</sup> *From Rough Rider to President*. By Dr. Max Kullnick. A. C. McClurg & Co. 289 pp., por. \$1.50.

his opinion, make his career extremely valuable to Germans as well as to Americans. With a view to placing Colonel Roosevelt as a model before the youth of Germany, Dr. Kullnick presents many details of Colonel Roosevelt's boyhood life and of the earlier part of his public career, and in this particular the book is more complete than most of the published Roosevelt biographies.

"Kansas in the Sixties" is the title of a volume of memoirs by the surviving war Governor of that State, the Hon. Samuel J. Crawford. As an officer in the Federal Army during the Civil War, Governor Crawford participated in the operations west of the Mississippi, and, as Governor, he had an important part in the Indian wars of the border.

Robert Louis Stevenson's sojourn in California in the years of 1879 and 1880 is described in a bright little sketch by Katherine D. Osbourne.<sup>2</sup> The book contains interesting quotations from Stevenson's letters and other writings, and is beautifully illustrated with photographs of California scenes with which Stevenson was especially familiar.

The letters of Charles Dickens, written by him to William Henry Wills, his sub-editor on the publications, *Household Words* and *All The Year Round*, have been collected and edited by R. C. Lehman, the

grand-nephew of Mr. Wills.<sup>3</sup> We have learned a great deal about Dickens, the novelist, this century year; these letters reveal Dickens as the resolute and indefatigable editor. We are apt to lose the practical aspects of men of letters in our contemplation of their peculiar genius. In these letters to his sub-editor the great novelist poured out all manner of practical and necessary detail regarding the management and editing of his publications. He criticized his own books and the books of others; he reviewed articles, speeches, even the reports of his own public readings. He was uncertain about many things, but he was cocksure about the business of editing. The letters move along with a quickness of style and crisp, idiomatic expression that render them distinctly fascinating. His method of criticizing the work of others may be judged from some of his letters. "My dear Wills," writes Dickens from Broadstairs, Kent, apropos of an accepted manuscript: "The enclosed will do. I have written to the author accepting it. It wants new paragraphs and the omission of a slang phrase here and there," etc.; and again he writes from Broadstairs some weeks later, in October, 1831, concerning a number of his magazine: "My dear Wills, I have gone carefully through the number—an awful one for the amount of correction required—and have made everything right. If my mind could have been materialized and drawn along on the tops of all the spikes outside the Queen's Bench Prison, it could not have been more agonized than by —; which for imbecility, carelessness, slovenly composition, relatives without antecedents, universal chaos, and one absorbing whirlpool of jolterheadness, beats anything in print and paper I have ever gone at in my life." The volume is illustrated with four portraits in sepia of Dickens, Thackeray, Wilkie Collins and Mr. Wills.

<sup>1</sup> *Kansas in the Sixties*. By Samuel J. Crawford. A. C. McClurg & Co. 441 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>2</sup> *Robert Louis Stevenson in California*. By Katherine D. Osbourne. A. O. McClurg & Co. 113 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>3</sup> *Charles Dickens as an Editor*. Edited by R. C. Lehman. Sturgis & Walton Co. 404 pp. \$3.25.

"The House of Harper," the history of a century of publishing in Franklin Square, is offered in memory of the four Harper Brothers, the great publishing house they founded, and the authors and contributors their various enterprises drew together. The book carries us back to that early period of New York when gardens were not unknown in old Greenwich village and when there were still natural beauty and charm upon the island of Manhattan. To this old New York, came James Harper in December, 1810, and soon thereafter another brother, John Harper. John was apprenticed to a printer, and he it was who conceived the project of starting a printing office, which by their combined thrift and industry the brothers did shortly, under the name of J. & J. Harper, in a little building long since vanished in Dover Street. From this humble beginning rose the House of Harper, which published the writings of Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Wilkie Collins, and Macaulay. *Harper's Magazine*, which was started in 1850, has always been known for the excellence of its literature. The publication of *Harper's Weekly* followed on January 3, 1857; *Harper's Bazaar* ten years afterward, in November, 1867. A number of hitherto unpublished letters from greater and lesser literary persons are included in this volume. They throw many interesting sidelights on the relation of publisher and author and give considerable detail about many of Harpers' finest publications. The material is arranged with taste and the text has been written by Mr. J. Henry Harper, with a restraint that gives a serious historical value to the work. It is illustrated with reproductions from old photographs.

An unusually entertaining volume of reminiscences is Mr. William H. Rideing's "Many Celebrities and a Few Others."<sup>4</sup> Because of his occupation as an editor and literary ambassador, Mr. Rideing has all his life been brought into contact with eminent writers, both in America and in England. The charm of his memoirs, however, depends not entirely on the eminence of the authors who figure in the book. Some of the most interesting of Mr. Rideing's chapters are those that describe the semi-Bohemian literary and journalistic life of New York in the early seventies.

#### HISTORICAL WORKS

Some of us may have overlooked the fact that Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, was brevetted Brigadier-General of Volunteers, near the close of the Civil War, for gallant and meritorious services, but no one, after reading his "Studies, Military and Diplomatic,"<sup>5</sup> and particularly the military papers,—"The Battle of Bunker Hill," "Battle of Long Island," "Washington and Cavalry," "The Revolutionary Campaign of 1777," and "The Battle of New Orleans,"—can doubt that quite apart from his own experience of the soldier's life this descendant of Presidents has studied the science of war to some purpose. As a writer, General Adams is never dull and never restrained by any fear of consequences from opposing the conventional and prevailing views of historical

<sup>4</sup> *The House of Harper*. By J. Henry Harper. Harper & Bros. 690 pp. \$3.

<sup>5</sup> *Many Celebrities and a Few Others*. By William H. Rideing. Doubleday, Page & Co. 335 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>6</sup> *Studies, Military and Diplomatic*. By Charles Francis Adams. Macmillan. 424 pp. \$2.50.

events or personages. When collision with these conventional ideas and preconceptions is threatened, it is not the General's habit to dodge. In his attempt to appraise the military abilities of Washington, General Adams has run counter to a host of long-accepted and hitherto undisputed notions of Washington's generalship that have come down to us as inheritance, along with the many shiploads of furniture that was said,—and believed,—to have come over in the *Mayflower*. The figure that General Adams presents to us as that of the commander-in-chief of the Army of the Revolution is not a complete picture, but in so far as it ascribes human limitations and weaknesses to Washington it must be admitted that these are of the sort that might not unnaturally be looked for in a personality of Washington's period and environment. In his essays on "The Ethics of Secession," "Some Phases of the Civil War," and "Lee's Centennial," General Adams is on surer ground because he is writing of matters that had come, to a greater or less extent, within the range of his personal knowledge, and the same may be said of the two diplomatic studies,—*"An Historical Residuum"* and *"Queen Victoria and the Civil War,"* in both of which the writer draws upon the papers of his father, the American Minister to England.

One of the strongest believers among Englishmen in the qualities and great future of the Russian people is the Hon. Maurice Baring, for many years a member of the British diplomatic service, and correspondent in Manchuria of the London *Morning Post* during the Russo-Japanese war. Mr. Baring has written a book on "The Russian People."<sup>1</sup> The growth of the Russians toward real nationhood, he says, "reads like a fairy tale and contains the whole morality of fairy land, namely, that the weak gets the better of the strong." The undercurrents of Russian national life and the influence of physical and geographical conditions on Russian history are very well known to Mr. Baring, and these factors in Russia's progress he sets forth convincingly and comprehensively. The Russian revolution, not yet completed, he calls "a great exaggerated melodrama." The whys, hows, whats, and wherefores of this melodrama, as well as the scenes and actors, become vivid to the reader's view. Four maps accompany the text.

Dr. Donald Macmillan has endeavored to do for Scottish history what the late J. R. Green did for English—to portray in graphic and entertaining narrative the evolution of a nation. His book, *"A Short History of the Scottish People,"*<sup>2</sup> deals largely with men, with strife among the great personalities, rather than with economic or political forces, the author holding that human leaders of movements embody in themselves the character and scope of such movements.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Writing of the unpopularity among American lawyers and judges, of such proposals as the income tax one of the best known of our economists has recently remarked: "These [the lawyers and judges] are recruited from the well-to-do class, have its prejudices, and do not often rise above its ignorance of economic principles and experience." If this be

true, a careful reading of Dr. Walter E. Weyl's new book on "The New Democracy"<sup>3</sup> may be unhesitatingly recommended to our lawyers and judges. In this volume Dr. Weyl describes, illustrates, and analyzes certain political and economic tendencies in the United States. He shows how the evolution of an American plutocracy has been related to our national growth from the beginning. In the second portion of his work he defines the new social spirit abroad in America, and shows how the development of classes among us acts and reacts upon American democracy. Any representative of the old American conservatism, who has been horrified by the nation-wide movement for the initiative, referendum, and recall in our political machinery, would do well to read Dr. Weyl's essay with much care. He will find in it a very sane and clear exposition of the underlying tendencies in our economic life, of which these political movements are the outward expression.

Meanwhile, the American who regards the social reforms now advocated in this country as in any degree radical would do well to study Mr. Percy Alden's account of "Democratic England."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Alden's experience as a settlement worker and a member of the British House of Commons entitles him to speak with authority concerning the social and economic problems of his country. Many of these problems, moreover, are, or soon will be, pressing for a solution in this country as well as in England. Mr. Alden's chapters on "The Child and the State," "The Problem of the Unemployed," "The Problem of Old Age," "The Problem of Housing the Poor," and "Municipal Ownership" are full of suggestions to the American reformer. His study of the Lloyd-George insurance scheme shows what a tremendous advance has been made by the British Government in the direction of social reform within the past few years.

A treatise on "The National Land System, 1785-1820,"<sup>5</sup> by Dr. Payson Jackson Treat, of Stanford University, shows how the national public lands passed into private ownership during the first great period of our land system. This was the era of the credit system, the operation of which is fully described by Dr. Treat. Whatever may be thought of the present interest in this subject, it is, as Dr. Treat points out, closely related to some of the most interesting phases of our national history. "Without some knowledge of the land system, a study of the Westward movement would be only superficial, and a large part of the history of the West must be written in terms of the land."

Until recently it would never have occurred to an American economist to develop a system of rural economics, just as the existence of anything like a rural problem in this country has been discovered, it may almost be said, within the past decade. The American people has been too busy fostering the growth of manufactures and the building up of big cities to direct its energies toward the solution of problems affecting what has always been acknowledged to be its greatest industry, viz., agriculture. Within the past few years, however, the agricultural colleges have begun offering courses on rural economics, and the latest evidence of the wide-

#### An Optimistic View of Russia

#### England's Awakening

#### Our Public Lands

#### Scottish History

#### Economics on the Farm

<sup>1</sup> *The Russian People*. By Maurice Baring. George H. Doran Co. 386 pp. \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> *A Short History of the Scottish People*. By Donald Macmillan. George H. Doran Co. 484 pp. \$3.

<sup>3</sup> *The New Democracy*. By Walter E. Weyl. Macmillan. 370 pp. \$2.

<sup>4</sup> *Democratic England*. By Percy Alden. Macmillan. 271 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> *The National Land System, 1785-1820*. By Payson Jackson Treat. E. B. Treat & Co. 426 pp. \$2.50.

spread interest in this subject is the publication of a compact manual by Prof. Thomas N. Carver, of Harvard. In this work<sup>1</sup> after giving an historical sketch of modern agriculture, Professor Carver proceeds to discuss factors of agricultural production, the distribution of the agricultural income, and the various problems of rural social life. He has purposely emphasized the public and social aspects of the subject rather than the purely business aspects.

Professor F. H. King, who died at Madison, Wis., in August last, had held the Chair of Agricultural Physics in the University of Wisconsin, and had also been Chief of Division of Soil Management in the United States Department of Agriculture. As the author of "The Soil," "Irrigation and Drainage," and other works of great practical benefit to the American farmer, Professor King had won for himself a place that will not easily be filled. At the time of his death he had just made ready for the press an account of his observations in China, Korea, and Japan, entitled "Farmers of Forty Centuries."<sup>2</sup> This work has now been published by Professor King's widow. The lessons that may be learned by the Western farmer from the agricultural experience of the Far East relate chiefly to the various forms of intensive farming which have made possible the maintenance, in the Orient, of vast populations, and which display, in most respects, an efficiency that has never been attained by farmers in any other part of the world. Because our soil is fertile and comparatively new, while our population per acre is still relatively small, we are wont to boast unduly of the success of American agriculture. Yet it must be confessed that when it comes to the question of maintaining the fertility of the land we still have much to learn. While we are only beginning to study the conservation of natural resources, the dense populations of the Far East have had this problem before them for centuries. Whether or not we adopt their precise methods, we should at least be able to learn something from their experience. Professor King observed carefully and profitably because he went to the Orient with certain definite things in mind, and with questions already formulated. What he learned there cannot fail to be of the greatest usefulness to the American farmer.

Professor Walter Dill Scott, who has made important contributions to the psychology of advertising, has turned his attention to the subject of business efficiency, and the result is an interesting volume entitled "Increasing Human Efficiency in Business."<sup>3</sup> As the various instrumentalities for increasing human efficiency, Professor Scott considers in successive chapters imitation, competition, loyalty, concentration, wages and pleasure.

Mr. Charles Edward Russell has written a defense of business, both big and little, particularly from a Socialist point of view. Mr. Russell's chief effort in this volume<sup>4</sup> is to show that under Socialism all business would have freedom to develop for the common good, and that all motives for dishonesty in business would be eliminated. The facts in our recent history that are frequently cited to show the necessity of regulation and restriction

become, under Mr. Russell's hands, so many arguments for the socialistic state. In short, as Mr. Russell puts it, we are continually condemning business for doing the very things that are necessary to society.

Dr. Scott Nearing's study of federal wage statistics<sup>5</sup> goes to show that many American workingmen are now unable to maintain an efficient standard of living. Figures seem to show that three-fourths of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females employed east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Mason and Dixon line are actually earning less than six hundred dollars a year.

"The Modern Railroad,"<sup>6</sup> by Edward Hungerford, is an intensely realistic and almost dramatic portrayal of the many intricate processes and details that are summed up in the term railroad operation.

This writer is very slightly concerned with the theories of railroading, or of railroad management, and questions of railroad finance and government control he leaves to other authorities. But his book is an excellent popular compendium of the approved railroad practice of to-day, including the building of tracks and bridges, the development of terminals, the handling of traffic, and, in general, a thousand and one matters that are continually passing under the eye of railroad officials, high and low, but only a portion of which come within the ken of the traveling public. The railroad man will find the book interesting, not merely for what it tells about his own special duties, but still more because of the information that it gives about other fields of railroad operation, with which he has a less familiar acquaintance.

A calm discussion of the constitutionality of some of the social reform measures now advocated in this and other countries is particularly helpful at this time. Whatever may be thought of the desirability or expediency of these measures, it is most important that we should know definitely whether or not the Constitution as it stands is an obstacle to their adoption. Professor Frank J. Goodnow, in "Social Reform and the Constitution,"<sup>7</sup> examines those American court decisions which have a direct bearing on the political and social reforms that are now prominently before the country. He concludes that the recall, and probably the initiative and referendum as well, are constitutional from the point of view of the federal Constitution. Again, he finds in the Constitution no obstacle to a policy of government ownership on the part of either a State or the United States Government. So also regarding anti-trust legislation so-called. On the whole, one would infer from Professor Goodnow's analysis that the more important reforms now under discussion might be enacted into law without doing violence to the Constitution. He carefully refrains from passing judgment on the merits of these several propositions. A final chapter is devoted to "The Attitude of the Courts towards Measures of Social Reform." In this the author pleads for a persistent criticism of those decisions which "evinces a tendency to regard the Constitution as a document to be given the same meaning at all times and under all conditions,

<sup>1</sup> Principles of Rural Economics., By Thomas N. Carver. Ginn & Co. 386 pp. \$1.30.

<sup>2</sup> Farmers of Forty Centuries. By F. H. King. Madison, Wisconsin: Mrs. F. H. King. 441 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>3</sup> Increasing Human Efficiency in Business. By Walter Dill Scott. Macmillan. 339 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>4</sup> Business the Heart of the Nation. By Charles Edward Russell. John Lane Co. 291 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> Wages in the United States, 1908-1910. By Scott Nearing. Macmillan. 220 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>6</sup> The Modern Railroad. By Edward Hungerford. A. C. McClurg & Co. 476 pp., ill. \$1.75.

<sup>7</sup> Social Reform and the Constitution. By Dr. Frank Goodnow. Macmillan. 365 pp. \$1.

and which fail to appreciate that the courts in our system of government have been accorded a really political function, and that, with our Constitution in the position in which it actually is, courts should not absolutely block change although they may quite properly limit the rate at which it may proceed."

With considerable breadth of historical perspective, Vida Dutton Scudder, professor at Wellesley College, offers a book to show the probable effect of Socialism on individual character.<sup>1</sup> She reviews the whole social problem in this country with masterly scholarship and brilliant execution; the book is not solely for the Socialistic theorist, but for all who desire to study citizenship. Miss Scudder, believing that "charity begins at home," brings Socialistic doctrines to a close application to personal character in its relation to the arraignment of industrial conditions by Socialism. The book is written with great fluency and vigor, and if the social millennium, as outlined by the author, does not appear, it will only be that the end of Socialistic doctrine is to obviate the necessity for Socialism. The teachings of this book are not dangerous nor unpleasantly militant. The author's Socialism, sifted to the bottom, is merely the positive concern for public welfare possessed alike by Socialist and non-Socialist, granted a fair quality of mind and reasonable instincts. Among the subjects considered are "Economic Determinism," "Class-Consciousness," "The Ethics of Inequality," "Socialism and Theism," "The Kingdom of God," and "The Socialist State." The political economist will find obtruding from the lines of this book the perhaps unconscious belief that an individualism under certain restraint, and not Socialism as we now comprehend it, will finally redeem society.

#### PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Nietzsche, who has been aptly called the chief pessimistic philosopher produced by the impact of modern science, has been for almost a generation now a name to conjure with. It is safe to say, however, that most of those who have denounced or exalted him have not understood him. Many books have been written under the inspiration of Nietzscheism, and to exploit his ideas. Now we have Mr. Paul Elmer More, editor of the *Nation*, and author of the *Shelburne Essays*, bringing out a clear and vigorous criticism of the German philosopher.<sup>2</sup> Mr. More's style is admirable in its clarity and balance. It is doubtful whether he adds much to our knowledge of Nietzsche. His analysis, however, serves to put the philosopher more clearly in his relation to modern life.

The essays of "Ahad Ha-Am,"<sup>3</sup> translated from the Hebrew by Leon Simon, deal with a variety of subjects concerned with the faith and the theoretical and practical problems of the Jewish people. "Ahad Ha-Am" is pseudonym of Asher Ginzberg and translated means—"one of the people." Mr. Ginzberg's collected essays appeared in 1894, published in three volumes under the title of "Al Parahat Derahim." The essays included in this volume endeavor to interpret the Hebrew spirit of

to-day as it exists and is manifested among the wandering Jewish peoples scattered far and wide over the face of the earth. The author is hopeful for the final unification of the Hebrew race by a return to the ancient ideals and by the preservation of the ancient literature. What the Jew is morally and socially; what his life in the Ghetto, plus the freedom of the Western world and the emancipation of modern life, has made him, is clearly stated. The essay entitled "The Transvaluation of Values" explains the attempt that has been made by certain Jewish progressives to trans-value the moral values of their religion and overthrow the entire historic system in order to live comfortably and profitably among the nations and look forward to a national re-birth. "Ahad Ha-Am" considers this doctrine dangerous, and fundamentally but a reiteration of Nietzsche's philosophy of the Super-man, the "fair beast," which exalts physical force over and against moral power. These essays can be commended to those who desire to have a clear comprehension of the movement of Zionism.

A brief, clear and cogent presentation of the ideals and achievements of Judaism has been written by Dr. Abram S. Isaacs, professor of Semitics at the New York University.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Isaacs goes over much the same ground, of course, as all other champions of his race have done. He has a direct and non-contentious way of putting things, however, which makes his little volume seem unusually fair and useful.

M. Paul Sabatier is one of the ripest and keenest of French writers on religious and philosophical subjects. He is also possessed of a style which is nourishing and stimulating. In his recent work, *L'Orientation Religieuse de la France Actuelle*,<sup>5</sup> he considers the religious attitude of present-day France. Calmly and with impressive scholarship, M. Sabatier cites the facts and forces that are to-day determining what religious point of view the young France of our day is to assume. He believes that the religious spirit is not dead in France, and that it is feeling its way toward nobler and more definite forms.

Have the churches placed too much stress on the traditional aspect of Jesus as the "Man of Sorrows"? Mr. Elmer W. Serl presents a new analysis of the character of the Galilean in his study, "The Laughter of Jesus."<sup>6</sup> He has not been governed by preconceptions nor influenced by theology in his portrayal of Jesus as a man joyous among men. Even as the Brahmic god, Krishna, came dancing to the sound of lutes, so Jesus came with mirth, the "central personage in the joy of the world." It is true that we manufacture with mortal chemistry most of our worries and miseries. Our lives need the fine tempering of the "poise of gayety." God is near to us when we are sorrowful, but perhaps if we rightly understand Him, He is even nearer to us in our purest happiness and in our laughter. His merriment at Cana was as god-like as His agony upon the Cross. Mr. Serl thinks that a complete understanding of Jesus as a man-divine, our Elder Brother, will make an end to all vicarious life by

<sup>1</sup> *Socialism and Character*. By Vida Dutton Scudder. Houghton Mifflin. 431 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup> *Nietzsche*. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin Co. 87 pp. \$1.

<sup>3</sup> *Selected Essays: Ahad Ha-Am (Asher Ginzberg)*. Translated by Leon Simon. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 329 pp.

<sup>4</sup> *What is Judaism?* By Dr. Abram S. Isaacs. Putnam. 206 pp. \$1.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Orientation Religieuse de la France Actuelle*. By Paul Sabatier. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 314 pp. 70 cents.

<sup>6</sup> *The Laughter of Jesus*. By Elmer Willis Serl. Neale Publishing Co. 113 pp. \$1.

making every man his own vicar. The chapters entitled "A Spiritual Rustic" and "The Vanishing Point of a Vicarious Life" are filled with the dynamics of practical Christianity.

Books on religious topics and phases of religious life and thought that are likely to have a popular

appeal are not coming from the press in large numbers. Once in a while, however, there appears a

work on the actual experiences of human souls in their wrestle with the problem of sin and redemption. We noticed in these pages, some months ago, Mr. Harold Begbie's "Twice Born Men," which was a vivid, stirring recital of actual "conversions." Mr. Begbie's book "Souls in Action," recently published, covered much the same ground, and attracted a good deal of attention. He now gives us "Other Sheep," which he subtitled "A Missionary Companion to 'Twice Born Men.'" No one, the author says, who has discussed religion with the peoples of India "can hesitate a single moment to believe that Christ is as able to call the East as He is able to save and maintain the West." The religion is not only "suitable" to India, but the Hindus are ready for it. "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold"—in these words, addressed to St. John, he finds the title of his book, which is a very graphic, stimulating account of missionary effort in the Far East, particularly in India. Another volume of the same general content, although addressed to the "heathen" at home, is Mr. Charles A. Starr's "The Underworld and the Upper." The characters, chiefly in the lower social strata of New York, were known personally to the author. There is an introduction by William Jennings Bryan. Among the other volumes on subjects of a religious or ethical character which are worth noting are: the fourth volume, considering subjects through the letter D, of the "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," edited by James Hastings, and published by Clark of Edinburgh (imported by Scribners); "Dynamic Christianity" (Eaton & Mains), by Levi Gilbert, which emphasizes the mystical element in Christianity; "Free Will and Human Responsibility" (Macmillan), a philosophical argument by Dr. Herman H. Horne; "The Theology of a Preacher" (Eaton & Mains), by Lynn Harold Hough, in which the author announces that he will not apologize for the unusual fact of having considered theology in a devotional mood; "Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans" (Putnam), by Dr. Franz Cumont, of the Royal Academy of Belgium; "Israel's Prophets" (Neale), by Dr. George L. Petrie, in which the author has attempted to "shatter the steel engraving portraits that have so long misrepresented the great personalities of the Old Testament"; "Business and Kingdom Come" (Forbes), by Frank Crane—"a statement of the human side of a big business concern"; and a third edition of George Lansing Raymond's "Modern Fishers of Men" (Putnam) "the various sets, sects, and sexes of Chartville Community," originally published in 1879.

#### AMONG THE ESSAYISTS

Was Puritanism right or wrong in its definition of morals? Mr. Clarence Meily's essay on Puritanism<sup>1</sup> is dedicated to "that sorely betrayed and somewhat bedraggled goddess Liberty," with whom the author confesses he has but scant acquaintance.

Puritanism and  
Morals

<sup>1</sup> Puritanism. By Clarence Meily. Charles Kerr & Co. 153 pp. 50 cents.

It is not so much a book for the hide-bound Puritan, securely entrenched in his wholesome righteousness, as it is a book for the non-Puritan who needs ballast against the winds of his variable inclinations. We are still persuaded that if a choice must come between Puritanism and that which is opposed to Puritanism, we must abide by the severer standards that give quality to our characters. To the Anglo-Saxon mind to-day, even the sense of beauty is still inwrought with the sanctity of spirit that has from the beginning been the triumphant force of Puritanism. Mr. Meily conceives our morality in a pragmatic spirit, as proceeding in an orderly and systematic evolution toward a just and perfect social order. Puritanism in its sense of moral restriction must be discarded by the human understanding. It has served its purpose as a great revolutionary impulse that renewed the spirit of man, but it cannot be consistently retained to test the validity of our morals for all time. The asceticism of Puritanism resembles that terrible beetle which, foiled of its prey, turns and devours itself. Asceticism never saved anyone from "the world, the flesh, and the devil." On the contrary, it bound the soul completely to the constant realization of the bondage of the flesh. The gist of the discussion is "that so far as specific moral precept is concerned, finality will ever remain unattainable; shifting human relations will ever require new statements." Mr. Meily has been greatly influenced by the modern German doctrine of Monism.

A book that richly rewards the reader is a volume of "Harvard Essays"<sup>2</sup> containing a cluster of eight monographs upon classical subjects, written by the members of the faculty of the Department of Classics at Harvard University. Mr. George Chase, the gifted Assistant Professor of Archaeology, discusses the "New Criticism of Roman Art," tracing the separate features of Roman Art to their Greek prototypes, bringing to notice the work that may be directly traced to strictly Roman feeling and Roman conceptions. "Ovid and the Spirit of Metamorphosis," by Charles Edward Rand, professor of Latin at Harvard, is an appreciation of the neglected Roman poet, Ovid, with an analysis of the strong influence this poet exerted upon Chaucer and Shakespeare. "Plato and Pragmatism," by Charles D. Parker, will interest those who are readers of Plato and William James. Dr. Moore's "Greek and Latin Ascetic Tendencies" is of unusual erudition, and Professor Smyth's essay, "Conceptions of Greek Immortality," is a most brilliant contribution to philosophical literature. The Hellenic answer to the obstinate question: "Cease they to love and move and breathe and speak who die?" is set forth in the various forms it issued from the Hellenic mind. The answer of the Greeks to this question is still the dependence of the western world, namely, that quickened by some diviner knowledge than we may attain in our mortal life, we pass through the gates of death to attain to the Supreme Good.

"Death" is the subject of the latest essay by Maurice Maeterlinck: What is it; into what realm of conscious or unconscious life shall we be hurled by it, and what are the probabilities that the ego can find nucleus after nucleus and develop itself throughout eternity? By a certain refraction of identity and a

Maeterlinck's  
Views of Death

<sup>2</sup> Harvard Essays. Edited by Herbert Weir Smyth. Houghton Mifflin Co. 234 pp. \$3.25.

<sup>3</sup> Death. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Dodd, Mead Co. 106 pp. \$1.

consideration of that which we do know concerning death, Maeterlinck turns our very doubts and misgivings into comforters. "Since we have been able to acquire our present consciousness, why should it be impossible for us to acquire another? It is possible that our loftiest wishes of to-day will become the law of our future development." Death, the thought of death, envelops us in terror because it brings to us the one sorrow of the mind—powerlessness, and all our acquired knowledge has but helped us to die in greater pain than the animals. The author does not attempt to solve the mystery of death in this essay; he offers a series of limpid, crystalline suggestions that soothe and allay the distress that is caused by the contemplation of physical dissolution. He would consider death as the open sea, the "Glorious Adventure," a form of life we do not yet understand. A photogravure of a portrait of Maeterlinck is used as a frontispiece.

If you read Haeckel you will find much food in Mr. William A. Cheney's book, "Can We Be Sure of Mortality?"<sup>1</sup> If you do not read Haeckel, you will enjoy this book and incidentally learn much of the Haeckelian theories by reading it. The author is an ex-judge of the Supreme Court of California, and the volume carries the sub-title of "A Lawyer's Brief." It states with convincing argument the case for the defendant against the theory of Haeckel's Monistic philosophy, that the "soul of man is the collective title for the sum total of the activities of his cerebral cells." The very graciousness of life urges Mr. Cheney to present that which he considers to be proof of its continuity in individualized expression. The strange, reverberating chamber of the human mind cannot be merely the infinitesimal point of condensation from the ether possessed of the "inherent, primitive properties of substance." He turns the question of immortality squarely around and considers life from the opposite point of view, asking Haeckel (whom he frankly dubs an "atheist"), if he does, even by his ponderous and complex Monistic System, prove that we can be sure of the material world as such. Mr. Cheney has been greatly influenced by the theories of William James as presented in "The Pluralistic Universe," and back of James he has drawn argument from the profound propositions of Spinoza regarding individuality. This book will be appreciated by the thoughtful person who finds leisure to consider the wonders of the spiritual force of the universe functioning in man. The basis is of course the belief that "the individual life survives the wreck of the physical body."

#### VOLUMES OF VERSE

If you can transport yourself out of a world of health and activity to the four gray walls of a room in a Franciscan hospital, you will find the setting for Grace Fallow Norton's volume of poems—"Little Grey Songs from St. Joseph's."<sup>2</sup> They are reminiscent of the author's painful hospital experience and are filled with intimate sympathy for the social problems of working girls. As poetry, they are simple, beautiful, and reverent of spirit, little singing companions to all who can in their hearts feel another's need. The poem "The Burden of Love Ungiven" is fit to rank with Jean Ingelow's "Song of Seven" in its poetical merit. Every line of the

book is filled with intuitive, poetic insight that renders the reading of the poems a rare pleasure.

Walt Whitman often quoted the following saying: "Virtue," said Marcus Aurelius, "what is it

Nature Poems  
by Whitman

—only the living and enthusiastic sympathy with Nature?" In "The Rolling Earth,"<sup>3</sup> Mr. Waldo Browne

has selected out-of-door scenes and thoughts from the writings of the "Good Gray Poet." The old conception of Whitman, the pagan, died a natural death years ago; we are no longer so provincial as to be misled by his curious modes of expression. Now we perceive the man of simplicity and rectitude, the poet-soul "tenoned and mortised in granite." Once Whitman planned a great Nature poem, but his thoughts spun on in short verses and mere jottings, and the poem was never given to the world with any coherence of form. This Nature poem Mr. Browne has sifted from the works of the poet, from his meditations on earth and air and sea and sky, with the endless pageant of mortal men flowing past him into the future. The very flux of life now so evident in the western world was conceived by Whitman before it had scarcely begun. John Burroughs has written the introduction for this volume in a spirit of love and appreciation. The prose is taken from "Specimen Days" and the verse mostly from "Leaves of Grass." A rare and beautiful portrait of the poet in sepia is given as a frontispiece. It is published in convenient form, a pocket-book for the "jug of wine and wilderness" days.

"From the Four Winds"<sup>4</sup> is the appropriate title given by John Phillips Meakin to a volume of

Newspaper  
Poetry

"quaint and helpful poems" with which he as a public reader had moved and delighted thousands.

Some standard favorites are reprinted; but the greater number of the poems are of that class of fugitive bits of humor, and hope, and cheer that make up the poetical flotsam and jetsam of the newspaper world. The fraternal message of human brotherhood—the central theme also of Mr. Meakin's life—breathes through the whole collection.

#### BOOKS ABOUT BIRDS AND INSECTS

A suggestive collection of studies on birds for home and school, considering sixty common birds of our Northern latitudes, with full-page colored illustrations, has been prepared by Mr. Herman C. de Groat.<sup>5</sup> Most of these birds may be seen in parks and woods in our Eastern American cities, and children already know them. The text is helpfully written and brings out the relation of these birds and their habits to agriculture.

"The Life and Love of the Insect,"<sup>6</sup> by J. H. Fabre, is a study of insect life written with the gentleness and the profound knowledge that alone come to those who live gently and work with unceasing patience. Henri Fabre was born at Serignan in Provence in the year 1823 and he is still alive and at work. Maeterlinck, writing of this "Insect's Homer," says: "Fame is often forgetful, negligent, or behindhand or unjust; and the crowd is almost ignorant of J. H. Fabre, who is one of the most pro-

<sup>1</sup> The Rolling Earth: Selections from Whitman. Compiled by Waldo Browne. Introduction by John Burroughs. Houghton Mifflin Co. 223 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> From the Four Winds. By John Phillips Meakin. Washington, D. C.: 10 Ventosa. 189 pp. \$1.60.

<sup>3</sup> Bird Studies for Home and School. By Herman C. de Groat. Buffalo: Herman C. de Groat. 146 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>4</sup> The Life and Love of the Insect. By J. Henri Fabre. Macmillan Company. 262 pp. \$1.75.

<sup>1</sup> Can We Be Sure of Mortality? By William A. Cheney. Roger Bros. 204 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> Little Grey Songs from St. Joseph's. By Grace Fallow Norton. Houghton Mifflin Co. 78 pp. \$1.



found and inventive scholars and also one of the purest writers and, I was going to add, one of the finest poets of the century that is just past." Fabre's "Souvenirs Entomologiques" form ten volumes. The present book is a translation of the greater part of a volume of selected essays. The chapters are devoted to the life and habits of the Sacred Beetle, the Spanish Copris, the Onthophagi, the Dung Beetle, the Weevils, the Halicti, the Leaf-Rollers, the Scorpions and other inhabitants of the insect kingdom. The pages are illustrated with cuts and reproductions from photographs of insect phenomena and activity. The exquisite quality of the philosophy that accompanies M. Fabre's entomological work may be judged from the following paragraph apropos of the wars of the implacable Halicti: "Shall we never behold the realization of that sublime dream which is sung on Sundays in the smallest village church, '*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*'? If war affected humanity alone, perhaps the future would have peace in store for us, seeing that generous minds are working for it with might and main; but the scourge also rages in the brute, which in its obstinate way will never listen to reason. Once the evil is laid down as a general condition it perhaps becomes incurable. Life in the future, there is every cause to fear, will be what it is to-day, a perpetual massacre."

#### REFERENCE BOOKS

The volume of the "American Year Book,"<sup>1</sup> covering 1911, is even more satisfactory as a work of reference than its predecessor. The

#### A Good Year Book

The material is subdivided into departments, and the editing is supervised by a board representing thirty-eight learned and technical societies, which insures the selection of contributors who are known by the national societies to be interested in and able to treat authoritatively the subjects assigned them. The year's developments in politics, government, economics, public works, industries, science and engineering, and "the humanities" (religion, art, music, the drama, literature, and education) are summarized, with a due sense of proportion and a fine regard for the needs of the literary worker. As managing editor of the "Year Book," Mr. Francis G. Wickware succeeds Mr. S. N. D. North, who has been called into a different field of activity.

"Who's Who,"—may his tribe increase!—has invaded the field of science. It is probably a fact

#### Who's Who Among Scientists

that neither the original English "Who's Who" nor its American namesake, with the best of intentions, has been able to include in its hospitable pages all the men of science who deserved a place there. Hereafter we shall be able to refer to an international publication,—"Who's Who in Science,"<sup>2</sup>—which will do for the scientific specialists (of Great Britain and America especially) what the older handbooks do for men of all professions and occupations. The issue for 1912 contains a list of the world's leading universities and colleges, with the names of the men occupying the scientific chairs in each. This is a valuable feature and will be appreciated, we doubt not, by all who have occasion to correspond with scientific men or to "locate" them for any purpose.

<sup>1</sup> The American Year Book. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. Appleton & Company. 861 pp., \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> Who's Who in Science, 1912. Edited by H. H. Stephenson. Macmillan Company. 323 pp., \$2.

With the development of the relations between the Japanese people and the rest of the world there has been felt an increasing need for some authoritative and comprehensive work for supplying data on Japanese personalities. The final appearance of a Japanese "Who's Who," therefore, has long been seen to be inevitable. It has now appeared under the title, "Who's Who in Japan,"<sup>3</sup> edited by Shunjiro Kurita. The plan is the same as that followed with reference books in other countries. The work is published in English, in Tokyo, with the agency in London. Interesting and useful information about the reigning sovereign and family appears in the introduction. The book contains 1230 pages, which are plentifully besprinkled with portraits of the better known personalities in politics, commerce, and the army and navy.

#### THE STAGE

Ben Greet's advice on the rules and customs of acting might be posted profitably in every theater in the land, so concise, practical, and instructive are his suggestions.

#### Ben Greet to Young Players

Two volumes of the "Ben Greet Shakespeare for Young Readers and Amateur Players"<sup>4</sup> have been issued: "The Tempest" and "Midsummer Night's Dream." The instructions for staging these plays make their production easy for young players. On the right-hand pages there runs a continuous reading text; on the left-hand ones Mr. Greet has given the knowledge of how to stage the plays, the business, action, and his conception of the various characters. His advice to players regarding the study of the Bible and Shakespeare is worth quoting: "Study the humanity, the heart, the English of Shakespeare, as of the Bible—those two wonderful books of the same generation—the one splendidly revised and perfected by many scholars, the other produced in a state of nature and yet almost perfect—study them, my young friends, inwardly digest your Bible, and outwardly demonstrate your Shakespeare: you will then start in life pretty well equipped."

Although on the continent of Europe his name is constantly mentioned with Ibsen and Björnson, in

#### Strindberg as Playwright

English-speaking countries August Strindberg is comparatively unknown. Yet Strindberg stands for almost all that is characteristic of modern Scandinavian thought. It is also to him that Swedish literature owes most of its power and beauty of diction. Strindberg has modernized the literary language of his country. In the introduction to his translation of the collection of Strindberg's plays,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Edwin Björkman says: "Never was man more keen on catching the life breath of his own time, and never was a man more scornful of mere fads and fashions." In this collection Mr. Björkman has included: "The Dream Play," "The Link," and "The Dance of Death." In one of our "Leading Articles" this month, we quote from a paper on Strindberg's sphere of influence, which Mr. Björkman has contributed to one of the current magazines. In these pages, in February, we refer to the celebration of Strindberg's sixty-third birthday, which was observed all over the world.

<sup>3</sup> Who's Who in Japan. Edited by Shunjiro Kurita. Who's Who in Japan Publishing Office, Tokyo. 1230 pp., por. \$3.

<sup>4</sup> Ben Greet's Shakespeare. Doubleday, Page & Co. 143 pp., 60 cents.

<sup>5</sup> Plays by August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Scribners. 268 pp., por. \$1.50.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

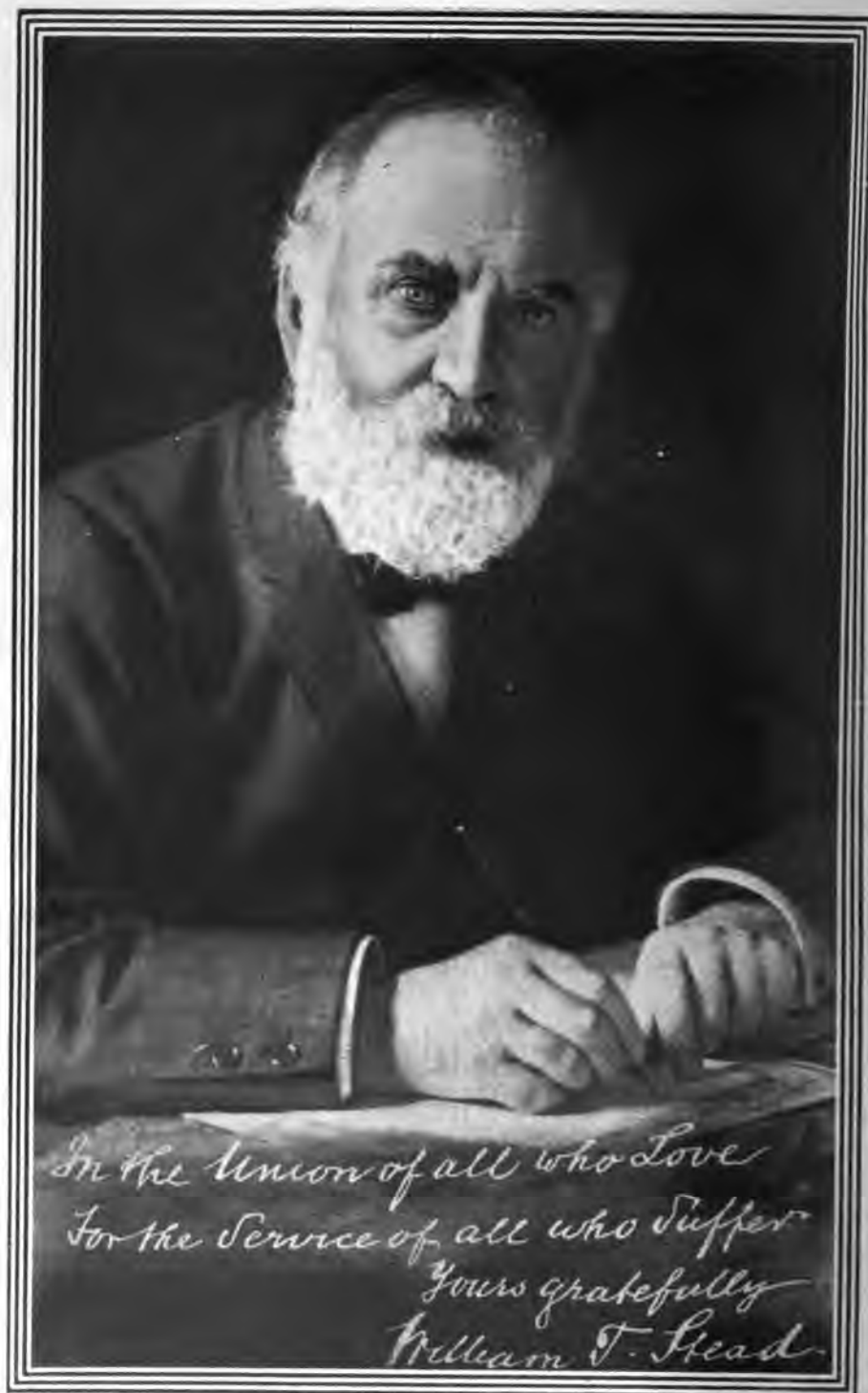
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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WILLIAM THOMAS STEAD, EDITOR OF THE ENGLISH "REVIEW OF REVIEWS"

(Mr. Stead was on board the ill-fated *Titanic*, and was not reported among the rescued. He had suddenly decided to make a brief trip to the United States, and would have addressed the Men and Religion Forward Movement's congress in New York. The last of his many contributions to this REVIEW appears in the present number (page 598). An article upon his career and public services will appear in a subsequent number of the REVIEW.—THE EDITOR.)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLV

NEW YORK, MAY, 1912

No. 5

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*People  
versus  
Politicians*

We are publishing in this number an excellent article on national conventions and Presidential primaries, written by Dr. Potts of the school of government in the University of Texas. Its historical information gives it importance as a permanent contribution to the subject. It also has especial timeliness, because of its frank presentation of the condition now confronting the two great parties and the whole American public. Professor Potts recognizes the fact that party methods constitute a large and essential factor in our real government. If the parties are so managed by cliques and groups that the will of the people is disregarded or frustrated, we are facing an evil that must be overcome if our institutions are really to work as their founders intended. In this article there is quoted at length a remarkable passage from a circular issued by John C. Calhoun in 1844. That great Democratic statesman refused to let his name go before the Baltimore convention, in that year, because, as he declared:

*Calhoun on  
Control of  
Conventions*

Instead, then, of being directly, or fresh from the people, the delegates to the Baltimore convention will be delegates of delegates; and of course removed, in all cases, at least three, if not four degrees from the people. At each successive remove, the voice of the people will become less full and distinct, until, at last, it will be so faint and imperfect as not to be audible. . . .

The further the convention is removed from the people, the more certainly the control over it will be placed in the hands of the interested few, and when removed three or four degrees, as has been shown, it will be where the appointment is by State conventions, the power of the people will cease, and the seekers of executive favor will become supreme. At that stage, an active, trained and combined corps will be formed in the party, whose whole time and attention will be directed to politics. Into their hands the appointment of delegates in all the stages will fall, and they will take special care that none but themselves or their humble and obedient dependents shall be appointed. The

central and State conventions will be filled by the most experienced and cunning, and, after nominating the President, they will take good care to divide the patronage and offices, both of the general and State governments, among themselves and their dependents. But why say *will*? Is it not *already the case*? Have there not been many instances of State conventions being filled by office-holders and office-seekers, who, after making the nomination, have divided the offices in the State among themselves and their partisans, and joined in recommending to the candidate whom they have just nominated to appoint them to the offices to which they have been respectively allotted? If such be the case in the infancy of the system, it must end, if such conventions become the established usage, in the President nominating his successor.

*After  
Seventy  
Years*

If John C. Calhoun were alive to-day, and were characterizing the Republican and Democratic State conventions held last month in New York, in what respect would he have changed his language? Dr. Potts tells us the history and character of this method of choosing delegates to conventions. He also shows how it has reached its grand climax in the attempt of the President, in alliance with professional bosses and political leaders, to secure his own renomination in apparent defiance of the obvious will of the masses of people constituting the membership of the party. The direct Presidential primary is simply a means by which the people may express themselves upon the one thing that they care most about in our political life,—namely, the choice of the President of the United States.

*Why the  
Masses  
Should Care*

And the people are quite right in caring most about this one thing; for the power of the President is vast and far-reaching beyond that of any other man wielding authority in any civilized country. Since one man must rule, the nation wishes to select that man. Furthermore, the power of the President is greater



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**MR. CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY, HEAD OF TAMMANY HALL AND MASTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IN THE STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK**

(Who controlled the New York State Convention last month, and will head the unified New York delegation in the Baltimore convention)

now than ever before. It should be remembered that the Cabinet is no legal part of our constitutional machinery, and that all the vast and varied responsibilities of the entire executive system of the United States rest upon the President personally. He appoints the hundreds of thousands of civil officers, either directly or through his subordinates. He is commander of the armies and navies. He can do a vast deal of playing fast and loose with the personnel and material of those establishments if he lacks firmness, fairness, or good judgment. He carries on the business of our country with foreign nations, and can get us into serious trouble if he has not wisdom enough to avoid strife. His veto

power over the laws passed by Congress may be exercised in such a way as to thwart the will of the people as unmistakably expressed.

*An Instance of  
One-Man  
Rule*

For example, the Republicans promised in 1908 to revise the tariff if Taft was elected President. They failed absolutely to keep their promise,—although the so-called “progressive” Republicans were loyal to the party’s pledge and carried the torch of true Republicanism. President Taft identified himself with the failure to revise the tariff; and,—not content with that position,—went so far as to try by all sorts of means to drive out of the party the very men who were the party’s



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MR. WILLIAM BARNES, JR., OF ALBANY, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE  
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

(Who controlled and organized the Republican State Convention last month, and refused Taft's demand for instructed delegates while permitting the convention to "urge" the delegates to support Taft)

saving salt. This was in 1909 and 1910. The country expressed its condemnation in the overwhelming defeat of the Republican party at the polls in the Congressional elections of November, 1910. The Democrats came into control of the House with a clear mandate to pass bills reducing tariff rates. They passed several bills of this character through the House, with votes averaging 200 for and 100 against. These bills were also passed through the Senate by substantial majorities. They represented the overwhelming sentiment of the whole country, regardless of party. Yet Mr. Taft, as President, vetoed the bills for reasons which had not weighed with Congress, and which did not weigh with the public.

*Power  
versus  
Discretion*

This, then, is a concrete illustration of the power of one man in our national affairs. The two branches of the law-making body had made substantial and valuable revisions of important parts of the tariff in a series of bills. It had not been supposed by the framers of the Constitution that in matters of this kind a President would take it upon himself to use the veto power. Mr. Taft's argument was that several men had been designated by him to look up tariff facts, and that he preferred to wait for their conclusions. But these officials had not been authorized by law to make such investigations. Furthermore, it is obvious that the results of their inquiries, if



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VICE-PRESIDENT SHERMAN

(Whose renomination was demanded by the New York State organization as part of the price to be paid for "urging" the delegates to support Taft)

valuable, would in any case have to be used by Congress and not by the President. Is it strange,—in view of matters of such far-reaching importance as this,—that the whole people of the country wish to select the man who, when once chosen President, may decide that he will act as their arbitrary ruler rather than as their servant? It was, indeed, within Mr. Taft's constitutional power to veto the tariff bills. But it takes a very wise man to know how to use such a discretion.

*The Man Who  
Makes and  
Unmakes  
Fortunes*

Under the methods provided for dealing with alleged offenders against the Sherman Anti-Trust law, suits must be brought, not by people having grievances, but by the Department of Justice itself. The Department of Justice has no initiative except as personally directed by the President. There are few, if

any, large business undertakings that may not, on one ground or another, be accused of violating the Sherman Act. There are thousands even of very small associations and groups engaged in business that may also, on one pretext or another, be made the victims of a suit brought in the federal courts for "restraint of trade." It lies within the power of a President, impelled by political or personal motives, to bring annoying suits against some businesses, while postponing indefinitely such action against those that are close to him in politics or otherwise. Wrong and injustice lurk in the possible abuse of this terrible power. No such power exists in the hands of an executive officer in any other country except ours. It takes the highest kind of moral character, and the sternest devotion to duty, to exercise such powers in a spirit of impartial justice. How can an administration that is desperately striving to retain such colossal power for another term be in the right temper to exercise delicate discretions of this kind? How can the public confidence be retained, if an administration is straining every nerve, and using every resource at its command, to control the party machinery and gain mastery over the Presidential convention? This paragraph is not written to make accusation, but to show how necessary it is that the people should put a man of their own choosing in a place that can so easily be changed by its incumbent from a place of public service to a place of over-weening arrogance and vindictive mastery over men's private affairs.

*An Instance of  
Presidential  
Power*

In a great speech in the Senate last month, Mr. Cummins argued in favor of his bill permitting the independent tobacco companies to carry into the Supreme Court their objections to the reorganization of the Tobacco Trust. Mr. Cummins showed that, for a period of some weeks, there were conferences of a confidential nature participated in by several United States circuit judges, the lawyers of the Department of Justice, and the lawyers of the Tobacco Trust. These conferences resulted in a reorganization of the trust as a sequel to the victory gained in the Supreme Court in the great suit which had been instituted under Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and which had been carried through by the brilliant work of an able lawyer, Mr. McReynolds. The suit had been brought at the demand of the independent tobacco companies, the small dealers, and the agricultural interests engaged in tobacco growing. The reorganiza-



tion worked out by the Tobacco Trust, with the approval of the Taft administration, has been profitable and highly satisfactory to the trust itself. It has been profoundly disappointing to those for whose benefit the original suit had been brought.

**A New and  
Dangerous  
Power**

Senator Cummins, himself a distinguished lawyer, holds that these private negotiations, between the Department of Justice and the particular trusts or corporations that are involved in prosecution or investigation, are a wholly new thing and a very objectionable and dangerous one. At least no one can deny that it illustrates the stupendous growth of power and discretion in the hands of one man. For it is even charged that Mr. Roosevelt, as President, sanctioned the purchase by the Steel Trust of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, while it is not to be denied that both he and President Taft have been constantly approached, directly or indirectly, by the heads of great corporations seeking to have suits withheld, withdrawn, or postponed. Is this said by way of criticism upon either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft? Assuredly not. It is said to illustrate the power over business affairs that has come to be exercised by the President, whosoever he may be. And this furnishes a reason why the people are demanding, not merely that they may choose between candidates in November, but that they may help to select the candidates in June. For they wish to choose their own ruler; and this country is now *ruled* by its President.

**This Year's  
Issue**

The "progressive movement" means a great many other things, but most of all this year it means that the people are determined to have something to say about the selection of their President. If they are gagged and misrepresented in the two great national conventions, they will not wait four years, but will in this very year 1912 find a way to put popular candidates into the field and to vote for them next November. Nor will the people be misled by the newspapers that try to make them afraid of their own shadows. Because the people believe in a particular man, it does not follow that he is a "demagogue." Because he wishes democratic institutions to be really democratic, it does not follow that he is proclaiming "socialism." There is no progressive,—neither Roosevelt nor any other,—who has made any attack whatsoever upon judges or the judiciary. It is



HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN

(Who was approved by the Illinois Republican primaries to succeed Shelby M. Cullom in the United States Senate)

because the progressives so fully understand the need of judges and courts that they wish not only to preserve the judiciary, but to make it better serve the ends of justice. But what the people most want to do this year is to get at the party organizations, and make them serve public opinion.

**Illinois  
and  
Pennsylvania**

The great lessons of the Illinois and Pennsylvania primaries swept across the country with an impressiveness that was solemn and magnificent. It is possible to interpret what happened without reference to mere individuals. It all meant that this country has witnessed *for the last time* the deliberate attempt of a President of the United States to renominate himself by the use of patronage and power in the Southern States, and by bargains and alliances with bosses and machines in the Northern States. Hereafter, a President who wishes a second term will have to put himself in the hands of the people. He will have to announce, in his first term, that he will accept another term only as the people choose to confer it upon him. He will forbid any man to say to him anything about "delegates" or "conventions." He will do his duty as President, and accept the conse-



GOVERNOR DENEEN OF ILLINOIS

♦ (Endorsed for another term at the Republican primaries)

quences. The party bosses will not be able to conspire against him, because the people in their Presidential primaries will support him if they want him. He will cease to rest upon the preposterous assumption that because he has been given one term he is therefore "entitled" to another.

*A Vision  
of the  
Near Future*

Some of the most conspicuous public men who for reasons of politics are among the Taft leaders at Washington have repeatedly said in private that within a very few years not only would the attempt of a President to renominate himself by the use of power be regarded as unfitting, but would lead inevitably to impeachment proceedings. Hereafter, if a President is to have a renomination he will have to get it as the Honorable Jonathan Bourne is dealing with his Oregon constituents. Mr. Bourne is working with diligence and industry at his job as a United States Senator. He has informed the people of Oregon that they ought to know their own minds, and that if they wish to continue him

as Senator they can say so in their primary election. But if it is fitting for a United States Senator to take this course, it is vastly more incumbent upon a President to keep hands off. And this is for a very obvious reason. The Senator has no executive power, and he is far away from his State, where his enemies might conspire against him. But a President has colossal executive power; and if he uses it at all to reflect himself he becomes reckless in his quest, and before he knows it his methods become indefensible. The country owes it to the man it places in the White House that he should be relieved of temptation. The Presidential primary will afford this relief. If Senator Cummins' bill should be passed, we would at once have a fair and



HON. WILLIAM FLINN

(Pittsburgh Republican leader, whose support of Roosevelt will probably make him national committeeman in place of Senator Penrose)

just Presidential primary for the whole country. This would remove from the President the inducement to use patronage improperly, or to make bargains with bosses. It would enable him to devote his time and talent to the work of his office, instead of giving a great part of it to politics.



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CHAIRMAN BARNES, OF THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE, AND CHAIRMAN SAM KOENIG, OF THE NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE, AT THE STATE CONVENTION

(Mr. Koenig received telephonic congratulations from President Taft over the results of the primaries in New York City, which Mr. Roosevelt truly characterized as a "criminal farce")

*High Principles at Stake*

The principles involved are of much more importance than any individuals. If the Republican voters wish to renominate Mr. Taft, they ought to have a chance to express their will. If they do not wish to renominate him, their will ought not to be obstructed. Up to the last moment, the Pennsylvania organization controlled by Senator Penrose had declared that Mr. Taft would be endorsed by the Republican voters of Pennsylvania. Similar claims had been issued from the White House and from the Taft headquarters in Washington. Mr. Taft had gone before the primaries for their verdict, and his organization had worked strenuously throughout the State. Pennsylvania voted overwhelmingly against Mr. Taft and in favor of Mr. Roosevelt. The prevailing Republican sentiment was more than 2 to 1 against Taft. This verdict had followed the great anti-Taft sweep in Illinois. In that State the anti-Taft vote was nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 1. No intelligent and candid public man could doubt that Pennsylvania was representative of Eastern sentiment, and that Illinois was representative of

Middle-Western sentiment. Wisconsin, a little earlier, had gone anti-Taft, in fair primaries by about 3 to 1. North Dakota Republicans had given Taft only about 3 per cent., or 1 vote in 31.

*New York in Contrast*

On the day of the Illinois primaries, the New York Republican convention was sitting at Rochester. This convention's organization and plans had been made a good many weeks before the delegates themselves were chosen. The convention was wholly dominated by the State organization, at the head of which was Mr. William Barnes, Jr., of Albany. The State had held primaries under an absurd and farcical law which left the situation wholly in the hands of the Republican machine. Preliminary tests of Republican sentiment, all the way from New York City to Buffalo, made during the previous six months, had shown a clear anti-Taft majority. The machine, at an earlier stage, had made overtures and negotiations with the idea that it might support Roosevelt. Later on it made an alliance with the Taft people. In New



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York.  
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW AND JOB HEDGES AT THE  
ROCHESTER CONVENTION

(It was Mr. Depew who suggested the famous compromise resolution. Taft had sent letters and messages begging instructed delegates. Barnes was refusing to grant the request. Depew suggested the idea of 'urging' the delegates. This saved the face of the Taft men while leaving the delegates wholly free to use their own judgment.)

York, as in Pennsylvania, there is ample reason to believe that the alliance was eagerly solicited from Washington. Both parties in the State of New York have for a long time been organized upon a quasi-military plan. This is particularly true in New York City. The decisions made by the heads of the machines can be carried out because there are many thousands of organization men, under their district and precinct leaders, who follow instructions.

Readers of this magazine throughout the country will be interested in the following confidential statement from a member of the New York Republican organization, which shows clearly how New York was carried for Taft:

The primaries at which the delegates to the presidential convention were elected were carried for Taft in my Assembly District. Our organization, however, could have carried those primaries for Roosevelt, because we have a strong, trained, intelligent, industrious body of workers. If the money we spent, the time devoted, the literature used and the taxicabs and workers employed on primary day had been devoted to the support of

Roosevelt in our district, his delegates would have been chosen to go to Chicago. An analysis of the vote cast would show this to be true.

I am sure, also, that we could have carried these primaries for Hughes if we had desired to.

The significance of it all is that in many cases it is not the voice of the people that decides in ballot box contests, but frequently the voice of the political organization. For instance, when I was a candidate for State Legislature, the last time I ran I carried my election district by over 200 majority. My successor, representing the same party, a year later carried it by a majority of only 16. I carried the entire Assembly district in the year in question by over 3000 majority, while the next year my successor had less than 250 majority. The difference, largely, was due to the fact that the organization worked harder for me than it did for my successor. It is almost a political axiom that only a landslide (like that which overcame the Republicans two years ago) can defeat a well-built political organization; and our political organization this year, for several reasons, is working for Taft's renomination, although we have personally little if any use for the man.

*The Hand-  
writing on  
the Wall*

It is true that the State convention contained many intelligent and prominent men, and that these men, for reasons of their own, favored Taft. But it is also true that the large group of able gentlemen who will go to the Chicago convention from New York were, almost to a man, personally selected, long in advance of the primaries, by the State Central Committee. They go to Chicago because they were appointed by the machine, and not because they were elected by the party voters as their representatives. These distinguished men seemed to be perfectly contented with the existing system. They sneered at the progressive movement, and were at pains to inform the reporters that Mr. Roosevelt had so "petered out" as a candidate that he was wholly forgotten and that nobody had heard his name mentioned, even in casual conversation, where delegates were grouped in the Rochester hotel lobbies. Yet at that very moment the Republican voters of Illinois, by the hundreds of thousands, were marking their primary ballots for Colonel Roosevelt. Rochester represented "Belshazzar's feast," and Illinois represented "the handwriting on the wall." At Rochester they "*praised the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.*"

In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall . . .

Then the King's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him so that the joints of his loins were loosed and his knees smote one against another.

The King cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. . . .

Then came in all the King's wise men, but they could not read the writing nor make known to the King the interpretation thereof. . . .

Then Daniel answered and said before the King: Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the King and make known to him the interpretation. . . .

This is the interpretation of the thing:  
*God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it.  
 Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting.* . . .

*Some  
 Neighbors of  
 Illinois*

The thing that happened in Illinois is undeniably what would have happened in Indiana, Michigan, and Kentucky if there had been Presidential primaries held in such a way as to give the Republican party a fair chance. The Michigan Legislature had adopted a good primary law, but the Taft men, by a characteristic effort, kept it from going into effect in time for use this year. Two-thirds majorities were needed for that purpose. The lower House gave the needed ratio, while the State Senate, which gave a large majority, lacked three votes of the two-thirds. A single word from Mr. Taft would have permitted the Michigan voters to express their will. The use of the old system resulted in a shameful disregard of fair play. The Roosevelt contestants in the State convention were thrown out by the machine without even a chance to present their case. The methods used in Kentucky were even more high-handed; and Indiana was the scene of manipulation and fraud.

*Working  
 on a  
 False Theory*

There is an astonishing lack of vision, this year, on the part of machine politicians in the Republican party. The leaders of the Taft movement have blinded themselves into supposing that the Republican voters would accept and ratify the work of a majority in the national convention, no matter by what means that majority might be secured. This, however, is sheer fatuity. The Republican convention is going to be controlled by the



HOW ABOUT IT, MR. PRESIDENT?  
 From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



HON. TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, OF MICHIGAN,  
 FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
 (Who is one of the leaders in the Roosevelt movement and  
 one of the witnesses of high-handed methods in  
 the Michigan State Convention)

real Republican voters. The Southern delegations, obtained by federal coercion and improper methods, with no Republican voters behind them, will not be allowed to dictate to the Republican party. No result dependent upon the use of these manipulated delegations will be accepted for a moment. The National Committee will not dare either to condone fraud or to thwart the plain will of the party. The present acting chairman of the National Republican Committee is Mr. Victor Rosewater, of Nebraska, who has at different times been a valued contributor to this magazine. Four years ago Mr. Rosewater (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for March, 1908) wrote an instructive article entitled "Nominating a President."

*What  
 Rosewater  
 Knows*

This is what, among other things, Mr. Rosewater said at that time:

In almost all the States known as the "Solid South," the Republican organization is chiefly a paper organization, maintained by federal office-holders and those who aspire to federal office, together with a few negro Republicans who are not permitted to cast a ballot in the election. It has been mathematically computed that the vote of a Republican in certain Southern districts, in its proportionate influence upon the party nominations, is equal to from 10 to 50 Republican votes in the Northern States.

Mr. Rosewater's own State of Nebraska has an honest primary for choosing delegates. It has sixteen members in the national convention, and it cast 127,000 Republican votes in November, 1908. But the State of Mississippi cast only 4360 votes for Taft in 1908, and it has 20 delegates in the national Republican convention. These twenty have been duly captured and are proudly and ostentatiously claimed for Mr. Taft. They represent nothing except a bunch of officeholders coerced from Washington. Certainly Mr. Rosewater has enough regard for his long-established convictions, his high reputation, and his responsibilities as national committeeman for Nebraska, to protect the real delegates of the real party from the mercenary squads that represent nothing but manipulation by command from Washington. The Nebraska primaries of last month were mandatory in their verdicts.

*Untainted  
Credentials  
Must Control*

Unless the Republican party wishes to commit suicide at once, its titular leaders will allow the convention to be organized only by men who have untainted credentials. The slightest attempt to nominate a candidate with the help of the Southern delegations who could not be nominated by virtue of votes from the Republican States, would mean inevitable defeat at the polls in November. A Republican ticket nominated under those circumstances would not only lose the country as a whole, but it would lose every single State in the Union. A close study of the tables given in Professor Potts' article (on page 562 of this number) will make this point clear. Either Illinois or Pennsylvania alone has more than three times as large a Republican vote as all the nine "solid" Southern States put together. These Southern States have more than two hundred votes in the Republican convention. Mr. Taft's instructed delegates, of which there was so much boasting last month, were almost entirely from these Southern States, not one of which will cast a single Republican vote in the electoral college.

*Senator Crane  
and his  
Delegation*

Massachusetts alone casts as large a Republican vote as those nine Southern States put together. Senator Crane is, indeed, a very active supporter of the Taft candidacy. But as national committeeman for Massachusetts Mr. Crane would not permit the thirty-six delegates honestly chosen in his State under fair primary laws to be outweighed by the thirty-eight manipulated delegates from Georgia

and Florida. Nobody in the progressive camp desires to get control of the Republican party against the party's mature will. But since the party seems to be overwhelmingly progressive in its sentiments, there is no possible chance to secure acquiescence in a manipulated national convention. The leaders in the end will not disregard public opinion.

*Democrats  
at  
Washington*

Although our political comment this month seems to be monopolized by the Republican situation, it does not follow that the Democrats are not to come in for their full share of notice before November polling begins. Since our notes of last month, the Democrats in the House have passed their wool-revision bill. It was decided not to pass a cotton bill unless the Senate should act definitely upon the several tariff bills that have already been sent to it. The Democrats had also decided not to appropriate money for the further continuance of the work of the so-called Tariff Board. This decision would seem fully justified under the circumstances. A tariff commission, duly constituted by law, with authority to study the tariff from the standpoint of revenue and fiscal policy, might at some future time render very valuable service. But it is hard to see in the work of the present group of gentlemen who have been making inquiries into the cost of production, any results that justify the great sums of money expended.



SCHEDULE K (WOOL) AND THE COTTON SCHEDULE  
KNOCKING AT THE DOORS OF CONGRESS  
From the *World* (New York)

These gentlemen have probably at least convinced themselves that the notion of adjusting the American tariff on the basis of relative cost of production at home and abroad is highly fallacious. The Democrats at Washington are working together well, and are giving a very good account of themselves.

*Their Candidates* There is no indication as yet who will be nominated for President by the Baltimore convention.

The excessive Republican activity was due to the attempt at capturing delegates for Taft, long in advance, by the holding of mid-winter conventions in the South. Democratic efforts have been proceeding more calmly. In the great Illinois primary Champ Clark carried the day by a large majority against Governor Wilson, while in the Pennsylvania primary Wilson was completely successful. Speaker Clark's success in Illinois was attributed in part to the support of the Hearst newspapers in Chicago. The New York Democratic convention was dominated by the Tammany organization, with Charles F. Murphy in unquestioned control. This great New York delegation, with its ninety delegates, will act solidly at Baltimore under the unit rule; but it does not as yet disclose preference for any candidate. Since the holding of that convention there has been fresh talk of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York City as a possible Democratic "dark horse." It is quite certain that the Democrats will



"REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT" BARNES AND MURPHY  
From the *World* (New York)

soon begin very seriously to consider the reasons for abandoning the outworn unit rule and two-thirds rule, that are fitly characterized by Mr. Potts, in the article to which we have already referred as appearing in this number of the REVIEW. Governor Wilson, Governor Harmon, and Speaker Clark remain the leading Democratic candidates, while there is an unmistakable popular demand in some quarters for Mr. Bryan, and much evidence of the popularity and strength of Mr. Underwood. It continues to be said that the Democratic convention will be influenced in its choice at Baltimore by the action of the Republicans, a week earlier, at Chicago.



WHO WILL GET THE BOUQUET OF NEW YORK  
DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES?

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

*The Senate's Personnel* The eyes of the country have been much directed, for several years past, toward the United States Senate. Its personnel has changed greatly. It is, upon the whole, a body of able and earnest men, and much better representative of the nation's intellect and ideals than it was a dozen years ago. The oldest surviving member of the Senate is Mr. Cullom of Illinois. He was heavily defeated at the recent State primary, and his successor will be Lawrence Y. Sherman, a Springfield lawyer, unless the Republicans lose the legislature. The elements that carried the State for Colonel Roosevelt also supported Sherman, and they indorsed Deneen for another term as governor. If the Democrats should control the Illinois legislature, the Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis would go to the Senate by virtue of success in the Democratic primaries. The new Senators from New Mexico are Albert B. Fall and Thomas B. Catron, both





Albert B. Fall                      Thomas B. Catron  
NEW MEXICO'S FIRST UNITED STATES SENATORS

Republicans. We have previously mentioned the new Arizona Senators, Henry F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith. The legislature of Maine has approved Governor Plaisted's appointment of Obadiah Gardner to serve out the term of the late Senator Frye. The Republican governor of Tennessee has appointed a well-known manufacturer of Chattanooga, the Hon. Newell Sanders, to succeed the late Senator Robert L. Taylor. The Senate now has a membership of ninety-six, with one vacancy caused by the death of Senator Hughes of Colorado.

*Railroad  
Regulation*

While statesmen like Senator Cummins are working steadily toward a real solution of the problem of regulating industrial trusts and corporations, there are still some vital questions undecided regarding the control of railroad systems as common carriers. Last month the Interstate Commerce Commission, by a majority of one, rendered an important decision in a case immediately affecting Texas and Louisiana. Texas state laws require railroad rates within the State which put at a disadvantage the shippers from points outside, because of the higher interstate rates. Commissioner Lane, supported by a majority of his colleagues, rendered a decision under which the interstate shipper must be relieved by the railroad from all disadvantage. This seems to be an assertion of the fact that com-

merce is national rather than local. Meanwhile, however, arguments on April 1 were made before the United States Supreme Court in assertion of the opposite principle. The State of Minnesota has a law fixing passenger rates at two cents a mile. Judge Sanborn, of the United States Circuit Court, granted an injunction against this local rate, on the ground that it discriminated against the interstate patron of railroads, who had to pay higher passenger and freight rates. The Governors' Conference last year had decided to file a brief against Judge Sanborn's decision, and a committee of three,—consisting of Governor Harmon of Ohio, Governor Hadley of Missouri, and Governor Aldrich of Nebraska,—was appointed to prepare the brief and make the arguments. Governor Harmon's appearance before the court at Washington, on April 1, attracted much attention. A brief was also filed on behalf of the railway commissions of eight States, comprising Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Texas. It will require careful thought and study to work out the true solution of this conflict between State and national principles. Railroad valuation and control of express companies are among the new tasks entrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission.



HON. NEWELL SANDERS  
(United States Senator from Tennessee)



DR. GERHARD H. BADING  
(Mayor-elect of Milwaukee to succeed the Socialist  
mayor, Mr. Emil Seidel)



MR. HENRY L. JOST  
(Mayor-elect of Kansas City; this being a Democratic  
victory in a Presidential year)

*A National  
Children's  
Bureau*

The bill for the establishment of what will be known as the Federal Children's Bureau, in the Department of Commerce and Labor, has at last passed both Houses of Congress and received the signature of President Taft. It will be the business of this bureau to "investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life." More specifically, it is provided that the bureau shall investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneration, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, and legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories. Heretofore there has been no government agency in the United States equipped to collect and disseminate information of this kind. The census office has enough to do in its regular statistical work without diverting its energies to the subjects enumerated above. Important facts disclosed by the census, such, for example, as the unusual mortality of children in certain factory towns, can now be investigated scientifically and the causes of such abnormal conditions ascertained.

Work of this kind in the nation at large has been performed, up to this time, by organizations privately endowed, such as the National Child Labor Committee, which has been active in securing the passage of the new law. No single State has the power to conduct an inquiry on a national scale. All this much-needed work will now be performed by a national bureau, much as similar bureaus already long established by the federal government conduct inquiries regarding various forms of our material wealth. The President has named Miss Julia Lathrop, of Chicago, an associate of Miss Addams, of Hull House, as the first chief of the new bureau.

*Milwaukee's  
City  
Election*

Of the municipal elections held last month, those of Milwaukee and Kansas City were among the most significant. In Milwaukee, the Socialist administration that has been in power for the past two years was swept from office by a non-partisan coalition of voters which installed a Republican mayor, Dr. Gerhard Bading, and an anti-Socialist Board of Aldermen and County Board of Supervisors. The Socialists were charged with extravagance

high taxes, and violation of the civil-service laws. It would be a mistake, however, to infer that the Socialist party in Milwaukee has been overwhelmed or eliminated, for Mayor Seidel actually received a vote thirty per cent. greater than that which placed him in office two years ago. The Voters' League, which brought about the combination that defeated the Seidel administration, admitted that the Socialists had introduced a few useful reforms in the city government, and it is probable that some of these will be continued by the new administration. One of these innovations was the establishment of a Bureau of Economy and Efficiency. In Kansas City, the Democrats were completely victorious electing Henry L. Jost mayor.

*The Great  
Mississippi  
Floods*

In the latter part of March and the first weeks of April occurred one of the most disastrous floods that ever devastated the Mississippi Valley. Fed by hard, incessant rains and melting snow and ice, the various tributaries of the Mississippi River—the Missouri, the Platte, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Wabash, and a myriad of smaller streams—poured their swollen torrents into the great river. The Mississippi rose steadily at an alarming rate day by day, breaking levees and embankments all along its course. From Illinois to Louisiana, a distance of over six hundred miles, the territory adjacent to the river was affected, more than two thousand square miles of land being inundated. Farms and towns were flooded, houses and factories and cattle swept away, property of all kinds destroyed, and train service crippled. Almost two score of lives were lost, and as many as thirty thousand were made homeless and suffered intense hardship. The financial loss was estimated at considerably in excess of ten millions of dollars. The federal government and the National Red Cross Society promptly undertook relief measures, Congress cooperating with an appropriation of money, and the War Department sending tents for the houseless. While a flood of this tremendous severity does not occur very often, it is not at all certain that it may not be repeated the very next spring, with similarly disastrous results unless protective measures are immediately taken. For this purpose, Mr. B. F. Yoakum, the well-known railroad man, suggests that the Government use the great dredges which are now becoming idle by reason of the approaching completion of the Panama Canal. As Mr. Yoakum's railroad traverses territory affected by these Missis-

siippi floods, he has given a good deal of study to the subject of remedial measures. The article along this line which he contributes to this issue of the REVIEW is, therefore, worthy of the highest consideration.

*Labor  
Problems*

Fortunately for the parties directly concerned,—the miners, the operators, and last, but certainly not least, the American public,—the gloomy anticipations that were prevalent some weeks ago regarding the general strike in the anthracite coal regions were not fulfilled last month. Work was suspended, it is true, pending an agreement for another three-years' period between the operators and the men, but the conferences that took place between representatives of the United Mine Workers and the heads of the coal corporations were distinctly amicable and the details of the settlement were left to a sub-committee in which both sides were adequately represented. There was every reason to believe, late last month, that a working agreement would be reached. The bituminous operators granted a 5 per cent. advance in wages, which was accepted as satisfactory by the mine workers for the coming two years. Meanwhile, the locomotive engineers of fifty Eastern railroads, under the leadership of Grand Chief Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, voted last month in favor of a strike for increased wages. In the textile industry the New England mills have steadily continued to grant wage advances affecting many thousands of operatives. In the worsted mills of Passaic, N. J., there was an unsuccessful strike for higher wages and recognition of the union.

*Men  
and  
Religion*

Last month an important conference was held in New York City under the auspices of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The objects of this new type of evangelism have already been outlined in these pages. In general, the aim is to restore the masculine element to the churches throughout the country and by a combined effort to bring men and boys into church organizations in increasing numbers. This propaganda appealed with peculiar force to Mr. W. T. Stead, who was particularly interested in the department for social service organized by the leaders of the movement. Mr. Stead had been asked to address meetings held under the auspices of this organization, and had sailed on the *Titanic* with the purpose of keeping these appointments.

No Japanese  
"Plot" in  
Mexico

When about a year ago the newspapers permitted themselves to become very much worked up over the alleged attempt of the Japanese government to obtain a concession of land from the Mexican government for a coaling-station on Magdalena Bay this magazine took occasion to remark that the so-called concession was in all probability an unimportant one to some small commercial interest, and that, if the incident should ever call for attention by our government, Congress and the President would take immediate and proper action. This is exactly what has happened. On April 2 the Senate took official cognizance of the rumors of Japan's intended action. Senator Lodge introduced a resolution—which was passed immediately and without discussion—calling upon the President to furnish the Senate with all the data in the possession of the government relative to this reported acquisition from Mexico by Japanese interests of a strip of land on Magdalena Bay.

Premier  
Saloni  
Explains

In reply to a cablegram from the New York Times Marquis Sainonji, Prime Minister of Japan, declared that, on October 17, 1911, the Oriental Whaling Company of Japan concluded with the Mexican government a contract by the terms of which the company sent to Mexico

one of its directors with fishing experts and fishermen, numbering about ten, who are now engaged in the investigation of the fishing district. This fishing district extends from the territory of Tepic to the State of Oaxaca, which has geographically no connection with Magdalena Bay. The term of the fishing right is for ten years, and has no political significance whatever, it being purely an individual industrial enterprise, on the part of a Japanese private concern. Nor is it a privilege exceptionally granted to Japanese subjects, the similar fishing rights having heretofore been granted to the citizens or subjects of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and others countries.

From unofficial sources in Mexico it was learned that negotiations for turning over the concession to the Japanese interests aforesaid were actually under way when the Lodge resolution was passed by the Senate. Now, it is learned from the same sources the negotiations have been dropped, and it may be safely assumed that they will not be taken up again. With the formal official denial by President Madero that Mexico is arranging or ever will arrange for any cession to Japan of land on Magdalena Bay for a coaling station the atmosphere may be said to have cleared.

Secretary  
Knox  
Returns

Secretary Knox, returning from his extended tour of Caribbean America, of which we have already spoken more at length in these pages, made a six days' stay in Cuba last month. He arrived in Santiago on April 5, visited the battlefields of the Spanish-American war and was officially received at Havana. His welcome was polite and appropriate, if not noticeably enthusiastic. For the absence of "pretentious fulsomeness" Mr. Knox expressed himself grateful. His address at the dinner given in his honor by President Gomez on April 11 was mainly a reassurance to the Cuban people in the matter of the friendly attitude of the United States. He warned the Cubans against "those self-seekers who make a business of the politics of their country." In the days of its infancy the Cuban republic has had too many politicians. This fact, says the *Havana Post*, is "perfectly well known to the Cubans themselves." Mr. Knox's speech means "nothing more than that it is the opinion of the American government and people that, if Cuba is to prosper, its people and not its politicians must rule."

Politics in Cuba  
and  
Porto Rico

The Cuban presidential campaign has already begun. The national convention of the Conservative party was held on April 7. The delegates unanimously and enthusiastically nominated for the presidency General Juan Mario Menocal, at present Secretary of Justice and one of the wealthiest and most respected sugar plantation owners of the island. The Liberal convention met on April 15 and picked out, with unanimity and equal enthusiasm, Dr. Alfredo Zayas, for president. Dr. Zayas is now vice-president of the republic and one of the best known of the Liberal leaders. Our own island of Porto Rico has been prospering greatly of late. According to Foster F. Brown, who last month resigned as Attorney-General of the island, Porto Ricans are "taking with ever-increasing zeal to American institutions and customs and are yearning for nothing so much as for American citizenship." A few days before Mr. Brown reached Washington the House of Representatives passed the bill of Congressman Jones, of Virginia, already favorably reported by the Committee on Insular Affairs, declaring that "all citizens of Porto Rico are citizens of the United States." On another page this month we present a summary by a competent eye-witness of what the American régime has done in Porto Rico since we acquired the island.

*Triple Alliance  
vs.  
Triple Entente* Well-informed observers of the political, social and economic forces that count most in the progress of current European history are noting certain signs of uneasiness and instability in the relations between the great military and naval powers which, to their trained sense, portend a coming storm. The Turco-Italian war has disturbed the delicate balance of European politics to a much greater extent than the man in the street realizes. Ever since "Bismarck's masterpiece," the Triple Alliance, of Germany, Austria and Italy, was achieved, in 1883, Europe has been fairly well divided into two armed camps. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the latter consisting of Great Britain, Russia and France, are almost equal in strength, and this approximate equality has come to be a guarantee of peace, since it renders very doubtful the outcome of a war. As we pointed out in these pages in March, the chief danger point in the political relations of the world powers at present is the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany.

*The  
Game of  
Alliances* The main object of this rivalry, as the great game of international politics is being played in every corner of the globe, is for one of these great rivals to weaken or detach one of the allies of the other, or to add a new national unit to its own strength. The complexity of this shift and play is further increased by the rivalries and jealousies between members of the same group of great powers and the various "understandings" and "agreements" for specific purposes that cut across the larger lines of alliance. Turkey, for example, is always counted by the political experts as being on the side of the Dreibund, and as Russia's inveterate enemy. Yet the Porte now has an understanding with the St. Petersburg government, chiefly regarding the status of the Balkans and Persia. The conclusion of this agreement was announced last month. For several years, ever since Czar Nicholas visited King Victor Emmanuel in Italy, the governments of Rome and St. Petersburg have been in agreement over certain questions of general European policy. Similarly, Germany and Austria have special understandings with Russia. Only last month we heard that Russia and Italy had agreed as to the question of opening the Dardanelles, while the formation of a new dreibund, to include Russia, Italy and Austria, was being whispered about in the press of the continent.

*Italy  
and the  
Dreibund* The most significant fact of the past year, however, in this ever-changing web of alliances and cross alliances has been the fear that, as a consequence of her war against Turkey, Italy would detach herself from the Triple Alliance and thus, by shifting sides, at once completely destroy the balance. For a decade or more Italy has been drawing nearer to France, her sister Latin nation, with whom she has much more in common than with her Teutonic neighbors. Then there is the traditional Italian friendship for France's British ally. Despite Italian resentment at British criticism of her war with Turkey, and her recent little difference of opinion with France over contraband, there have been indications that Italy was veering in the direction of her western neighbors. The German Kaiser then set himself to work. First he sent his suave, forceful foreign minister, Baron von Kiderlen-Wächter, to confer with Baron Tittoni, the Italian foreign minister.

*Renewing  
the  
Pact* While as yet the world knows nothing of the details of the meeting between these two statesmen, it is to be assumed that the German convinced the Italian that the open hostility of Austria and German and Austrian support for Turkey, which would surely follow if Italy forsook her Teutonic friends, would be too high a price to pay for an entrance into the Triple Entente. Moreover, as we have already pointed out, Italy now has a Mediterranean agreement with France, a Balkan understanding with Russia and an ancient unimpaired friendship with Great Britain. Therefore, when, late in March, the Kaiser himself made his formal visit to King Victor Emmanuel at Venice, after his usual cordial meeting with Emperor Franz Josef at Vienna, he found the matter virtually settled. In the language of statecraft, "it may be stated on high official authority that an understanding in principle" has been arrived at which will insure the prolongation of the Triple Alliance for another period, of just how long it is not stated. That the terms of the renewal are radically different from the original agreement, however, may be inferred from the bitter attacks that are going on in the German semi-official press against Italy and her course in the present war. One of the most serious of the German reviews, the *Sddeutsche Monatshefte*, calls the renewal of the alliance a crime, and makes a savage attack on the value of the Italian partnership.

*The  
War in  
Tripoli*

The war in Tripoli still drags on. We have alternate reports of Italian attacks on Turkish ports and of Arab victories on the Tripolitan desert. The Italians are finding their task a tremendous one. It would seem as though they could neither advance nor retreat. Within the range of their great naval guns they are triumphant. The extent of territory they actually hold, however, is not much greater than it was a month after the invasion began. The attacks by the fanatically brave Arabs appear to be increasing in number and violence. The war, it is admitted, is costing something like half a million dollars a day. As for the Turks, their position is plain and simple. A member of the Ottoman parliament recently elected is quoted as saying last month:

We cannot make peace with Italy for two very good reasons. If we made peace, signing away Tripoli, we should immediately be confronted with a far more serious war, a war of the Arabs against the power which had betrayed them to their foes. The other reason why we cannot make peace is because it costs us less to make war than it did to govern Tripoli in time of peace. The war at present costs us nothing. Tripoli in time of peace was a burden upon our finances. Tripoli carries on the war without asking from us one piastre. But an Arab war would cost us much. To ask us to make peace, therefore, is to ask us to exchange a war with Italy, which costs us nothing and cannot possibly do us any serious harm, for a war with the Arabs which will cost millions and might entail the loss of the whole of Arabia and Mesopotamia. So far as we are concerned there will be no peace until the summer comes, when the cholera and perhaps the Senussi may clear the invaders out of Tripoli.

Assim Bey, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, is quoted as saying officially last month that there can be no discussion of peace until Italy "tears up her decree of annexation" of Tripoli.

*Italy's  
Civilizing  
Work*

But there is another side to the picture. This is shown by the very photographs which come from the Italian camps. All sorts of civilizing constructive work has been inaugurated and is being steadily pushed by the Italians



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

GUGLIELMO MARCONI AND THE BARON BERNARDO QUARANTA DI SAN SEVERINO. TWO EMINENT ITALIAN PATRIOTS

(From a photograph taken in New York last month)

in the territory which they have made their own. The Baron di San Severino, a patriotic Italian now lecturing in this country, to whose efforts in behalf of his fatherland's reputation and interests we have already alluded in these pages, recently gave the following summary of the civilizing work of the Italians already achieved in Tripolitania:

There are the organization of the wireless telegraph system, recently supervised by its inventor, Guglielmo Marconi, who has added important innovations to it, and the new Tripoli-Syracuse and Benghazi-Syracuse cables, which will be shortly inaugurated. Then there are the aeroplane and dirigibles that Italy is proud of being the first nation to use in warfare and about which all the military critics, among whom the correspondent of the London *Times* and Captain Chambers, of the Aviation Corps attached to the United States Navy, are enthusiastic, on account of their usefulness and success in war. The organization of our native colonial battalions of Zapties and Ascaris from our colony of Eritrea and the two hundred war dogs which have rendered great scouting service are especially noteworthy. One of our big victories was due to an alarm given us in time of the presence of the enemy by these faithful and intelligent animals. The Italian conquest dates only from a very few months,—days, one might almost say,—and yet Italy has already opened new schools for children and adults, Arabs and Italians. Already the first railway line from Tripoli to Ain-Zara, has been inaugurated and replaces for that stretch of land that antiquated and slow medium of locomotion, the camel. The first locomotive, christened the "*Tripoli*," proclaims with its

whistle the benefits of civilization. Already Italian workmen are employed on the construction of the port of Tripoli. Hygienic stations, up-to-date hospitals, laboratories for disinfection, for microscopic researches, and for preparing bacteriological cultures are in working order. A civil and criminal judiciary system, public services and police have been established. Numerous societies have been formed for the study of agriculture, mineralogy, industry and commerce, and the climatology and pathology of Tripolitania, which are only the vanguard of our emigration and of the investment of our capital in that region. Italy shows she really means to bring to Tripolitania the benefits of a healthy, well-directed and progressive administration.

✓ "Forcing"  
the  
Dardanelles

There have been frequent rumors that Russia and Italy, the powers most vitally concerned, have prevailed upon Turkey to permit an abrogation of that clause of the treaty of 1878 which closes the Dardanelles to all ships of war. Last month it was rumored that Italy was about to force the Dardanelles, dirigible airships coöperating with her fleet. So far as the Turks are concerned Italy has a monopoly of the air and a superiority on the sea. But she is impotent on land. The dominant sea power can do nothing to force the fight to a finish, because the Turk is as supreme on land as Italy is on the sea. Sheket Pasha would make short work of any Italian army that could be landed in Europe or in Asia, and without effective military occupation what is Italy to do?

Recall  
of  
Tcharikou

The initiative in attempting to reopen this question was taken by Dr. Tcharikov, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, a member of the first Hague conference and one of the Czar's most astute diplomats. German and British influence—oddly at one in this matter—defeated the project. Then, suddenly, Dr. Tcharikov was recalled from his post, practically in disgrace. This move is taken to mean the end of the Pan-Slav influence at St. Petersburg as hitherto exercised. It may be the prelude to the removal from Paris later on of M. Isvolsky, its other exponent. It also probably means the weakening of the Anglo-Russian entente and adds to the strength of the tie between Germany and Austria. It has been welcomed in Bulgaria and Servia which were being continually troubled by the interference of Russia, *i. e.* Pan-Slav Russia, in their internal and external affairs. It has cooled the filial relation of Montenegro to St. Petersburg, and, on the whole, has inclined the three Balkan states to adopt a more friendly attitude toward Turkey

with whose continued independence of the other powers of Europe they now realize that their own is bound up.

Why  
Tcharikou  
Failed

The success of this step to do away with all previous treaties concerning the straits depended on the coöperation of England and Italy with France. The republic was probably in sympathy with it, as it would neutralize the increase of the Austrian navy, which is as unfavorably regarded at Paris as in London. But the British Government, which always looks far ahead in naval matters, did not take kindly to the Tcharikov proposition, and supported the Turks in opposing it. This may account for the recent decoration of King George V with the order of Hanedan-i-al-Osman by the Sultan. Austria and Germany offered no encouragement to the Russian effort to obtain a free passage for her warships from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and would have opposed it energetically had it been pressed. Indeed, it is believed that Tcharikov's dismissal may have been at the open request of Count Berchhold, the assertive successor of the late Count Ahrenthal, as Austrian Foreign Minister, who, it is reported, is about to inaugurate a more vigorous foreign policy.

Elections  
in  
Turkey

Elections held during the past few weeks in Turkey, Greece, and Crete have already had important influence on the attitude of the Turkish people toward the prosecution of the war. In the general election in Turkey held last month, the Committee of Union and Progress—the Young Turks—defeated almost all their political opponents. It is estimated that 200 of the 267 members of the new chamber will be supporters of the Committee. The army shows no signs of mutiny, and the Young Turks have another chance. They will need it. There are uneasy movements among the Malissores and Montenegrins, and the Bulgarian revolutionists are busy. But threatened men live long, and the Sick Man, who is always on the point of death, never dies.

Greece,  
Crete and  
Egypt

In Greece there has been great popular rejoicing over the victory of Premier Venizelos. Out of the 181 deputies elected on March 24, 147 are of the Premier's party and "enthusiastically committed to his plans for the modernization of the country." These plans include financial reorganization, a thorough remodeling of the military and naval establishments, and the



maintenance of "a patriotic, dignified peace" with Turkey. Premier Venizelos is himself a Cretan, a man of progressive but moderate views. The foreign offices of the continent regard his triumph at the polls as an indication that the troublesome Cretan question will not be permitted further to embroil the Balkans. Early in March, the Cretan Revolutionary Assembly chose 72 delegates to the Greek Chamber at Athens. Before these representatives had left Canea, however, the Greek judicial tribunal (which, under the new Constitution, passes on the validity of elections) totally and finally rejected the claim of Crete to any representation in the Boulé, the one-chamber parliament of the Hellenes. Meanwhile, the sixteen Greek deputies, who are Ottoman subjects, that have been elected to the Parliament have taken their seats in Constantinople. In opening the Egyptian General Assembly, on March 25, the Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, while observing the strictly diplomatic formalities and paying a suave tribute to the justice and vigor of Lord Kitchener's administration on behalf of Great Britain, let it be known, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the sympathies of Egypt are all with the suzerain power, Turkey, in the Italian war.

*Morocco a  
French  
Protectorate*

Although the French Republic has not as yet come to a definite, detailed agreement with Spain with regard to the latter's rights and interests in Morocco, it may be assumed that France's troubles in the matter of foreign complications in the Moorish empire are practically over. According to the treaty signed by the Sultan, Mulai Hafid, on March 31, Morocco becomes a French protectorate on almost identically the same terms as those under which Tunis is now governed. There is still a Bey of Tunis, Sidi Mohammed el Nasr. Few persons, however, even in France, ever heard of him and his position is "purely decorative." Morocco will henceforth be governed by a French Resident General. M. Jonnart, formerly successful Governor-General of Algeria, has been named for the post. The government of the new colony—for such it really is—will be in the hands of French officials, but these will exercise their authority through native functionaries, who will be the only ones to come into contact with the people. The total cost of the military operations in Morocco from 1907 to date was recently reported in the French Parliament to be just a little short of twenty-nine millions of dollars.

*Dangers of  
the Portuguese  
Republic*

Senhor Theophile Braga, who was president of the provisional government of the Portuguese Republic, wrote, a short time ago, that the proclamation of the republic in Portugal was the most important event in contemporary politics. Recent events and the result of the examination of documents and correspondence left behind in the hurried flight of King Manuel from Lisbon, eighteen months ago, some of which have recently reached Paris, appear to justify Senhor Braga's belief. There is said to be a combination among certain of the European monarchical powers to bring about the destruction of the republic in Portugal and to strip it of its colonial possessions. Austria, Italy and Spain, through their governments, owing to the family relationships of the reigning houses with the Braganza dynasty, are said to be lending their assistance to the intrigues for the subversion of the republic, to which plans, it is understood, the Vatican is not indifferent. Among the autograph letters that fell into the hands of the republican government were some addressed by King Alfonso of Spain to his Portuguese cousin, and from these it has been learned that, shortly before the revolution of 1910, King Manuel had asked Spain and England to support his tottering throne. England having refused, he then turned to Germany, asking, among other things, the hand of a German princess. He was to have gone to Berlin in November of that year had not the outbreak of the previous month sent him a refugee to England. In return for the help of two or three battleships to keep him on his throne, he offered to cede to Germany the whole of Angola on the west coast of Africa. At the same time his mother asked of Spain the assistance of some Spanish regiments. What the German response was is unknown, but King Alfonso brought all the pressure he could on his prime minister, Canalejas, to support King Manuel's request.

*The  
Plot of  
Europe*

At the Vatican, the act of the new republican government which was most deeply resented was the decree separating Church and State, and its support was, therefore, given to the campaign which was organized in the monarchical countries against the republic with the approval of their sovereigns. In this campaign are included the Monarchists of Portugal, partisans of ex-King Manuel and of the pretender, Dom Miguel; the Imperialists and Royalists in France; some of those around the Kaiser William, and the German "Centrum"

and Colonial parties; and lastly, King Alfonso and the Conservative and Liberal Spanish Monarchists. Of this documentary proof has been found. Spain is expected to take a leading part in the movement and to declare that the Portuguese Republic has not fulfilled its promises in meeting the situation and the country's needs. A more natural reason for Spain's action is that she would receive territorial concessions and that the Spanish Republicans would be discouraged to see their fellow politicians overthrown in Portugal. The German interest in the matter is of another kind, being mainly commercial. The Mannesmanns, with their extensive interests in Africa, and the Krupps need a permanent supply of ores for their metallurgical industries, and these have been found in Morocco and Angola. Hence the support given to the Portuguese Monarchists by the German Colonial party. In Paris it is reported that Spain offered to make large concessions to France in Morocco in return for a free hand in Portugal, but that the offer was not accepted. It would appear, therefore, that a restoration of monarchy in Portugal has other obstacles than the resistance of the Portuguese Republicans themselves to overcome, and that Senhor Braga had good grounds for saying that the proclamation of the republic in his country was the most important event in the progress of contemporary European politics.

*British and  
German  
Navies*

Anglo-German rivalry has been accentuated by the declaration of naval policy which Mr. Churchill made in the House of Commons on March 18. The First Lord of the British Admiralty, in an amazingly frank and vigorous attempt to argue with Germany as to the uselessness of carrying on naval competition with England, stated that, "having at present numerical superiority, England must maintain it. If Germany increases her output of ships, England must more than proportionally increase her lead." If, on the other hand, Germany does not increase or diminishes her output, England will not increase; that is to say, will more than proportionally diminish hers. "For England at war a victory at sea is an absolute necessity of her existence, whereas Germany is not in that position."

*Rival  
Naval  
Budgets*

In introducing the naval estimates for the coming year, Mr. Churchill claimed that England must maintain 60 per cent. more dreadnaughts than Germany. He asked for

\$220,427,000, a decrease of approximately a million and a half from the amount spent last year. The speech was received with approval in England. Across the Channel, however, anger and resentment were unconcealed. A representative opinion is that of the semi-official *Kölnische Zeitung*, which says sharply that Germany "cannot dream of being bluffed into arresting her naval program no matter how disagreeable or expensive the game is proving for John Bull." The Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, laid his military and naval plans before the Federal Council on March 22. They provide for an increased expenditure of \$84,500,000 during the next three years.

*End of the  
British Coal  
Strike*

On March 29, King George affixed his signature to the Minimum Wage bill and the measure was promulgated as law. Three days later the miners voted on the question as to whether the strike should be continued. Although there was a majority of 43,000 in 445,000 votes against returning to work, the executive committee of the Miners' Federation decided to call the strike off. Since a two-thirds majority is required to declare a national strike, the committee reasoned that a like majority should be necessary to continue one already in progress. On the basis of the vote of April 1, therefore, the committee directed the men to return to the pits on April 8. Within a week almost all the men had returned and the whole mining industry was again in full operation. The strike cost the men themselves more than \$50,000,000. Chancellor Lloyd-George announced in the Commons on April 2 that the loss to the government in revenues and post-office fees was more than half a million. The loss to the mine operators, general business, and the public at large has not been estimated, perhaps never can be. The strike was noteworthy for the reasonable and orderly conduct of all concerned. Despite the sufferings entailed and the bitter feeling engendered, there was scarcely any violence. Premier, Parliament, operators and men alike worked harmoniously for a fair and practical settlement.

*The  
Minimum  
Wage Law*

The reluctance of the government to undertake any drastic measure of coercion was indicated not only by the delay in bringing in the law, but by the loosely drawn character of the measure which finally passed. It provides no penalties for the violation of its provisions and leaves the

vital question of what shall be considered a "minimum wage" to rather elastically constituted district boards of trade and labor. The main provisions of the bill may be thus summarized:

The coalfields of the country are divided into twenty-one districts.

In each district a minimum wage will be fixed for underground workers by a board composed in equal numbers of employers' and miners' representatives, with an independent chairman appointed by agreement, or, failing agreement, by the Board of Trade.

No mine owner may pay less than the minimum, and no underground worker may accept less, except in those cases which are covered by what have been called the "safeguards."

The classes excluded from the minimum are: the aged and infirm and workmen who do not comply with conditions to be laid down by the district boards as to regularity and efficiency of the work performed; except where the failure is due to some cause over which they have no control.

The decision whether the minimum is to apply to any particular workman or not is to be governed by rules to be drawn up by the district boards.

The minimum wage is to date back from the passing of the act, and not from the time it is drawn up.

Variations in the rate may be made from time to time by the district boards.

The act is to remain in force for three years, and no longer, unless Parliament otherwise directs.

There is no provision for compelling the miners to resume work, nor for compelling owners to open their pits; but if they do open them they must pay the minimum wage.

Some  
Possible  
Results

A good deal of pressure was brought to bear on Parliament to include in the measure a provision defining the minimum wage as five shillings a day for adults and two for boys. Almost all the Parliamentary leaders opposed this, not because they regarded the rate as excessive but because they questioned the right of the law-making body to fix mathematically exact rates. They feared that other industries might also demand that rates be laid down. In fact, the leaders of the railway unions have already openly declared their intention of forcing a universal general strike during the present month, and of insisting upon a minimum rate by law for their own and related industries. Truly, as the editor of London *Public Opinion* remarks, "Nothing will ever be the same again after this crisis. The British nation has entered upon a new path."

Home Rule  
for  
Ireland

The third Irish Home Rule bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Premier Asquith on April 11. The historical significance of the occasion did not escape the attention of Par-

liament. Lacking Mr. Gladstone's impressive voice and personality, however, the scene was not noticeably dramatic. In a plain, business-like speech, Mr. Asquith laid before the House the provisions of the measure which will create, after a fashion, a State of Ireland. The substance of the bill is in the following summary:

There is to be an Irish Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons, with power to make laws for peace, order and good government in Ireland. The matters to be excluded from the control of the Irish Parliament are the Crown, the army and navy, imperial affairs, the Irish land purchase, and the old age pensions and national insurance acts, the Irish constabulary, the post-office savings bank and public loans, in addition to those excluded by the home rule bill of 1893, which left the customs under the control of the Imperial Government. The Irish constabulary is to be automatically transferred to the Irish Government after six years.

Provision is made for the protection of religious equality in Ireland, and the Irish Parliament cannot make laws, directly or indirectly, to establish or to endow any religion or to prohibit the free exercise thereof, or to give a preference or privilege to any religion, or to make any religious ceremony a condition of validity of any marriage.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is to have the power to veto or suspend any bill on the instruction of the Imperial Executive.

The Irish Senate is to consist of forty members, and the House of Representatives of 164, of which Ulster is to have fifty-nine and the Universities two, elected by the existing constituencies. The Senate is to be composed of nominated members for a fixed term. In the first instance, the



THE MODERN KING JOHN (BULL) SIGNING THE NEW MAGNA CHARTA

(The passage of the Minimum Wage law in England as seen by an American socialist journal)

From *The Coming Nation* (Girard, Kans.)

Imperial Executive is to control the nominations, with a view to assuring the representation of the minority.

The collection of all taxes is to remain in the imperial service and they will be paid into the imperial exchequer, which is to pay over to the Irish executive an amount equivalent to the expenditure on Irish services at the time of the passing of the act. An additional sum of \$2,500,000 is to be paid to Ireland the first year, and this will diminish by \$250,000 yearly until it is reduced to \$1,000,000. The postal services are to be handed over to Ireland.

The Irish Parliament is to have power to reduce or to discontinue the imperial taxes, excepting the income tax and the stamp and estate duties. It will also have power to alter the excise duties; but, except in the case of beer and spirits, it is debarred from adding to the customs duties anything which will give a greater increase than 1 per cent.

The Irish representation at Westminster is to be forty-two members, one for every 100,000 of the population.

*As to  
Ulster  
Opposition*

From time to time in these pages we have recorded the discussion pro and con. on this important piece of legislation. In this REVIEW for March, Mr. Stead surveyed the entire field of Irish local government legislation from the early Gladstone days to the present. The Protestant minority in Ulster continues its opposition. Thousands of Ulstermen have pledged themselves to fight if the coming Dublin convention should endorse the bill. Its passage by the Commons over the veto of the Lords is assumed. The point of view of the ministry on the question of Ulster opposition is shown by the closing sentences of the Premier's speech introducing the bill. He said:

There are between twenty and thirty self-governing legislatures under allegiance to the Crown which have solved the problem of reconciliation and local autonomy. Are we going to break up the empire by adding one more?

*England's Need  
of Irish  
Home Rule*

In considering Home Rule the Liberal ministry has never lost sight of the fact that the problem is not only an English one, but of international importance. If it is true that the English rule Ireland, it is even truer that the Irish Nationalists have been ruling England and the whole British Empire into the bargain. For twenty years neither of the great English parties has had a working majority in the House of Commons, and the life of every cabinet has depended upon a coalition between one of the great English parties and the insurgents, of whom the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites are the most numerous. The deciding vote has almost invariably been that of the Irish, and that has been consistently cast, in season and out of season, to pre-

vent the legislation England wants, in the shape the English desire, in order to force them to grant Home Rule to Ireland. The Irish have made the conduct of imperial affairs as difficult and precarious as they dared without actually upsetting the coach of state. As a matter of fact, it is not Ireland, but England, that needs Home Rule for Ireland. The Irish Nationalists are quite aware that it is eminently worth England's while to pay them any reasonable price to stop their obstruction of English policy. Not only do the cabinet and House of Commons need to be freed from the dictation of the Irish members, but the English taxpayer needs to be exempted from the ever-increasing burdens which legislation for Ireland continues to thrust upon him. Therefore Irish Home Rule is granted, not merely because Ireland is more fitted for it now or because England is any more willing she should have it than in 1885,—although both these are facts,—but also because the international situation makes the autocratic rule of Redmond at Westminster no longer tolerable.

*Yuan  
Shih-kai's  
Cabinet*

The Chinese Republican National Assembly at Nanking, on March 29, formally delivered the presidential seal to Premier Tang Shao-yi, as representative of President Yuan Shih-kai. In surrendering the insignia of office, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, urged the confirmation of the cabinet as it had been chosen by the new premier. He also issued an appeal to the Chinese people to support loyally the new régime. The new ministry is as follows: Premier, Tang Shao-yi; Foreign Affairs, Lu Cheng Hsiang; Finance, Hsiung Hsi Ling; Navy, Lin Kwan Hsung; Army, Tuan Chi Jui; Justice, Wang Chun Hui; Communications, Liang Ju Hao; Commerce, Chen Chi Mei; Interior, Cheo Ping Chun; Education, Tsai Yuan Pie; Agriculture, Sung Chiao Fen. The premier's is the only name familiar to Western readers. In Peking, however, as well as in Tokyo and other capitals where Chinese political personalities are well known, the first cabinet of the new Chinese Republic is regarded as progressive, moderate and likely to be popular. Dr. Wu Ting Fang is to be returned as minister to Washington. An enormous deficit in the revenues and constantly increasing destitution in the famine-stricken regions of the interior are the most pressing problems that face the government of Yuan Shih-kai. The army, owing for arrears in pay, and the provinces must be placated.

question of what shall be considered a "business" to rather elastically comprehend the fields of trade and labor.

ideals of "Christianity" more clearly or graphically than was done by Yuan Shih-kai himself in a reply he made to the native pastors of the Protestant churches of Peking who, late in March, asked him to attend a union thanksgiving service for the establishment of the republic. President Yuan regretted that he could not attend the service, but requested an interview with them. To the four clergymen, representing the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational missions, he said in part:

Protestant Christianity entered the Orient from the Occident over a century ago. The progress of the church has been slow and difficult, partly because China was conservative in the olden days and regarded anything new with distrust and suspicion, and partly because the missionary workers, speaking a foreign language, could not make their cause clearly understood. In the past few years the spirit of reform has prevailed among our scholars, who have devoted their attention to Western learning, as well as to Western religions. Thus gradually the objects and policy of Christians have become known.

Moreover, the different missions have achieved much success both in works of charity and in educational institutions. On the one hand, they have conferred many favors on the poor and the destitute, and, on the other, they have carefully trained up many talented young men. For doing both they have won golden opinions from all classes of society. The reputation of Christian missions is growing every day, and the prejudice and the misunderstanding which formerly existed between the Christian and the non-Christian have gradually disappeared, which will surely prove to be for the good of China.

By the grace of Heaven, the Republic of China is an accomplished fact, and the Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans have been assured of their religious liberty—establishing for the first time in Chinese history a precedent for religious liberty. When the National Assembly meets and the new constitution is drawn up, we can be assured that an article will be embodied to include the other great religions of the world. Thenceforth all obstacles to liberty of conscience will have been removed from the Republic of China; the five peoples and the distinction between Christians and non-Christians will disappear forever. Members of one great family with one heart and one soul, we shall all exert ourselves to promote the strength and prosperity and the happiness of the Republic of China.

*A Quartette of Young Old Men*  
The month of March, as we noted in these pages, saw the attainment of the seventy-fifth birthday of William Dean Howells. In April, three Americans, equally eminent, but in radically different fields of human endeavor, also celebrated the completion of three quar-



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE SECRETARY OF THE NEW CHINESE PRESIDENT FOR "BUSINESS IN ENGLISH"

(Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Columbia student, progressive Chinese Republican, who has sailed for China to act as "English-Speaking" Secretary to Yuan Shih-kai)

ters of a century of life. John Burroughs, naturalist, philosopher, poet, and "expert on out-of-doors," rounded out seventy-five years on April 3. General Horace Porter, soldier, author, diplomat, passed the mark on April 15. Four days later, J. Pierpont Morgan, captain of industry, Napoleon of finance, the "most muckraked man in America," passed his seventy-fifth mile post. The careers of General Porter and Mr. Morgan have been, perhaps, more characteristically American than that of John Burroughs. His countrymen, however, like to think that the gentle old naturalist, who knows more about flowers and mountains than any other living being, is the type of an increasing number of Americans. Mr. Burroughs has had a genius for friendship, and it may be said, with a nearer approach to literalness than perhaps can be said of any other living man of his temperament, most



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JOHN BURROUGHS AT SEVENTY-FIVE, WITH HIS FRIEND JOHN MUIR

(Mr. Burroughs, who is at the right, celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday April 3, and this photograph was taken on that day)

of his countrymen knew him. He has always had a keen relish, he tells us, "for a mighty good trio—food, work and friends." At the middle of his eighth decade he is still, as far as his interests, his activities, and his temperament are concerned, a young man. The portrait which we show on this page very appropriately includes that of old John Muir, his close friend and kindred spirit. Mr. Muir, naturalist, explorer, glacier expert, and gentle philosopher, is one year the junior of his friend Burroughs.

*Last Rites  
Over Two  
Soldiers*

Civil War memories, which are being so generally revived during the present half century anniversary year, were emphasized, last month, by the sudden death of General Frederick D. Grant and the removal of the remains of General Phil Kearny from New York to the Arlington cemetery in Washington. General Grant was the eldest son of the commander-in-chief of the Union armies fifty years ago. From his boyhood his great ambition was to be a soldier, and his military career began at the early age of thirteen. He was at the siege of Vicksburg with his father. In 1866

he entered West Point. After graduation, some rough experience with the border patrol on the Mexican frontier was followed by service on the staff of General Sheridan. When Harrison was elected President, General Grant was sent as Minister to Austria. In 1894 he became Police Commissioner in New York city, holding that office until, in the spring of 1898, he was appointed by President McKinley to be a Brigadier-General of Volunteers in the war with Spain. This title was confirmed at the close of the war in the regular service. For the last six years of his life he was a Major-General, the second highest officer in active service, ranked only by Major-General Wood. General Grant served in the Philippines, and when he died was Commander of the Lakes, stationed at Chicago. Had he lived, he would have been sixty-two years old on the thirtieth of the present month. After his love for the military career, the one great passion of Frederick Dent Grant's life was the memory and reputation of his great father. He rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the Memoirs of the Union leader, and was thoroughly familiar with his father's military

ideas. He wrote on military matters with an unusually graphic and lucid pen. As good a specimen of his work as a writer and student of the art of war as can be found is the introductory chapter of the third volume of the *Photographic History of the Civil War* (published by the REVIEW OF REVIEWS Company), in which, in a masterful way, he sums up the conceptions and plans of his father, General U. S. Grant, from the time he took charge of all the armies of the United States until the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. "Fighting Phil Kearny," the hero of three wars—the Mexican, the Italian War of 1859 and the Civil War—was killed at the Battle of Chantilly, on September 1, 1862. For almost exactly fifty years his body lay in Trinity churchyard, New York. On April 11, with appropriate ceremonies and full military honors, the remains of this gallant soldier were removed to the National Military Cemetery at Washington. The oldest living veteran of the Civil War, General Dan Sickles, who was present at the ceremony, requested that Kearny's dying wish might be fulfilled. "Sickles," he said "I want inscribed on my tombstone: 'Phil Kearny died on the field of battle.'"



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MAJOR GENERAL FREDERICK D. GRANT, U. S. A.  
(Who died in New York last month, in his sixty-second year)



DR. ISAAC K. FUNK, EDITOR, REFORMER, AUTHOR, PSYCHICAL INVESTIGATOR

(Isaac Kaufmann Funk, D.D., LL.D., who died on April 4 in his seventy-third year, was the President of the Funk & Wagnalls Company, and Editor-in-chief of the *Standard Dictionary*, the *Homiletical Review* and the *Literary Digest*. Dr. Funk had been clergyman and editor ever since his graduation from Wittenberg College at the age of twenty-one. He was a militant prohibitionist, establishing *The Voice* in the interest of the Prohibition party in 1880. Under his editorial guidance his firm published, besides the *Standard Dictionary*, a number of encyclopedias which have become standard. During his later years Dr. Funk was deeply interested in the investigation of psychic problems. He was always the scholar and the genial, progressive, versatile American)





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THE BURIAL OF THE U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE" IN THE OPEN SEA ON MARCH 16, 1912

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 16 to April 16, 1912)

### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 16.—The House begins debate upon the Democratic excise (or income) tax bill.

March 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.) introduces a measure providing for a national primary for the selection of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

March 19.—The House, by vote of 250 to 40, passes the Excise Tax bill, taxing all incomes of firms and individuals in excess of \$5000; the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill (\$26,000,000) is passed.

March 25.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) criticizes the methods used in the election of Mr. Stephenson (Rep., Wis.).

March 26.—The House receives a message from the President, transmitting the report of the Tariff Board on the cotton schedule.

March 27.—The Senate, by vote of 40 to 34, exonerates Mr. Stephenson (Rep., Wis.) of the charges of corruption in his election.

March 28.—The House passes a bill placing a prohibitive tax on poisonous white-phosphorus matches.

March 29.—In the Senate, the Smoot pension bill is passed as a substitute for the Sherwood bill passed by the House. . . . The House begins debate upon the Democratic wool bill.

April 1.—The House, by vote of 189 to 92, passes the Democratic bill revising the wool schedule of the tariff.

April 2.—In the Senate, the members from the new States of Arizona and New Mexico are sworn in. . . . In the House, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reports a bill regulating

express rates; the bill creating a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor is passed.

April 5.—In the Senate, the House bill revising the iron and steel schedule of the tariff is adversely reported from the Committee on Finance.

April 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.) speaks in favor of the Employers' Liability measure.

April 9.—The Senate passes a bill revising the printing laws, estimated to save \$600,000 annually. The House passes the Indian appropriation bill (\$7,500,000).

April 12.—The Senate passes the Army and the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bills.

### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

March 17.—Governor Brewer of Mississippi signs the graduated-income-tax bill passed by the Legislature.

March 18.—President Taft, in an address at Boston, declares in favor of Presidential primaries if properly safeguarded. . . . Governor Hunt's message to the first Arizona Legislature urges an amendment to the State constitution, providing for the recall of judicial officers.

March 19.—In North Dakota, the first Presidential preference primary is held; Senator La Follette receives 28,600 votes; Col. Roosevelt 19,100; and President Taft 1500.

March 21.—The Indiana Democratic Convention nominates Samuel Ralston for Governor, and instructs its delegates to the Baltimore Convention to vote for Governor Marshall for President.

March 22.—William J. Bryan issues a statement

at Lincoln, Nebraska, characterizing Judson Harmon as a reactionary.

March 23.—The new California public-utilities law goes into effect. . . . The Maine Legislature rejects the proposed local option amendment to the State constitution.

March 24.—The Interstate Commerce Commission establishes the principle that freight rates between equidistant points must be the same, regardless of State lines.

March 26.—The President transmits to the House the report of the Tariff Board upon the cotton schedule. . . . The Arizona legislature elects as United States Senators Marcus A. Smith (Dem.) and Henry F. Ashurst (Dem.), chosen in the recent primary. . . . The Michigan Senate, by vote of 23 to 5, passes the bill providing for an amendment to the State constitution granting the suffrage to women. . . . A jury in the federal court at Chicago decides that the ten Chicago meat-packers are not guilty of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust act. . . . The Indiana Republican convention, by high-handed methods, is controlled by the Taft forces; the Roosevelt men withdraw and hold a separate convention.

March 27.—The New Mexico Legislature elects Albert B. Fall (Rep.) and Thomas B. Catron (Rep.) as the first United States Senators from that State. . . . The Ohio Constitutional Convention agrees upon an initiative and referendum clause.

March 28.—The sub-committee of the United States Senate which investigated the election of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) declares, by vote of 5 to 3, that no evidence of corruption was found. . . . The Michigan House passes the woman-suffrage constitutional amendment measure.

March 29.—The New York Senate adopts a report of an investigating committee, recommending the removal of Mayor McEwan of Albany; the Legislature adjourns.

March 30.—Governor Deneen of Illinois signs the Presidential preference primary bill passed at the special session of the Legislature.

March 31.—The jury in the government suit against the officials of the sugar trust, at New York, fails to agree.

April 1.—Argument is begun in the United States Supreme Court in the matter of the right of the States to regulate railroad rates.

April 2.—In the Wisconsin Presidential primary Senator La Follette receives 131,920 votes, and President Taft 47,630; Governor Wilson of New Jersey defeats Champ Clark in the Democratic contest by 45,500 to 36,250. . . . Emil Seidel, the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, is defeated by Dr. Gerhard A. Bading, the fusion candidate. . . . Mayor Brown (Rep.) is defeated for reelection in Kansas City, Mo., by Henry L. Jost (Dem.).

April 4.—Governor Goldsborough signs the Presidential primary bill passed by the Maryland Legislature. . . . The Arizona Senate passes, with slight amendments, the House bill providing for the recall of judges.

April 8.—Newell Sanders (Rep.) is appointed by Governor Hooper to succeed the late Robert L. Taylor as United States Senator from Tennessee.

April 9.—The Illinois primaries result in a victory for ex-President Roosevelt over President Taft, by 115,000 votes, for the Republican choice for the Presidential nomination; Champ Clark de-

feats Woodrow Wilson for the Democratic choice by 125,000; Lawrence Y. Sherman defeats Senator Cullom in the senatorial contest; Charles S. Deneen is renominated as the Republican candidate for Governor, and Edward F. Dunne wins the Democratic nomination; the woman suffrage proposition is defeated.

April 10.—The Ohio Constitutional Convention adopts a proposal for judicial reforms, providing one trial before judge or jury and one review by a higher court. . . . The New York State Republican Convention praises the administration and "urges" the delegates-at-large to support President Taft in the national convention. . . . The ten delegates selected by the Maine Republican Convention, to go to the national convention, are pledged to Mr. Roosevelt.

April 11.—The Democratic State Convention, meeting at New York City, is harmoniously controlled by Charles Francis Murphy. . . . Troops are needed to preserve order in the Republican State Convention at Bay City, Mich.; both factions elect delegates to the national convention.

April 13.—The Republican Presidential primary in Pennsylvania results in an overwhelming victory for Colonel Roosevelt over President Taft; it is believed that 67 of the State's 76 delegates to the national convention are pledged to Roosevelt.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

March 18.—Mr. Asquith, the British Premier, announces that a minimum-wage bill will be immediately introduced into the House of Commons, designed to bring the coal strike to an end.

March 19.—The Minimum Wage bill passes its first reading in the British House of Commons.

March 22.—The British Government refuses to accede to the miners' demand that a clause specifying the minimum wage should be inserted in the Minimum Wage bill. . . . Thomas MacKenzie is elected premier of New Zealand, succeeding Sir Joseph Ward. . . . Paraguayan revolutionists capture Asuncion, the capital; President Pena and his cabinet take refuge on foreign warships.

March 25.—Dr. Emilio Gonzalez Navero is appointed provisional President of Paraguay. . . . The Japanese Diet is dissolved, and elections are set for May.

March 26.—The Mexican federal troops begin an attack on the rebel troops holding Jimenez.

March 27.—The British House of Commons passes Premier Asquith's Minimum Wage bill.

March 28.—The Minimum Wage bill is passed by the British House of Lords; the House of Commons rejects a measure conferring the right to vote upon women possessing the household qualification.

March 30.—A bill providing an eight-hour day for miners passes the French Chamber.

March 31.—Emperor Francis Joseph is reported to have threatened to abdicate as King of Hungary unless the unfriendly attitude of the Parliament should be abandoned. . . . General Leonidas Plaza, commander of the government troops which opposed the recent revolution, is elected President of Ecuador.

April 2.—The Swedish Government introduces a bill in the Parliament extending to women the franchise and the right to sit in Parliament, on the same conditions as men. . . . The British bud-

get shows a surplus of \$32,000,000, to be held temporarily as a naval reserve fund.

April 7.—The convention of the Conservative party in Cuba selects General Juan Menocal as its candidate for President.

April 9.—An anti-Home Rule demonstration in Belfast is participated in by more than 100,000 persons.

April 10.—Premier Cappa of Rumania resigns.

April 11.—Premier Asquith introduces his Irish Home Rule bill in Parliament.

April 16.—The Home Rule bill passes its first reading in the British House of Commons.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 17.—President Cabrera gives a dinner at Guatemala City in honor of Secretary Knox.

March 18.—Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, introducing the naval estimates for the coming year in the British lower House, offers to retard or temporarily suspend naval construction if Germany will do likewise.

March 20.—United States officials near the Mexican border prohibit the exportation to Mexico of food, clothing, or ammunition.

March 22.—Secretary Knox is received at Caracas, Venezuela, by President Gomez. . . . W. A. F. Ekengren is appointed Swedish minister to the United States.

March 24.—The new United States law prohibiting shipments of munitions of war into Mexico is modified so as not to apply to the Mexican Government.

March 27.—Julio Betancourt is appointed Colombian minister to the United States.

March 29.—The situation of Americans in Mexico is such that the War Department at Washington sends 1000 rifles to the American legation for their use.

March 31.—It is announced at Paris that a treaty has been signed which establishes a French protectorate over Morocco.

April 11.—Secretary Knox, in an address at Havana, maintains the disinterested attitude of the United States toward Cuba.

April 14.—The Mexican Government is warned that it will be held responsible for acts endangering Americans or American interests.

April 16.—The European ambassadors at Constantinople present a note to the Turkish Foreign minister, asking upon what terms Turkey will conclude peace with Italy.

#### THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

March 17.—Two hundred insurgents are executed at Canton.

March 20.—The General Assembly grants to women the right to vote if able to read and write and if they hold property.

March 21.—The "six-nation" group of bankers in Peking call upon President Yuan Shih-kai to define the republic's financial policy before it will lend any more money.

March 22.—Russia withdraws from the "six-nation" combination, which proposed to lend the republic \$300,000,000.

March 25.—The American, German, French, and British ministers at Peking protest against a

Belgian loan of several million dollars, arranged by the Premier.

March 29.—The personnel of the cabinet is announced by Premier Tang Shao-yi.

April 14.—President Yuan Shih-kai issues a manifesto urging the five races to unite through intermarriage; the Mohammedans, it is believed, will resist the republic by force.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 16.—The hulk of the battleship *Maine*, raised from the bottom of Havana harbor, is towed out into the open sea and sunk, with imposing ceremonies. . . . The Peninsular & Oriental liner *Oceana* is sunk by a collision with a German bark in the English Channel; most of the passengers are saved.

March 18.—General wage advances are granted in the cotton mills of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Maine.

March 21.—Officials of the Department of Agriculture report that a large deposit of potash has been found in California.

March 22.—The Fall River Cotton Manufacturers' Association grants wage increases to 30,000 workers, averaging 10 per cent.

March 23.—The remains of the officers and men of the *Maine*, which were recently recovered, are buried in the Arlington National Cemetery. . . . A strike of union seamen on the Great Lakes is declared off. . . . Swollen by recent heavy rains, the Mississippi overflows into the lowlands south of Cairo, Ill. . . . More than 3000 operatives in the textile mills of Passaic go on strike, demanding higher wages.

March 24.—The coal strikes in Germany and France are called off.

March 25.—The new battleship *Florida* attains a speed of 22.54 knots, a new record for battleships.

March 27.—A regiment of Illinois militia is ordered out to quell a riot at Rock Island. . . . The American minister to China reports that conditions in the famine districts are appalling.

March 28.—New Bedford cotton manufacturers agree to a 10 per cent. wage increase.

March 29.—A general suspension of work in the anthracite coal fields is ordered by President White, of the United Mine Workers, pending a settlement of the miners' demands; an agreement is reached between representatives of the bituminous miners and operators.

March 30.—Continued rains result in floods all along the banks of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers.

March 31.—More than 400,000 bituminous and anthracite mine workers suspend work pending settlement of their demands. . . . Capt. Robert F. Scott's vessel returns to New Zealand and reports that the expedition had arrived within 150 miles of the South Pole and would remain in the Antarctic another winter. . . . The Standard Oil Company's main storage plant at Manila is destroyed by fire.

April 3.—The application of the New York Central system to acquire the New York, Ontario & Western is rejected by the New York Public Service Commission.

April 6.—The Miners' Federation of Great Britain decides to order the striking coal workers

to return to work as a result of the passage of the government's Minimum Wage bill.

April 7.—It is conservatively estimated that the floods in the Mississippi Valley have rendered 30,000 persons homeless, covered 200 square miles of fertile land with water, and caused damage amounting to nearly \$10,000,000 (see page 554).

April 8.—The Southern Commercial Congress begins its sessions at Nashville, Tenn.

April 10.—The new White Star liner *Titanic*, the largest vessel ever constructed, sails on her maiden voyage from Southampton to New York. . . . At a conference in Philadelphia of representatives of mine workers and operators, a proposition to reconvene the old Anthracite Strike Commission, and refer the matter to it, is rejected by the miners. . . . Dr. Ira Remsen resigns as president of Johns Hopkins University.

April 13.—Mr. Knox, the American Secretary of State, sails from Havana for Norfolk, Va., concluding his visit among the Latin-American Republics bordering on the Caribbean.

April 15.—The steamer *Titanic*, 1150 miles east of New York, founders four hours after striking an iceberg, carrying 1595 persons down with her; 745 of the passengers and crew, all that the lifeboats would hold, are afterward picked up by the *Carpathia*, which had been summoned by wireless (see page 549).

#### OBITUARY

March 15.—Capt. Lucien Franklin Prud'homme, U. S. N., retired, formerly professor of mathematics at the United States Naval Academy. . . . Dr. Auguste Renouard, of New York, an authority on sanitary embalming, 73.

March 16.—John Fremont Hill, former Governor of Vermont and acting chairman of the Republican National Committee, 56.

March 17.—Rear-Admiral George W. Melville, U. S. N., retired, the noted Arctic explorer, 71.

March 18.—Dr. Henry Wilson Spangler, head of the department of mechanical engineering at the University of Pennsylvania.

March 19.—Thomas Harrison Montgomery, Jr., professor of zoölogy at the University of Pennsylvania, 39. . . . Prof. Max Mandelstamm, the Russian expert on international law, 73.

March 21.—Prof. Ralph Stockman Tarr, of Cornell University, a noted geographer and authority on glaciers and earthquakes, 48. . . . Representative David J. Foster, of Vermont, 54. James Rufus Tryon, formerly medical director of the United States Navy, 74.

March 22.—Gen. John Willock Noble, secretary of the interior in President Harrison's cabinet, 81. . . . Brig.-Gen. Henry Harrison Walker, of the Confederate army, 79.

March 23.—Gen. Henry Harrison Bingham, Representative from the First Pennsylvania District, known as "the father of the House," 70.

March 25.—Robert Sampson Lanier (see page 552).

March 26.—William B. Sorsby, formerly minister to Bolivia, 60. . . . Yoichi Honda, Bishop of the Methodist Church of Japan, 63.

March 27.—John Arbuckle, the sugar and coffee merchant, 74.

March 28.—William Babcock Weeden, formerly a prominent woolen manufacturer of Rhode Island and a noted historian, 77. . . . C. E. Pooley, a prominent Canadian statesman. . . . Lieut.-Col. Ferdinand E. De Courcy, U. S. A., retired, a noted Indian fighter, 75.

March 30.—William Watson McIntire, a former Congressman from Maryland. . . . Julian Ropique, a noted French teacher of singing, 87.

March 31.—Robert Love Taylor, United States Senator from Tennessee, 61. . . . William Albert Finch, professor of law at Cornell University, 57.

April 1.—William Smith Babcock Mathews, the noted music critic and author, 74. . . . Karl May, a popular German writer of juvenile stories, 69.

April 2.—Edward O'Connor Terry, the English actor-manager, 68. . . . Gen. Shiaroku Ishimoto, Japanese minister of war, 59.

April 3.—Calbraith P. Rodgers, the first aviator to fly across the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 33. . . . Dr. John H. Musser, an eminent Philadelphia physician, 55.

April 4.—Dr. Isaac Kaufmann Funk, the noted editor and publisher, 73 (see page 539). . . . Charles Brantley Aycock, formerly Governor of North Carolina, 53. . . . Brig.-Gen. A. B. Carey, U. S. A., retired, 77.

April 5.—Henry O. Walker, a prominent Detroit surgeon, 69.

April 6.—Perry L. Hobbs, professor of chemistry in Western Reserve University, 51. . . . Brig.-Gen. Joseph Pearson Farley, U. S. A., retired, 73.

April 7.—Prof. Abbott Lawrence Rotch, of Harvard University, noted for his investigations of conditions in the upper air, 51.

April 8.—Andrew Saks, a prominent New York merchant, 63.

April 11.—Major-Gen. Frederick Dent Grant, U. S. A., eldest son of Ulysses S. Grant, 61 (see page 538).

April 12.—Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross Society, 90. . . . Prof. Walter E. Howard, dean of Middlebury College, 63.

April 13.—Robbins Little, for many years superintendent of the Astor Library, New York, 80.

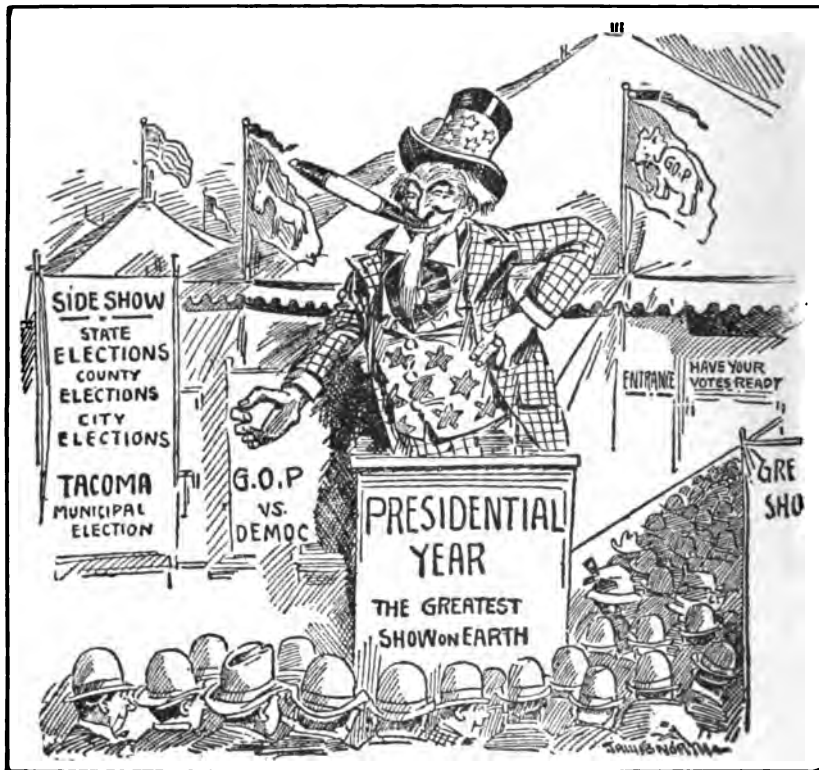
April 14.—Henri Brisson, formerly president of the French Chamber of Deputies, 77. . . . Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr., the Boston banker, 49.

April 15.—William Thomas Stead, the noted English journalist, 62 (see frontispiece). . . . Charles Melville Hays, president of the Grand Trunk Railway, 55. . . . Isidor Straus, the New York merchant and former Member of Congress, 67. . . . Francis David Millet, the noted artist, 65. . . . Col. John Jacob Astor, the capitalist, 47. . . . Jacques Futrelle, a well-known author, 37.

April 16.—Judge Thomas G. Lawson, a former member of Congress from Georgia, 76.



# CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH—THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
From the *Ledger* (Tacoma)



WHERE FRIENDSHIP CEASES—WHEN THE ROOSEVELT  
ARGUMENT BEGINS  
From the *Press* (New York)



AN UNPLEASANT TALE—REPORTS OF RECENT PRIMA-  
RIES IN VARIOUS STATES  
From *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)



HAD YOU NOTICED HOW "PERSONALITIES" HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED FROM THE CAMPAIGN? WHY, IT'S A REGULAR PINK TEA

From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)

Starting off in a perfectly dignified manner, the campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination has become anything but a "pink tea" affair; the primary fights for delegates are so hotly contested,—and the results so exasperating to one candidate or another!



THE SPIRIT OF 1912

(Appropos of the results of the primaries in the State of Pennsylvania.)

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



T. R. CAPTURES ILLINOIS

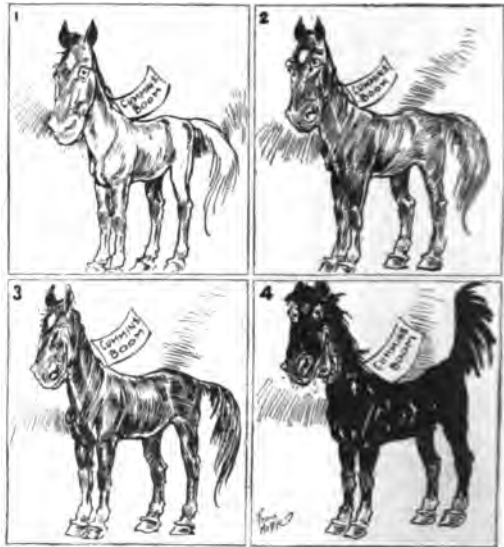
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



## UNCLE TRUSTY

"William, this Carnival of Oratory is going big! Of course, your appearance would be more impressive if you didn't have that awful black eye. Theodore's impersonation of Lincoln is very realistic, although I don't remember that Lincoln ever said anything about slugging people over the ropes. George's style of eloquence is rather mild, on account of his habit of eating bread and milk for luncheon, but he doesn't explain that automobile trip to Oyster Bay. That'll be about all from you, Elihu; go and lay out my evening clothes."

From the *American* (New York)



## AS TIME WEARS ON

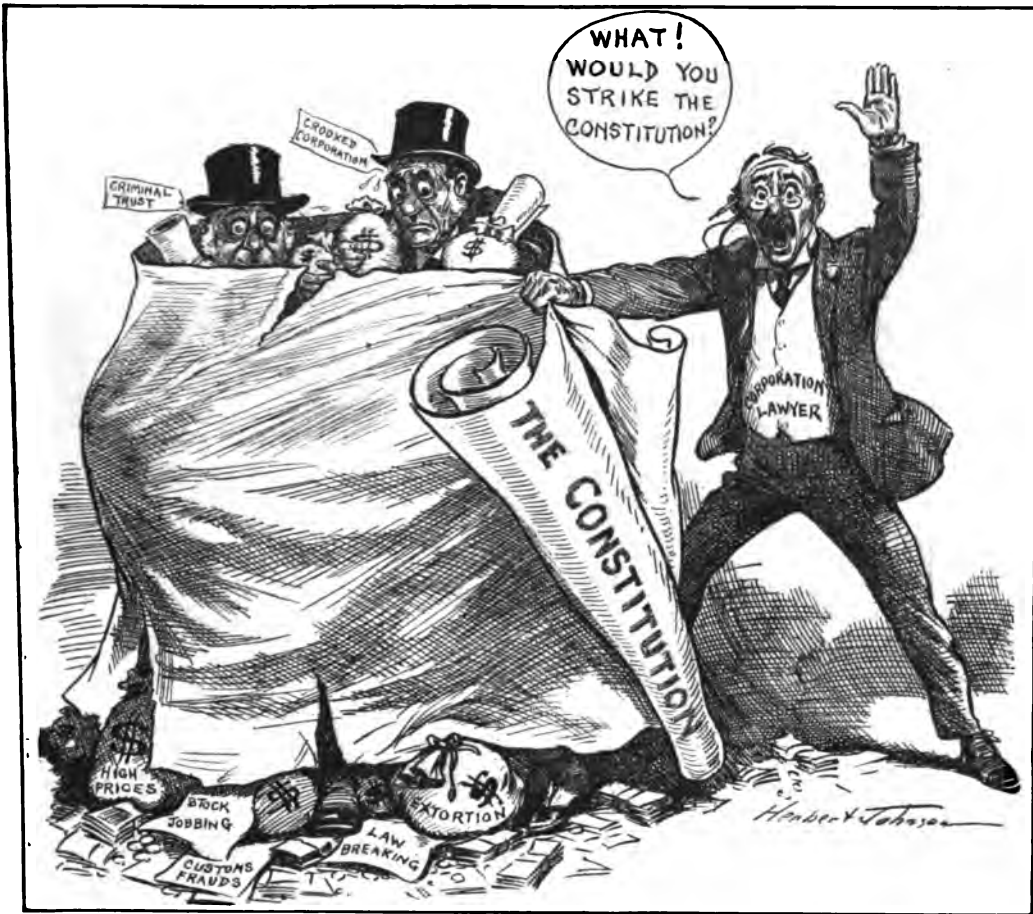
Iowa sees signs of chameleon blood in this particular horse  
From the *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)

Mr. Oppen, of the New York *American*, pictures the trusts as really managing the whole Republican nomination campaign as a sort of popular show. Senator Cummins's boom seems, to the Des Moines *Register and Leader*, to be growing decidedly stronger. The talk of Justice Hughes as a candidate is also increasing.



SO THEY SAY DOWN IN WASHINGTON  
From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)





AND FURTHERMORE—

"Would you treacherously smite the sacred palladium of our liberties? Would you tear down the bulwarks erected against the gusty passions of the mob? Would you destroy the system of checks and balances? Would you lay profane hands upon the temple raised by the fathers? Would you undermine the hallowed protection of our liberty? Would you submit this government to the tyranny of a majority? Would you lay the ax to the root of the tree of freedom?" *And so on.*

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED  
From the *Sun* (New York)



AUCTIONING OFF THE DELEGATES  
From the *World* (New York)



#### THE CHOICE OF CAESAR

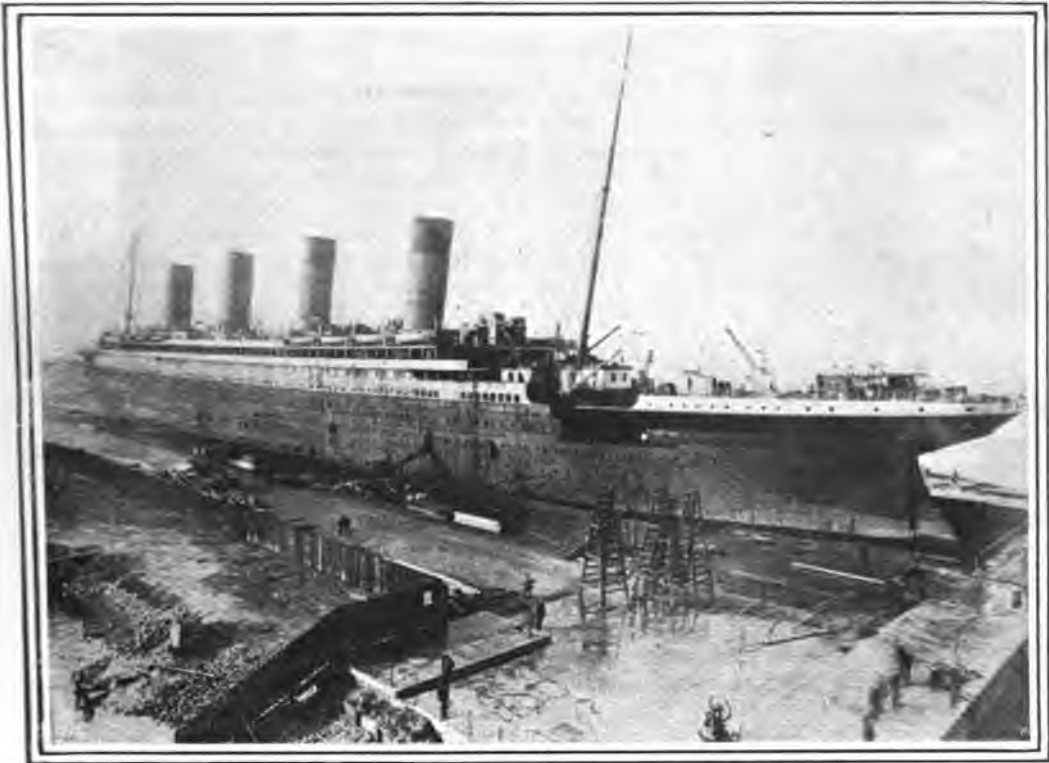
CAESAR (The "Interests"): "Let me have men about me that are fat,  
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights.  
Yon Cassius has a lean and hungry look;  
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous."  
(Julius Caesar, Act I, Scene II. From the *Swan* (Baltimore))



HOW IS THIS FOR AUNT DEMOCRACY'S TICKET—WILSON  
AND WILEY—"PURE POLITICS AND PURE FOOD"?  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



COMFORTING From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York)  
(Apropos of the recent verdict in the Beef Packers' trial)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE "TITANIC" AS SHE LAY IN BELFAST HARBOR AFTER LAUNCHING. THE FIRST PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF THE GREAT LINER

(All recent photographs taken of the unfortunate *Titanic* were on board the ship, when on her way to this country she sank. This largest ship in the world was 882 feet 6 inches long; 92 feet 6 inches in breadth; and had four funnels, each one 81 feet 6 inches high above the boat deck. There were 11 steel decks and 30 watertight bulkheads. The registered tonnage was 45,000, and the actual displacement 66,000. There were accommodations for 2,500 passengers and a crew of 860. The approximate cost was \$7,500,000. The *Titanic* was launched at Belfast on May 31 last)

## THE TRAGEDY OF THE "TITANIC" AND ITS LESSON

THE sinking of the trans-Atlantic liner *Titanic* with more than 1,500 of her passengers and crew was one of the most appalling disasters in the entire history of man's contact with the sea. Undoubtedly, in the number and eminence of its victims it was the worst calamity that ever befell sea-borne passenger travel. The White Star liner, *Titanic*, the largest vessel afloat, fitted with all the comfort and luxury that money and modern invention could devise, and equipped with devices which her builders boasted made her "absolutely unsinkable," on her maiden trip from Liverpool, while about 1,000 miles southeast of Halifax and 500 miles south of Newfoundland, on Sunday night, April 14, collided with an iceberg, and four hours later sank to the bottom. In response to her wire-

less message for help flashed to Cape Race, Newfoundland, and from there sent to all the neighboring stations and vessels, a number of steamers at once rushed to find her. At daybreak on Monday, the Cunard liner *Carpathia* arrived at the scene of the disaster and picked up twenty boatloads of survivors numbering about 700. Most of these survivors were women and children. The stern law of the sea, as well as of Anglo-Saxon chivalry, demanded that it be "women and children first." Captain Smith, his chief officers, and many passengers eminent in art, letters, finance, the church, public life and society, perished. When the other ships which had responded to the signals for help arrived upon the scene, they found, so they reported, nothing but wreckage and ice. These are

the bare facts in this most appalling tragedy.

From the testimony of the survivors who reached New York on the *Carpathia* on April 18, it is evident that the *Titanic*, rushing at a speed of 23 knots an hour, was "side-swiped" by an immense iceberg, the edge of the berg, according to one vivid account, "entering the port bow of the ship and gouging out her side like a gigantic can-opener."

The greatest precautions are taken on the modern ocean liners against disaster from collision. There are safeguards also against icebergs, the chief one being the submarine thermometer which notes any sudden change in temperature. This instrument will detect an iceberg ten miles distant.

This has been an abnormal year for icebergs. Referring to the disaster to the *Titanic*, Sir Ernest Shackelton, the Antarctic explorer, stated that this has been particularly true as regards the downward drift of ice from the North. Sir Ernest explains that the great danger is not from those that extend high above the water, but from the bergs that are almost submerged. It must be remembered that a polar iceberg is seven-eighths below water to one eighth above. When a high one topples over in getting into a warmer current, it is practically all submerged, and is as dangerous to a vessel going at high speed as a submerged rock would be. The reports indicate that the *Titanic* sank in latitude 41.46 North and 50.14 West. This is a little above the latitude of New York (40° 45') and, therefore, about 1600 miles almost due east. Immediately after the news of the disaster had reached New York and London, the managers of the great trans-Atlantic steamship companies announced an immediate change in the eastern course for vessels crossing the Atlantic.

It is literally true that wireless telegraphy was the means of saving the 800 of the passengers who lived to tell the tale. The presumption is that everybody on board would have been rescued if any one of the responding vessels had been within two hours steaming distance of the *Titanic* when her operator sent out her first call for help. The operator at Cape Race, Newfoundland, at once spread the news to all the vessels which his charts and records told him were in the vicinity of the doomed ship.

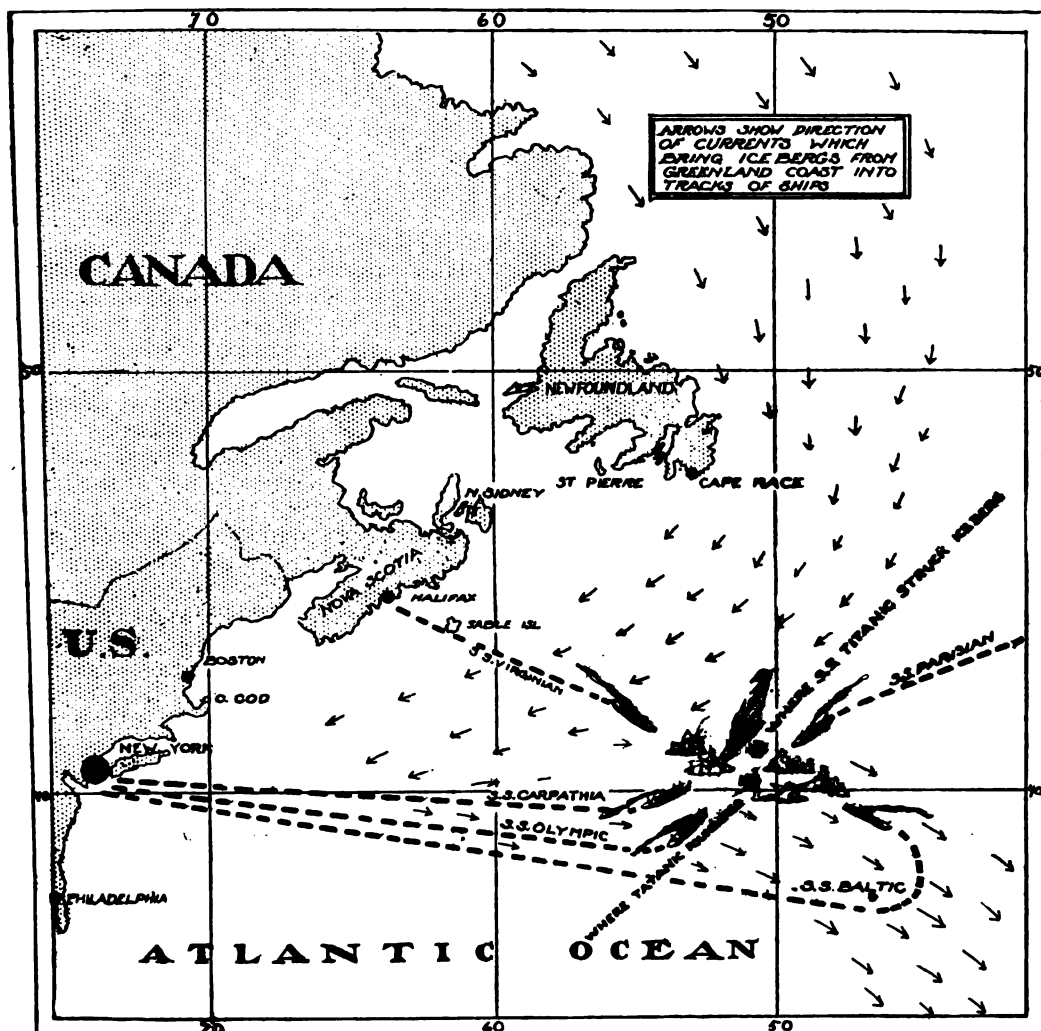
The world had come to believe that the great modern ocean liners, with their watertight compartments and the rigid discipline and vigilance of the officers and crew, were

practically secure against complete destruction, even after the most violent shock. Until all the facts are known, it is not only fair, but reasonable, to withhold judgment as to the responsibility for this disaster. Certain facts must be admitted, however, and certain inferences are obviously fair. Captain Smith, of the *Titanic*, was striving to make the first voyage of his new ship noteworthy for speed. He had been warned by a French liner the day before, and by a Hamburg-American liner less than two hours before the collision, that several large icebergs were in that part of the ocean to which his ship was rushing at a speed of more than twenty miles an hour. The *Titanic's* captain, one of the most experienced in trans-Atlantic travel, did not, apparently, even avoid the region of the icebergs. He steered directly through it, and at a speed of which the crushing of his ship's frame to the extent that sent her to the bottom in four hours is conclusive evidence. One of the engineers of the United States revenue cutter service estimates that, at half speed, the impact of the *Titanic* against the iceberg must have been equal to a broadside of 30 twelve-inch projectiles, or the concentrated fire of three such dreadnaughts as the *Florida*.

It cannot be denied that some of the blame for the terrific speed and insufficient attention to safety devices on modern steamships must be laid at the door of the traveling public itself. The companies comply with the law, inadequate as it is proven to be. The indictment of the public's part in the responsibility is well put in the words of Stanley Bowdle, a marine engineer and member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, who characterizes the loss of life on the *Titanic* as "a sacrifice to degenerate luxury." In advocating international legislation to regulate the speed and safety equipment of ocean-going passenger vessels, Mr. Bowdle says:

The speed of this vessel on its first trip, with but partially tried-out machinery was criminal. Its criminality is relieved only by the fact that the passengers using such degenerate vessels demand and enjoy such speed. It is asserted that a sufficient number of lifeboats to carry an average passenger list is not necessary, and could not be carried. This is absurd, in view of the fact that the great deck room allows tennis courts and golf links. Such steamers are degenerate in size, foolish in enjoyment, and criminal in speed.

While it may be that the *Titanic's* equipment of lifeboats, life rafts, and life preservers was technically within the requirements of the law, it is quite evident that it is not a safe thing for any vessel to undertake an ocean



From the Times (New York)

THE NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN SHOWING THE POINT WHERE THE "TITANIC" HIT THE ICEBERG AND WHERE SHE SANK ON APRIL 15

(The broken lines indicate how the other steamers answered the wireless calls for help)

voyage with safety appliances that can, under no circumstances, provide for more than one-third of the number of human souls she carries. The survivors are almost exactly one-third of those on board the ill-fated vessel. We must infer that the remainder went to their death because there was no adequate provision for their safety. Late last summer a heated debate took place in the British Parliament over a bill proposing to compel the White Star line to provide enough lifeboats and rafts on each of its ships to carry all its passengers and crew, but, said the despatches, "pressure was brought to bear so that the bill was pigeonholed." Experts on shipbuilding are now telling us that an un-

sinkable ship is an impossibility. There ought to be, it would seem, an investigation by the United States Government, of this terrible calamity, which has brought to a watery grave, two miles below the surface of the Atlantic Ocean, 1500 human beings and \$15,000,000 worth of property. Resolutions have been introduced in both Houses of Congress calling for a rigid investigation. A demand also has been made in the House of Representatives at Washington and in the House of Commons at London for some action by the next Hague conference, which shall result in the agreement upon a lifeboat code and a treaty of uniform observance binding upon every contracting power.

## ROBERT LANIER, SKILLED CRAFTSMAN



ROBERT SAMPSON LANIER  
(Of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS staff)

IT is fitting that the constant readers of a periodical should sometimes be told something of the men who have given loyal service to a kind of work that requires constant alertness, and some quality of unselfish devotion to truth and to the ideals of an intelligent democracy governed by public opinion. This REVIEW has been edited and published for twenty-one years with very few changes of personnel. It has been fortunate enough to retain, among its readers, many who began to read it in its early years. These more permanent friends will be concerned to know something of a member of our staff who was called away from us very suddenly last month, and whose untimely death has caused us great sorrow. This was Robert Sampson Lanier, youngest son of that great poet and gentle scholar, Sidney Lanier. He was born August 14, 1880, just a year before the death of his father. He was therefore in his thirty-second year when he died on March 25.

Charles Day Lanier, the eldest of the four

sons of Sidney Lanier, had graduated at the Johns Hopkins University in 1888, and he has been connected with this REVIEW from its beginnings in 1891. Robert spent his boyhood in Tryon, North Carolina, where he grew in stature and in wholesome knowledge without school training. When he was seventeen he was brought North by his brothers Charles and Henry, who were both of them by that time well established in the business of editing and publishing; and was placed through their influence in the office of *McClure's Magazine*, where his natural talents were at once recognized and guided in practical ways by accomplished and well-known men.

Two years later he decided to go to college; and the associations of his father and brother with the Johns Hopkins at Baltimore naturally led him to that institution. He had never been to school, yet he passed the entrance examination successfully, in 1899, and graduated three years later, in 1903. While his course had been an all-around one, he had somewhat specialized in history and political science,—his aptitudes for literature and art, as well as for the sciences of nature and for out-of-door things, having undergone no suppression. At Baltimore he was a prominent and enthusiastic member of the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, and was a Phi Beta Kappa man. In everything he had shown an unquenchable sort of ardor, and rare qualities of mind and personality.

He returned to *McClure's*, but soon afterward joined the older group of Johns Hopkins men who had always edited and conducted the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. He became one of the most important members of the staff of the *Country Calendar*, a beautiful periodical devoted to out-of-door pursuits and to scientific progress in agriculture, published by the Review of Reviews Company and edited in association with the REVIEW. This periodical was afterward merged in *Country Life in America*, which has through so many years been edited by another of these brothers, namely, Mr. Henry Wysham Lanier.

Robert Lanier continued to do interesting things of a general and special sort in this REVIEW and its connected enterprises. One of his chief practical undertakings was the development of the financial department of

the REVIEW, with particular reference to its practical aids to investors. It is literally true that simple people of modest means, by the hundreds and even the thousands, came to depend upon his firm, honest, impartial advice in protecting them from "get-rich-quick" schemes and swindles, and in showing them how to safeguard their fortunes.

This may not seem to some readers like a great or brilliant kind of work, yet Robert Lanier threw himself into the business of writing letters to country school teachers, or worried old ladies, to help them guard their savings and to avoid alluring speculations,—all with a chivalry and enthusiasm that went far beyond any requirements of the work that had been assigned to him.

He did not do this in a petty way, nor did it dwindle down to a wearisome routine. He studied investment problems with the zeal and purpose of a man who was determined to master them. He came to know his Wall Street inside out, not with the motive of gain for himself, but solely to understand the work of a financial editor and a guide to investors. He grew in sympathy with all that was substantial and valuable in the world of business and finance, but never did he become in the smallest degree tolerant of unsound projects or of glittering proposals that might bring harm to innocent but easily enticed investors.

Out of his studies he developed an immense knowledge of the methods of "low finance." He prepared a great deal of material which this REVIEW had intended sometime to publish, with a view to bringing about a public opinion that would demand better legal protection against the swindlers who sell hundreds of millions of dollars each year of worthless stocks to plain people who have no money that they can afford to lose. He had prepared a bill which met the full approval of his associates in this office, and of able men in the legal and banking professions, which was intended to exclude fraudulent promoters from the use of the mails.

He had taken this bill to high officials in the Post Office Department and the Department of Justice, where it had met with commendation, especially from Mr. Wickersham. We have reason to believe that a great part of the aroused activity of the Post Office Department in recent years against concerns doing a mail-order business in fraudulent stocks was inspired by Robert Lanier's zeal and intense effort, and by his remarkable knowledge of facts. He had no grudges against particular men or institutions engaged in this bad busi-

ness, but he had a passion for justice and for right solutions; and it had become his particular duty, in the line of his every-day work, to protect the American investor, particularly women and persons remote from financial centers, who are so readily victimized by the kind of glittering prospectus that the trained business man might throw instantly into the wastebasket.

In the editing of a number of sets of books that have been published from time to time by the Review of Reviews Company, Robert Lanier showed remarkable skill of the practical kind, and a literary taste and constructive ability that it is most unusual to find united in a single worker. Not to mention these in great detail, it is important that his last, and most remarkable, undertaking should be duly set forth. In December, 1910, the Review of Reviews Company came into possession of a large and very remarkable collection of original negatives and photographs of the Civil War period, and determined to prepare and publish a monumental work in ten volumes, to be called the Photographic History of the Civil War. The plan had been conceived by Mr. Francis Trevelyan Miller, who remained connected with the enterprise as critical editor-in-chief and adviser. But Robert Lanier became managing editor, whose business it was to secure the writers, organize a staff of experts, to round out and complete the scheme of illustration, and to put the ten great volumes through the press.

It was a momentous undertaking, and under Robert Lanier's hand it became the most remarkable pictorial account of any epoch or period that has ever been published in the history of the world. Not content with the great collection of Brady photographs, Mr. Lanier, through his agents, scoured the South for forgotten Confederate pictures, with wonderful success, and found also throughout the West a great number of pictures necessary to round out his scheme. The task involved such a multitude of details that it might well have occupied several years. But it was completed in a remarkably short time through Robert Lanier's intense industry and concentration, and through the loyal aid of the helpers who were glad to be at work under his inspiring direction.

These ten noble volumes exemplify Robert Lanier's inventive talent, his skill in the business of editing and publishing, and his almost unequalled understanding of the value of pictures and the technical processes of photographic illustration. They will carry



his name into many thousands of households, North and South, East and West, and will perpetuate it through generations yet to come.

Robert Lanier's studies of business and finance had led him to take a keen interest in the problems of modern monopoly and the regulation of "big business." At the time of his death he was preparing a series of articles for this magazine, in which he was proposing to show the bearing of the so-called "trust question" upon the different elements of the economic organism, and he was going about this in a direct and original way, proceeding from a study of conditions and from concrete facts up to general conclusions. His plans had proceeded far enough so that it will be possible to carry them through, al-

though some of his own revisions will be missing.

He had been married, several years ago, to a daughter of Dr. B. W. Goldsborough, of Cambridge, Maryland, brother of the present Governor of that commonwealth, and his wife and infant son and daughter survive him. Such ambition as he had was not so much a desire to be famous or to achieve what men call "success," as to use all the power and energy that lay in him to give worth and dignity to his task, whatever it might be. So great was his loyalty, so original and versatile were his talents, and so charming and gentle was his spirit, that his example made life seem a better and finer thing for all his associates.

ALBERT SHAW.

## HOW TO REMEDY THE MISSISSIPPI FLOODS

BY B. F. YOAKUM

(Chairman of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company)

[Few men in America have shown greater understanding of the practical economic problems now before the people of the United States than the accomplished and energetic railroad authority who is chairman of the St. Louis & San Francisco Board. Mr. Yoakum's very great interest in agricultural production, and in the upbuilding of the country penetrated by the lines of railway with which he has been connected, is well known throughout the country; and it is representative of the spirit that now actuates all of the modern school of transportation experts. At the request of this magazine Mr. Yoakum presents the following statement of the best means to remedy the flood situation in the Mississippi Valley.—THE EDITOR.]

**F**OR a long time I have made a close study of the Mississippi Valley, which is suffering such great loss from devastation caused by recent floods.

The Mississippi River and its tributaries afford an outlet into the Gulf of Mexico for nearly all the rains and snows that fall between the Rockies and the Appalachians. The waters of this vast region concentrate before reaching the mouth of the Mississippi. The impression generally prevails that the protection of the rich lowlands along the banks of the Mississippi must depend entirely upon the construction of large and adequate levees. This is to a great extent true, but not entirely so.

If the Mississippi and its large tributaries, such as the Missouri, Arkansas, Atchafalaya and others on the west, and the Ohio and other large streams on the east, were properly drained by straightening and canalizing where necessary, in order to give their own

waters and those which they must take care of unobstructed flow, it would afford a greater outlet to the Gulf. The lack of proper opening and drainage of these rivers, especially those west of the Mississippi, is an obstruction to the proper leveeing and reclamation of the lowlands.

More than two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) has been spent by the government upon the Mississippi and its navigable tributaries, and yet but little of a permanent nature has been accomplished in the improvement of their navigation. The government has not followed the same course as other countries by carrying on its drainage and reclamation work under a comprehensive and systematic plan. It has wasted money through unwise expenditures at various locations, in an unsystematic manner. That the protection of the Mississippi Valley can be accomplished economically and permanently by the government

under a comprehensive plan is shown by work which has been done in other countries.

In a report made by the Supervising Engineer of the United States Agricultural Department in 1909, attention was called to the fen lands of England and the submerged coast lands of Holland in the vicinity of Haarlem Lake, lying opposite each other across the English Channel. In England there were a few hundred to several thousand acres reclaimed independently of each other. As the work progressed the several projects came in conflict more and more, and some of the earlier work was made useless by later development. Up to two or three years ago it was said that probably more than the value of the lands in England had been spent in the drainage of the lands, and the conditions were still unsatisfactory, while in Holland, directly opposite this same land in England, there were more difficult problems presented, but a plan was prepared for drainage of the body of land as a whole, and the land was thoroughly and effectively reclaimed.

Aside from the saving of life, the unusual importance of this matter to the Mississippi Valley, in fact to the whole country, cannot well be overestimated. There are millions of acres needing proper and permanent protection in that valley, which contains some of the richest soil in the world, a large part of which will yield from two to three times as much per acre annually as the average yield of the acreage now under cultivation in the United States.



MR. B. F. YOAKUM

This question of protection of life and property of the now overflowed district has been for the last fifty years the subject of much talk and no intelligent concrete plan of action. To-day the entire nation is extending its sympathy to the sufferers from the floods of the South, which have caused such



SECTION OF THE MOBILE & OHIO RAILROAD TRACK CARRIED AWAY BY THE FLOODS WHICH LAST MONTH DEVASTATED THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI VALLEYS



RESIDENTIAL SECTION OF MEMPHIS UNDER WATER AND DESERTED, APRIL, 1912

an appalling loss of life and property. The thinking people of the country go further, and add to their sympathy a feeling of shame that our great government allows this dangerous menace to continue, which carries such horrifying results in the loss of life and the sweeping away of thousands of homes with all their belongings. These calamities come about wholly through failure of the government to furnish adequate protection.

The rapid approach of the day when it will be announced that the Panama Canal has been completely excavated, suggests to my mind the most suitable and economical way to proceed in dealing by the government of the United States with this Mississippi Valley problem. Our government is the owner of the greatest collection of powerful dredges and other machinery for such work to be found anywhere in the world. Furthermore, under Colonel Goethals and the United States engineers there has been perfected at Panama the best and most experienced organization that could anywhere be found. My suggestion is embodied in the following telegram, which I have sent to the chairman of the Drainage Congress, in session at New Orleans:

NEW YORK, April 11, 1912.  
GEO. H. MAXWELL, EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN,  
NATIONAL DRAINAGE CONGRESS,  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

A large part of the machinery bought by the government for use in constructing the Panama Canal

is now rapidly becoming idle. It is especially adapted for dredging and constructing levees, which work the Mississippi Valley badly needs now, and which is so strongly impressed upon the minds of the public through the great losses of life and property incurred by recent floods. This machinery if sold second-hand would not bring more than junk prices; but the machinery and organization which the government now has would be of great benefit to all if utilized in protecting by drainage and levees the overflowed lands of the Mississippi Valley. Through your exceptional knowledge of this subject you understand better than others that opening streams and removing obstructions to permit free flow of large volumes of water greatly relieve the levees. With Panama machinery and forces now at command of the government, ample dredging and adequate levee work can be done cheaper than ever before, and now is the opportune time to undertake it.

B. F. YOAKUM.

Numerous approving telegrams were received from the leading authorities upon Mississippi River improvement, including one from the Hon. Joseph E. Ransdell, a member of the River and Harbor Committee, in which he said: "I look with favor upon the utilization of any machinery and organization on the Canal that can be advantageously employed in improving public works in this country." The time has come for concerted action, upon a plan to be worked out at Washington, in time to utilize the engineering talent and the great mass of machinery that the completion of the Panama Canal will soon render available for the government's use.



# JOSEPH CONRAD, A MASTER OF LITERARY COLOR

BY EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

IF some one asked me suddenly to define the fundamental nature of art, I should answer unhesitatingly: it is interpretative imitation of life. This universal characteristic of all true art indicates also where lies Joseph Conrad's claim to world-wide renown. He is one who copies life in such manner that it becomes more intelligible, and thereby more livable, to the beholder. But even as an artist he holds a place apart, appearing to us a sort of modern knight of the Holy Grail, seeking ever the wondrous vessel in which beauty, worth and truth are said to mingle in triune radiance.

Imitation of life in artistic form demands above all else discipline—a simple-hearted subordination of one's own self to something that lies beyond it. And that subordination must neither be timid nor cringing, as truth cannot come out of fear or flattery. The form that we call artistic stands for interpretation, whereby the rhythmic pulse of life is rendered sensible to us. And for such interpretation is needed an insight almost divine in its penetration. Finally, for the blending of discipline and insight into a single-minded acceptance of whatever life may present, without effort at a final judgment that could be given only by omniscience, the artist needs endless sympathy with every aspect and utterance of that vital flow of which all visible and audible things are but so many shadows and echoes.

Discipline, sympathy, insight are the indispensable qualities of an inspired artist. And

these are the qualities that have shaped Conrad's strange career, turning an inland lad into a deep-sea sailor, and making a master of English out of one who "did not know six words of the language" when he was nineteen. At the present time he has to his credit fifteen volumes of fiction and reminiscences, not counting his one play and the two

novels he has produced in collaboration with another man.<sup>1</sup> In 1908 no less a critic than John Galsworthy remarked of his first ten volumes that they probably constituted "the only writing of the last twelve years that would enrich the English language to any great extent." And last year he had the none too common honor of being granted a small pension out of the British civil list. Considering the obstacles he has had to overcome in order to gain such recognition, one may well be tempted into describing his achievement as unique.

He was born in 1857, somewhere in Poland. His full name was Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski, and that name he retained until his first book appeared in print. His family



JOSEPH CONRAD

<sup>1</sup> "Almayer's Folly," 1895, Macmillan; "An Outcast of the Islands," 1896, Appleton; "The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'" (in America: "The Children of the Sea"), 1897, Dodd, Mead & Co.; "Tales of Unrest," 1898, Scribner's; "Lord Jim," 1900, Doubleday, Page & Co.; "The Inheritors" (with F. M. Hueffer), 1901, McClure; "Typhoon," 1902, Putnam; "Youth, and Two Other Stories," 1903, Doubleday, Page & Co.; "Falk," 1904, Doubleday, Page & Co.; "Romance" (with F. M. Hueffer), 1904, Doubleday, Page & Co.; "Nostromo: A Tale of the Seaboard," 1904, Harper's; "One Day More" (play), 1905 (not published); "The Mirror of the Sea," 1906, Harper's; "The Secret Agent," 1907, Harper's; "A Set of Six," 1908, Tauchnitz (not published in America); "The Point of Honor: A Military Tale," 1908, Doubleday, Page & Co.; "Under Western Eyes: A Novel," 1911, Harper's; "A Personal Record," 1912, Harper's.

belonged to the landed gentry of Poland, but as a mere child, while sharing the exile of his parents, he had to learn the hard lessons of poverty and privation. His father was a student, a writer, and a dreamer: one who translated Shakespeare and Hugo into Polish and tried to use his pen for the preservation of the threatened Polish nationality. His mother risked unflinchingly her own life in order to share her husband's exile.

The shadow of Russian despotism fell blightingly on the child's most sensitive years. It killed his mother outright by forcing her to take a long journey when already seriously ill. Her death hastened that of her husband. In his maternal uncle's home, where the orphaned boy found a refuge, there was hardly a face that did not speak of sorrow and suffering earned by the heroic support of a lost cause. Under the spur of those early impressions, the boy dreamed of joining the Turks in their war against Russia.

While still a boy, his mind was mightily drawn by everything connected with traveling and exploration. At the age of ten, he put his finger on the large blank space which then formed the heart of Africa on all maps and said: "When I grow up, I will go there." And so he did more than twenty years later. Among the belongings he carried with him and nearly lost on that trip up the Congo River to Stanley Falls was the manuscript of the first few chapters of "Almayer's Folly," his first book. And out of the same trip came by and by that marvelous story of his, "Heart of Darkness," which, in its own way, is probably without a peer in all literature.

He was never aware of learning to read—so early in his life did that momentous event take place. But at six he learned French from a governess. There is a story to the effect that, when at last he took to writing, he debated long and earnestly with himself which language to choose for his medium: French or English. The story has the virtue of not being inherently impossible. But I doubt nevertheless its authenticity, for at fifteen he had made up his mind not only to become a sailor, but a British sailor; and when, at nineteen, in the harbor of Marseilles, he saw the Red Ensign unfolded for the first time, that event impressed itself so strongly on his mind that, twenty years later, he was moved to make it the closing event of the reminiscent volume he has named "A Personal Record."

As a boy of eight he read his first Shakespeare play, "Two Gentlemen of Verona," in a Polish translation made by his father. At

ten he had read most of Victor Hugo's works. A little later he became acquainted with the novels of Dickens, and devoured them eagerly—in Polish. To this day Dickens is one of his firm favorites, another one being Henry James. As a student at the university of Cracow, or traveling with a tutor who himself was a man of unusual promise, he must have gathered up a store of conventional learning. Yet he has said of himself that "the studies came hard to him," and the tutor had to give up the attempt of driving the sea out of his mind. When, at nineteen, he forced his despairing relatives into letting him follow his natural bent, his action represented, to use his own happy phrase, "a standing jump out of his racial surroundings and conditions."

#### THE MAN BEHIND THE WRITER

His first experiences as a sailor were obtained in small vessels on the Mediterranean, and on a West Indian trip in a French ship that had to be pumped all the way to keep it from sinking. But very soon he made his way to England, the land of his dreams, finding his first employment in a coasting vessel. The Far East, another cherished goal, he did not reach until he had won a mate's certificate. From an eastern city, Bangkok, he started out with his first command, which made him master of a 500-ton bark. During his twenty years at sea, he tasted all the hardships, all the vicissitudes, and all the adventures, bad and good, that used to form an inevitable part of a sailor's lot. As a seaman, whether stationed before the mast or on the quarter-deck, he *made good*. There, as later, the indispensable qualities of the artist told. And though, with a touch of melancholy seldom found in him, he has told us that all the long and trying years at sea had brought him nothing but "a dozen or so of commendatory letters," we, who have read his books, know that those years brought him something more: a sense of life's fullness and seriousness that has proved the steady principle of his art, keeping it for ever from entering the shallow waters where, side by side, wait cheap success and sure oblivion.

What moved Conrad to try his hand at writing was, according to himself, "a hidden, obscure necessity, a completely masked and unaccountable phenomenon," and not "the famous need of self-expression which artists find in their search for motives." Previously he had written nothing but letters, and few of those. He had never "made a note of a fact,

f an impression or of an anecdote," and "the conception of a planned book was entirely outside his mental range when he sat down to write"—in furnished rooms at Pimlico Square, London.

The truth of it seems to be that the germ of a story, a striking figure calling for artistic embodiment, had chanced across his path while the first glow of the East was still fresh in his mind. For years he carried it about with him as a haunting possibility. And at last resistance became impossible. Thus "Almayer's Folly" came into being, but not in one stroke. Five years lay between the writing of the first and the last chapters of that book, which, when published in 1895, brought him a great deal of immediate recognition.

During those five years Conrad traveled back and forth over the face of the earth. Some chapters were written in those rooms at Pimlico Square; others in the equatorial regions of Africa, on board a steamer frozen fast in the Seine at Rouen, in a hydropathic establishment near Geneva, and in a waterside warehouse at London. Twice the manuscript was nearly lost: once in the Congo rapids, and another time in a hotel at Warsaw. During a journey to Australia, the author submitted nine finished chapters to one of the passengers, a Cambridge graduate, with the question: "Is it worth finishing?" All the answer he got was: "Decidedly!"

There are now, as I have already said, fifteen volumes to his credit—nine novels of varying length, four collections of short stories, a volume of reminiscent essays dealing with the sea, and another volume of frankly personal character. Between them, those works cover the five continents. But most of the stories deal with life on the high seas and in the tropics. I believe that no other writer has surpassed Conrad in the picturing of those two fields of human endeavor—the endlessly variable sea, and the tropics, where life and death, fierce passion and dreamy languor, are always found close together, like twin kernels within a single shell. And so vivid are his pictures, so keen is his analysis, that he makes us positively *sense* the regions described by him.

#### THE WIZARDRY OF HIS STYLE

To achieve that effect, Conrad has first of all his power of evoking vivid images, as when he tells us how "the ship became a high and lonely pyramid gliding, all shining and white, through the sunlit mist." With this pictur-

esqueness in the best sense goes an equally notable power of characterization, of making us grasp situations or souls by means of some felicitous phrase that cannot be forgotten. Thus he says of Captain Mitchell in "Nostromo" that "he was too pompously and innocently aware of his own existence to observe that of others."

Back of each happy expression lies his merciless faculty of observation. He sees everything, and sees it right. When Singleton, the Nestor in the forecabin of the *Narcissus*, turned the pages of the book he was reading, "the muscles of his big white arms rolled slightly under the smooth skin." Little touches of reality, so subtle that not one man in a thousand would think of them, and yet so palpably true that without them the story would seem incomplete, meet us constantly. Here is an instance. When, in "The Nigger of the *Narcissus*," the disgusted crew inspected the forecabin which had been flooded by the storm, they found the ship's cat miraculously saved. Then some one brought a bucket of fresh water, and "Tom, lean and mewing, came up with every hair astir and had the first drink." But Conrad's realism is never satisfied with mere surface appearances. The souls of things and of men shine through his words and carry us on to a new understanding.

As he can take us to any part of the globe and make us at home there, so he knows every mood of man and how to make us share it. Tragedy and farce find him equally ready and equally impartial. For sheer pathos some of his passages have rarely been excelled—as the one that tells of the final revelation of Razumov's guilt to Nathalie Haldin in "Under Western Eyes." And when there is a laugh to be had out of the life he is dealing with, he can be gently ironical, as when he lets Captain McWhirr in "Typhoon" read up "the chapter on the winds" while the storm is breaking; or he can give us screaming farce as in "Almayer's Folly," when Babalatchi, "the statesman of Sambir," has to spend his night grinding out "Trova-tore" on a hand organ to soothe the disturbed soul of his master.

Galsworthy has said that in Conrad's novels "nature is first, and man second." That is not true. In every one of his stories man might be said to constitute "the main show." Nature is present in abundance, but only as seen and heard and felt by man. Conrad himself has declared that "it is we alone who, swayed by the audacity of our minds and the tremors of our hearts, are the

sole artisans of all the wonder and romance of the world." A typical instance of man's central position in his work may be found in the part played by the snow-capped dome of Higerota in "Nostromo": ever-present, dominating the entire landscape, but perceived by us only through the eyes of old Viola gazing from the doorway of his inn at the eternal snows.

But while the adventures of men, physical and spiritual, give Conrad his themes, and while he might be expected to remain satisfied if only those men seem sufficiently convincing in their uncompromising individualities, there is in his works something more, something still bigger, something of which he may or may not be conscious himself. Through all of them runs a strange but unmistakable symbolism. Each novel and story seems to stage some elementary passion in many shades and variations.

#### HUMAN PASSIONS HIS REAL HEROES

The storm has been called the hero of "Typhoon." It is no more so than the Chinese fighting for silver dollars in the 'tween-deck. The storm, the boat, the crew, the rest of the officers, are little more than so much background for the figure of Captain McWhirr. And while McWhirr is as real to us as words can make him, he, in his turn, is but a symbol for a human quality—that of courage. And what we learn from him is that courage has very little to do with the brain, and very much with such simpler functions as circulation and digestion. And if, in this light, we re-examine the other figures standing out in low relief behind that of the captain, we find every one embodying some different form of courage, or lack of it.

In "The Nigger of the Narcissus" the real hero is not Jimmy, the colored giant who deceives the others only to die self-deceived, but the crew as a whole. As a crew it is divided within itself, not by man standing against man, but by the conflict of two antagonistic emotions within the breast of every man. The emotions in question are those of pity and cruelty—both thriving side by side in primitive man, but so that one of them marks the past out of which he is emerging, while the other one points toward the future that is his goal.

In "Nostromo" the dominant quality,

recurring in every character except that of Mrs. Gould, is vanity. But to recognize this fact we must understand that vanity and ambition, pride and aspiration, represent distinctions only of degree. Here as elsewhere what we call virtue began under forms that now look appallingly vicious. From the crude, childish greed for public acclaim found in the glorious *capataz de cargadores* to that "ideal conception of his disgrace" which Dr. Monygham had made for himself, or from the intellectual skepticism of a Decoud to the mystical materialism of a Holroyd, may seem a far cry, indeed—but even such distances can be bridged by evolution, just as they have been bridged by Conrad's inimitable art.

A man who has looked so deeply and so shrewdly into the human heart might be expected to confess some social purpose. This Conrad will not do. He is the artist, the observer—not the judge or the reformer. Saints and knaves find equal justice at his hands, his one avowed object to reveal man to himself. All political creeds look pretty much alike to him. Remedies for evil there may be—must be—but not in programs. Not even the sacred name of freedom can cast a spell over him. If there be any principle that to him appears hallowed, it is that of discipline—not the discipline exerted by one man over another, but that which makes each man a master of himself. When this kind of discipline becomes universal, and particularly when it joins hands with sympathy and insight, with love and knowledge, then freedom will result automatically. In this faith of Conrad's—if he is willing to admit it as such—must be sought the most plausible reason for his failure to grasp and convincingly present a single human type: the anarchistic enthusiast for liberty in the abstract.

For religious and philosophical formulations he has little more use than for political programs. But his pages overflow with true wisdom, with revelations that teach us how to live, not theoretically but practically—as when he tells us that "both men and ships want to have their merits understood rather than their faults found out." Even a man like Maeterlinck has little more to give in this respect—and with the Belgian dreamer's outlook on life Conrad has much in common.





# THE CONVENTION SYSTEM AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

BY PROFESSOR C. S. POTTS

(School of Government, University of Texas)

[Dissatisfaction with our time-honored method of naming Presidential candidates is widespread and is not confined to the voters of either of the two great parties. In the case of the Republican party, however, the basis of representation in national conventions is especially open to attack because of the situation in the South. The following article summarizes some of the current criticism of the convention system and shows what is involved in the demand for Presidential preference primaries.—THE EDITOR.]

IN view of the approaching national conventions for the nomination of Presidential candidates it will not be amiss to call attention to some of the defects and inequalities arising out of the basis of representation in these conventions and the rules under which the conventions operate. The importance of a fair and just basis of representation will readily be granted by all when it is remembered that the Presidency is pre-eminently the most important office in the country from a legislative as well as from an executive standpoint and that nomination by the national convention means election, so far as the party organization is able to effect an election. The action of the two leading parties in nominating their candidates practically limits the choice of the voter to one of two men. The two conventions that are to meet in June will to all intents and purposes dictate to the country whom it shall have for its President. It is of the utmost political importance, therefore, that these conventions shall be fairly constituted and shall be conducted in such a fashion as to be truly representative of the wishes of the party members for whom they assume to speak.

It is an astonishing fact that bodies possessed of such enormous political powers have remained wholly unknown to the Constitution and the laws of the United States for more than three-quarters of a century. But such is the case. They have been free to adopt such principles of representation as they chose, to make such rules of procedure as seemed good to them or as temporarily served the purposes of the political wire-pullers who chanced to be in control, and to raise enormous sums for campaign purposes by fair means or foul and spend them as they pleased without accounting to any one. State conventions have been regulated by State laws in some cases, and in many States candidates for office are selected by party primary elec-

tions; but these great national party conventions are still purely voluntary extra-legal bodies, subject to all the abuses of unregulated and almost unrestricted power.

## THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

The first criticism leveled at the present convention system is based upon the grossly unfair method of representation now in use by all the political parties. The States are given representation in the national conventions, not according to the party vote or the strength of party sentiment in the several States, but according to their vote in the Electoral College—two delegates for each elector. This basis was hit upon by the Anti-Masons in 1831 in the first national convention ever held, and it has not been changed from that day to this. The electoral vote is roughly proportional to population, but has absolutely no relation to party strength. The result is that a large State will have a large vote and a great deal of influence in the national convention in selecting the party's candidate, but at the final election it may give him an insignificantly small popular vote and not a single Presidential elector. Thus, in the Republican Convention of 1908 Texas gave Taft thirty-six convention votes, while Indiana gave him thirty. In the final election Texas gave him only 65,000 votes and no votes at all in the Electoral College, while Indiana gave him 349,000 votes and its entire electoral vote.

The inequalities and absurdities resulting from the present basis of representation are well illustrated by the accompanying tables showing in the first column the popular vote for Taft and Bryan in 1908, in the second the number of delegates to which each State is entitled under the present plan of representation, in the third the number of delegates to which each State would be entitled under what may

be called Senator Bourne's plan,<sup>1</sup> and in the fourth column the number to which each State would be entitled if the delegates were distributed among the States in proportion to party strength, as indicated by the vote in 1908.<sup>2</sup> In column five is given the number of party voters in each State for every delegate to the national convention to which that State is entitled under the existing plan of distribution.

twenty instead of ninety, and Mississippi's convention strength would diminish from twenty stalwarts to but a single lonesome delegate. Even by the compromise plan Mississippi's convention strength would be only one-fourth of what it is at the present time.

Even more striking are the facts when we look at the number of voters each delegate in the Republican convention stands for. In

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

	Vote for Taft 1908	Dele- s. Pres- ent Plan	Dele- s. Bourne's Plan	Dele. Acc. to Party Vote 1908	Vote per Delegate 1908
Ala.	26,300	24	7	4	1,100
Ark.	56,700	18	10	8	3,150
Cal.	214,400	26	28	30	8,250
Colo.	123,700	12	18	17	10,310
Conn.	112,800	14	17	16	8,060
Del.	25,000	6	3	1	4,170
Fla.	10,600	12	5	1	890
Ga.	41,700	28	9	6	1,490
Idaho	52,600	8	10	7	6,580
Ill.	629,900	58	75	87	10,860
Ind.	349,000	30	43	48	11,630
Iowa	275,000	26	35	37	10,580
Kan.	197,200	20	26	27	9,860
Ky.	235,700	26	31	32	9,070
La.	9,000	20	5	1	448
Me.	67,000	12	12	9	5,580
Md.	116,500	16	17	16	7,280
Mass.	266,000	36	34	37	7,390
Mich.	333,300	30	42	43	11,110
Minn.	195,800	24	26	21	8,160
Miss.	4,360	20	5	1	218
Mo.	347,200	36	43	48	9,640
Mont.	32,300	8	8	4	4,420
Neb.	127,000	16	18	17	7,740
Nev.	10,800	6	5	2	1,800
N. H.	53,100	8	10	7	6,640
N. J.	265,300	28	34	37	9,480
N. Y.	870,100	90	102	120	9,667
N. C.	114,900	24	17	16	4,790
N. Dak.	57,700	10	11	8	5,770
Ohio	572,300	48	69	79	11,020
Okla.	110,600	20	16	15	5,530
Ore.	62,500	10	11	9	6,250
Penn.	745,800	76	88	103	9,810
R. I.	43,900	10	9	6	4,390
S. C.	4,000	18	4	1	220
S. Dak.	67,500	10	12	9	6,750
Tenn.	118,300	24	17	16	4,930
Tex.	65,700	40	11	9	1,640
Utah	61,000	8	11	8	7,630
Vt.	39,600	8	8	5	4,050
Va.	52,600	24	10	7	2,190
Wash.	106,100	14	16	14	7,580
W. Va.	137,800	16	20	19	8,610
Wis.	247,700	26	32	34	9,530
Wyo.	20,800	6	6	3	3,470
Total	7,677,500	1,050	1,050	1,050	7,274

## DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

	Votes for Bryan 1908	Dele- s. Pres- ent Plan	Dele- s. Bourne's Plan	Dele. Acc. to Party Vote 1908	Party Vote Per Del. 1908
Ala.	74,000	24	14	12	3,000
Ark.	87,000	18	16	14	4,800
Cal.	127,000	26	21	21	4,900
Colo.	127,000	12	21	21	10,580
Conn.	68,000	14	13	11	4,870
Del.	22,000	6	7	4	3,600
Fla.	31,000	12	8	5	2,580
Ga.	72,300	28	14	12	2,870
Idaho	36,100	8	8	6	4,500
Ill.	451,000	58	65	74	7,770
Ind.	338,300	30	50	55	11,380
Iowa	266,400	26	40	44	10,240
Kan.	161,200	20	26	26	8,060
Ky.	244,100	26	37	40	9,400
La.	63,600	20	13	10	3,180
Me.	35,400	12	9	6	2,950
Md.	115,900	16	20	19	7,200
Mass.	155,500	36	25	26	4,300
Mich.	175,800	30	28	29	5,850
Minn.	69,600	24	13	11	2,600
Miss.	60,900	20	12	10	3,040
Mo.	346,700	36	51	57	9,630
Mont.	29,400	8	8	5	3,675
Neb.	131,100	16	22	21	8,700
Nev.	11,200	6	6	2	1,870
N. H.	33,600	8	9	5	4,200
N. J.	182,500	28	28	30	6,330
N. Y.	667,100	90	94	109	7,410
N. C.	136,900	24	23	22	5,700
N. Dak.	32,900	10	9	5	3,390
Ohio	502,700	48	71	82	10,470
Okla.	122,400	20	20	20	6,120
Ore.	38,000	10	9	6	3,800
Penn.	448,800	76	64	74	5,900
R. I.	24,700	10	8	4	2,470
S. C.	62,300	18	12	10	3,460
S. Dak.	40,200	10	9	6	4,020
Tenn.	135,800	24	22	22	5,660
Tex.	216,700	40	33	36	5,420
Utah	42,600	8	8	7	3,300
Vt.	11,500	8	6	2	1,440
Va.	82,900	24	15	13	3,450
Wash.	58,700	14	12	9	4,200
W. Va.	111,400	16	18	18	6,960
Wis.	166,600	26	26	27	6,400
Wyo.	14,900	6	6	2	2,480
Total	6,393,000	1,050	1,050	1,050	6,088

From these tables it will be seen that if the delegates to the Republican convention were based on party strength, Indiana would have forty-eight delegates instead of thirty, and Texas would be reduced from forty to nine. New York would have one hundred and

Ohio each delegate to the national convention represents 11,900 Republican voters, while a delegate from South Carolina represents 220. In other words, 220 Republicans in South Carolina have as much voice in nominating a candidate for the high office of President as nearly 12,000 Republican voters in Ohio. Man for man, the South Carolina Republican has fifty-four times as much influence in the councils of his party—and, through his party, in controlling the destinies of the nation—as does the average Republican in Ohio. Similarly 218 Mississippi Republicans are equal to 11,000 members of that party in Michigan. And this, notwithstanding the fact that these Southern States do not contribute a single electoral vote to the Re-

<sup>1</sup> Senator Bourne's plan is a compromise between the present system of distributing delegates and a purely proportional arrangement based solely on party strength. This plan, which proposes to give each State four delegates at large and to distribute the other delegates among the States according to the vote for President at the last election, was defeated in the Republican Convention in 1908 by the narrow vote of 506 to 470. The Populist Party made use of this plan. In its convention of 1896 each State was given two delegates and one additional delegate for every 2000 votes cast in 1892. Thus Texas had 103 delegates and New York 39, Kansas 92 and Connecticut 6. The same principle is applied in the choice of delegates in the State conventions, each county being given representation according to party strength rather than population.

<sup>2</sup> Arizona and New Mexico are not included in these calculations as they did not participate in the election of 1908.

publican candidate, at the final election in November.

These facts in themselves would seem to be sufficiently startling to bring about an immediate rearrangement of the convention votes. But that is not all. Any person who knows anything about political conditions, North and South, knows that the average of intelligence and moral character among Republican voters is much higher in the North than in the South. In many of the Southern States the Republican party is still made up largely of negroes and carpet-baggers, or the political offspring of the carpet-baggers. The result is that the present plan of convention representation is not only grossly misrepresentative, but it loads the dice in favor of the ignorant and vicious. One would think that the wise and virtuous should have the greater weight in the councils of the party, but here we have an arrangement by which fifty-fold power is lodged in the hands of the worst element of the party.<sup>1</sup>

But the story is not yet complete. These ignorant and relatively vicious elements of the party are, through the purchasing power of the federal patronage, converted into pliant tools in the hands of a Republican President for securing his own renomination, or for dictating his successor. All of the thousands of post-offices and other federal positions in the Southern States are distributed by the State Republican machine, and it is a notorious fact that the patronage has been and is being used for political purposes. For example, a letter to a postmaster in a South-western State, written by the Republican State Chairman of that State, was recently given to the press. After calling the postmaster's attention to alleged irregularities in the conduct of his office, the letter concludes: "If you will bring a delegation to the State and district conventions instructed for Taft and Jim Harris, I will see that you are re-appointed." Thus these over-represented Southern States constitute a system of rotten or pocket boroughs in the hands of a Republican President, just as indefensible and probably just as harmful as the rotten-borough system swept away by the English Reform Bill of 1832.

The immense advantage gained by a Republican President as a result of this rotten-

## REPUBLICAN SITUATION NORTH AND SOUTH

	Votes for Taft 1908	Dele. Present Plan	Dele. Bourne's Plan	Dele. Acc. Vote per Party Vote 1908	Del. 1908
Ala.....	26,300	24	7	4	1,095
Ark.....	56,700	18	10	8	3,049
Fla.....	10,600	12	5	1	888
Ga.....	41,700	38	9	6	1,489
La.....	8,900	20	5	1	448
Miss.....	4,360	20	5	1	218
S. C.....	3,960	18	4	1	220
Tex.....	65,700	40	11	9	1,641
Va.....	52,600	24	10	7	2,190
Total...	270,800	204	66	38	1,327
Colo.....	123,700	12	18	17	10,300
Ill.....	629,900	58	75	87	10,860
Iowa.....	275,000	26	35	37	10,560
Ind.....	349,000	30	43	48	11,630
Mich.....	333,300	30	42	46	11,110
Ohio.....	572,300	48	69	79	11,920
Total...	2,283,200	204	282	314	11,140

borough system is shown by the accompanying table. The nine strictly Southern States here given have 204 convention votes. According to party strength they would be entitled only to 38, a clear gain to the President, if he can control them, of 166 convention votes. Compare these States with the six Northern States, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Ohio. Under the present plan they have the same convention vote, 204, although they cast a popular Republican vote nearly ten times as large as the nine Southern States. They should have 110 more convention votes than they now have, or 78 more by the compromise arrangement. Thirteen hundred Republicans in the nine Southern States are, on the average, just as powerful in the councils of their party as are 11,000 Republicans in the six Northern States named—and more powerful, since they vote in solid blocks just as they are ordered by their bosses.

Let no one fancy that this is merely a matter of party control with which Democrats and others have no concern. It is a matter of party control, to be sure, but every good citizen should be and is vitally concerned. The candidate named by this pocket-borough system, if elected, will be the President of us all, and that he is very apt to be elected is abundantly proven by the solid phalanx of Republican Presidents for the last fifty-two years, which no Democratic nominee save Cleveland has been able to break.

The present plan of representation produces many inequalities in the Democratic National Convention as well as in that of the Republicans, but, as the Democratic strength is more widely distributed among the States, there is not quite such a large sectional over-representation in that party. In fact, the Southern States, although overwhelmingly Democratic, are over-represented in the Democratic National Convention, if the popular

<sup>1</sup>The character of the Republican conventions in some of the Southern States is illustrated by the following press dispatch, dated Atlanta, Georgia, February 14, 1912: "President Taft was given an enthusiastic and unanimous indorsement by the Republican State Convention, which met here to-day and selected delegates at large to the National Convention. Negroes composed more than half of the membership of the convention and Henry Lincoln Johnson, a negro, was made permanent chairman."

vote in the final election be taken as the criterion, for the elections are so one-sided that only a light Democratic vote is polled. The actual contest in the "solid South" takes place in the Democratic primaries. But the present plan results in the over-representation of the small States, especially if they are overwhelmingly Republican. The table here

#### CALHOUN'S PROPHECY WORDS

This criticism of the convention system was ably stated by John C. Calhoun, in 1844, when he refused to let his name go before the Baltimore Convention as a candidate for the Presidency. He issued a circular in which he said:

SMALL VS. LARGE STATES IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

	Votes for Bryan 1908	Dels., Present Plan	Dels., Bourne's Plan	Dels. Party Strength	Vote per Del. 1908
Fla.....	31,000	12	8	5	2,580
Ga.....	72,000	28	14	12	2,870
Me.....	35,000	12	9	6	2,950
Minn.....	69,600	24	13	11	2,900
Nev.....	11,200	6	6	2	1,870
R. I.....	24,700	10	8	4	2,470
Vt.....	11,500	8	6	2	1,440
Wyo.....	14,900	6	6	2	2,480
Total....	269,900	106	70	44	2,570
Ind.....	338,000	30	50	55	11,280
Iowa.....	266,000	26	40	44	10,240
Ohio.....	502,700	48	71	82	10,470
Total....	1,106,700	104	161	181	10,600

presented shows a group of eight small States with a convention vote two and one-half times as large as it ought to be, and three large States grossly under-represented, as measured by the Democratic vote for Bryan in 1908.

#### THE METHOD OF ELECTING THE DELEGATES

The second objection to the present convention system is based on the method of selecting the delegates. Very early in the history of the convention system the practice of appointing delegates to the national convention through State or district conventions came into vogue. These local conventions soon fell into the hands of the professional politicians and office-holders, and the wishes of the rank and file of the party received scant attention at their hands. So fearful of official interference with elections were the makers of the Constitution that they provided that no federal office-holder could serve as a Presidential Elector; but under the convention system hundreds of office-holders, present and prospective, crowd into the conventions and dictate the party's Presidential candidate,—a function immeasurably more important than that of the Presidential Electors—probably more important even than the function of the electors was originally intended to be. And it is a fact known of all men that the conventions, packed as they are with self-seekers, do not choose the man most fit to be President, but the man most apt to win and most certain to be clay in the political potters' hands.

I object to the proposed convention, because it will not be constituted in conformity with the fundamental articles of the Republican creed. The delegates to it will be appointed from some of the States, not by the people in districts, but, as has been stated, by State conventions en masse, composed of delegates appointed in all cases, as far as I am informed, by county or district conventions, and in some cases, if not misinformed, these again composed of delegates appointed by still smaller divisions, or a few interested individuals. Instead, then, of being directly, or fresh from the people, the delegates to the Baltimore convention will be delegates of delegates; and of course removed, in all cases, at least three, if not four degrees from the people. At each successive remove, the voice of the people will become less full and distinct, until, at last, it will be so faint and imperfect as not to be audible. . . .

The further the convention is removed from the people, the more certainly the control over it will be placed in the hands of the interested few, and when removed three or four degrees, as has been shown it will be where the appointment is by State conventions, the power of the people will cease, and the seekers of executive favor will become supreme. At that stage, an active, trained and combined corps will be formed in the party, whose whole time and attention will be directed to politics. Into their hands the appointment of delegates in all the stages will fall, and they will take special care that none but themselves or their humble and obedient dependents shall be appointed. The central and State conventions will be filled by the most experienced and cunning, and after nominating the President, they will take good care to divide the patronage and offices, both of the general and State governments, among themselves and their dependents. But why say *will*? Is it not *already the case*? Have there not been many instances of State conventions being filled by office-holders and office-seekers, who, after making the nomination, have divided the offices in the State among themselves and their partisans, and joined in recommending to the candidate whom they have just nominated to appoint them to the offices to which they have been respectively allotted? If such be the case in the infancy of the system, it must end, if such conventions become the established usage, in the President nominating his successor.

That time has now come—indeed, has long been here. It has become a customary thing for a President to take a second nomination for himself, and then upon retiring to secure the nomination for his protégé. Mr. Roosevelt named his successor, and if Mr. Taft fails to name his it will be the result of a cataclysmic upheaval unparalleled in all the history of the Republican party. Only such

an upheaval can weaken the President's grip upon the machinery of his party. For already the returns are coming in from the pocket boroughs. A great metropolitan daily strongly supporting the claims of Mr. Taft, recently said: "While the battle of the claimants now goes on merrily, the Taft forces expect to rope and tie the delegates from the Southern States. . . . If there is any ground-swell for Roosevelt working about the country, the Taft managers mean to have their Southern delegates fastened before it can get time to exert its influence." In furtherance of this plan the Southern conventions are being held early. Georgia spoke out for Taft on the 14th of February. Virginia and Tennessee followed on March 12, and by the last of that month six Southern States had joined the Taft ranks, giving him 106 delegates out of his first 138. Thus were the delegates being roped and tied, and the prophecy of Calhoun was being fulfilled before our eyes.

#### THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY

For the evils arising out of the present indirect method of selecting delegates to the national convention and of taking the sense of the party voters on Presidential candidates two remedies are at hand. One is to provide for the election of delegates at party primaries held in all the Congressional districts, with four delegates elected from the State at large. This was advocated by Calhoun in the circular already mentioned.<sup>1</sup> It has been established by law in Pennsylvania, and, as each candidate for delegate may print on the ballot opposite his name the name of the candidate for President he expects to support in the national convention, the voters of the party have a chance of expressing their preference for a Presidential candidate. It may, therefore, be classed as one form of Presidential primary.

The other remedy is the direct preference primary by which the party voter expresses directly his choice of a Presidential candidate for his party. Such a primary may use the Congressional district, or the State, or the United States, as the election unit. If the district is taken as the unit, the delegates

chosen from the district would be expected to support in the national convention the candidate preferred by the party voters of the district as shown by the result of the primary. This plan would result in dividing the vote of many States. This often occurs now in the Republican convention, for the delegates are chosen by Congressional district conventions and are instructed by them rather than by the State conventions.

If the State be taken as the election unit, then all the delegates from the State vote for the Presidential candidate receiving the highest vote in the State. During the last few months there has been a remarkable growth of sentiment in favor of this method of selecting delegates. Oregon led off with a Presidential primary law in 1910. California, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, and Wisconsin followed during 1911, and similar laws have been adopted quite recently in Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts and Michigan. On account of constitutional barriers the Maine and Michigan laws will not go into effect in time to be used in the present campaign.

South Dakota now has a permissive primary law that is regarded as a fair substitute for a compulsory primary law. Voluntary Presidential primaries are being held by one or both parties in several States, including Kansas, Georgia, Florida, and Rhode Island. In other States, there is a very strong popular demand for voluntary primaries, especially on the part of the friends of Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Wilson. These militant forces assert that the friends of the other candidates oppose preference primaries because they dare not give the people a chance to express their choice. The strength of the movement in every part of the country proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the American people are thoroughly disgusted with the convention system and the dirty politics made possible by it, and are ready for a change.

The most serious objection to the use of the State as the election unit is that it forces upon the parties the unit rule, a scheme devised by the supporters of William Henry Harrison to defeat Henry Clay for the Whig nomination in 1840. Like the two-thirds rule, its greatest virtue is that it enables the minority to rule, or, at any rate may prevent the majority from doing so. These devices, by thwarting the will of the majority, bring about deadlocks in the conventions, and these furnish the professional political bargainer the rarest opportunity for the display of his

<sup>1</sup>He said: "I hold that the convention should be so constituted as to utter fully and clearly the voice of the people, and not that of the political managers or office holders and office seekers; and for that purpose, I hold it is indispensable that the delegates should be appointed directly by the people, or to use the language of General Jackson, should be 'fresh from the people.' I also hold that the only possible mode to effect this is for the people to choose the delegates by districts, and that they should vote *per capita*. Every other mode of appointing would be controlled by political machinery, and would place the appointment in the hands of the few who work it."

faculties. The result of such deadlocks is usually the "dark horse." Whatever may have been the excuse for the use of these devices by the Democratic party in the days when the South was a weak minority and had its "peculiar institution" to protect, that excuse has long since passed away. At the present time nothing could be more contradictory than for the party that calls itself Democratic to make use of devices whose only result is to thwart the will of the majority.

This objection to the State Presidential primary, that it forces the unit rule on the delegates, would be entirely eliminated by the adoption of a national Presidential primary. In such a primary the party's candidate would have to secure a majority, or at any rate a plurality, of all the votes cast regardless of State lines. That there is urgent need of such a law is readily apparent when one contemplates the chaotic condition of the election machinery in use at the present time. There are almost as many ways of selecting delegates to the national conventions as there are States represented in those conventions, and most of the methods used are open to fraud and all forms of political corruption. President Taft referred to the Presidential primary election in North Dakota as a "soap-box primary," and Colonel Roosevelt characterized the primary in New York as a "criminal farce." In the latter election alone there were sufficient irregularities and frauds, if we may credit the newspaper accounts, to warrant the establishment of a national primary system for choosing national officers.

The law is unduly favorable to the machine candidates, and it is very difficult and expensive for opposition candidates to get on the official ballot. Then the ballots used in the election were ridiculously long and cumbersome, some of them measuring from ten to fourteen feet in length. They were printed so hastily that in many cases the sections had not been pasted together and the voter had to make out his ballot on the installment plan. In a number of the districts the ballots did not arrive until long after the polls were opened and many voters had grown tired of

waiting and had gone, while in others the ballots were not received until after the polls had closed. Colonel Roosevelt asserts that in New York City alone a hundred election inspectors who were favorable to his candidacy were ruthlessly removed to make room for inspectors loyal to the party machine. "In short," says he, "the election machinery was used as unscrupulously as in the days of Tweed!"

Possibly some allowance must be made in all this for partisan bias and the intemperance of speech which a heated campaign engenders, but the calmest observer must admit that our election machinery is utterly chaotic. Probably few other nations would quietly accept the results of a system so hopelessly defective. Nor can one readily believe that we shall long submit to it, especially when a remedy is at hand. A bill establishing a national primary was introduced some weeks ago by Senator Cummins, and is now pending before Congress. It provides for a Presidential primary for all the parties to be held in all the States of the Union on the second Monday in July in 1912, and every four years thereafter. National and State canvassing boards are created to look after printing and distributing the ballots, canvassing the returns, and declaring the results. That the bill is perfect is not to be expected, but that it is capable of being made into a very useful law there is little reason to doubt. It seems probable that such a direct national primary will have to be established before we can be sure that the party candidate is truly representative of the party sentiment.

An interesting indirect result of such a direct national primary would probably be the abolition of the Electoral College. When the voters once become accustomed to voting directly for the party nominee they will not long remain content to vote indirectly for the President, especially when that indirect method not infrequently results in the election of a minority candidate. Like the appendix in the human body, the Electoral College performs no useful function, and it can only endanger the health of the body politic.



# MR. ROOSEVELT'S "RECALL OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS"

A LAWYER'S COMMENTS

BY HAROLD REMINGTON

[The author of the following article is a member of the New York bar who is known to the legal profession as one of the leading authorities on bankruptcy law and as a profound student of commercial law in general, both State and federal. Mr. Remington had an important part in framing the amendments of 1910 to the federal bankruptcy law, and it is said that he is more familiar with the details of this legislation than any one else outside of the two Houses of Congress. Mr. Remington's long experience as a practising attorney in State and federal courts qualifies him to speak with authority concerning matters of judicial interpretation of statutes. In coming to the support of Colonel Roosevelt's position regarding the so-called recall of judicial decisions, Mr. Remington is only one of a group of eminent lawyers, including such men as Dr. William Draper Lewis, Dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, Prof. Alfred Hays, Jr., of the College of Law, Cornell University, and Mayor Gaynor, of New York City, who, after an experience of sixteen years on the bench, declares that he fully accepts and endorses the proposition put forward by Colonel Roosevelt. In this article Mr. Remington gives a remarkably lucid exposition of the matter, and, at the same time, offers a draft of a constitutional provision embodying the principles advocated.—THE EDITOR.]

**R**OOSEVELT'S idea, popularly miscalled "recall of judicial decisions," is not "recall of judicial decisions" at all, in the sense of a reversal of a judicial decision for erroneous reasoning. Much less is it revolutionary. Rightly understood it is sound in legal principle and essentially right in political philosophy and in economics.

Let us see if we can express it. First of all, let us get the surroundings. It must be remembered that Roosevelt was talking to a constitutional convention, which had been called by the people of a great State to re-frame its fundamental law. Roosevelt had before his mind the situation in his own State of New York, where the highest court of appeals had shortly before held unconstitutional a workmen's compensation act framed after careful investigation of similar legislation in other States and in England, but which the court had held unconstitutional as taking the employer's property from him without fault on his part and as thus contravening the fundamental law guaranteeing the inviolability of private property. Final as this decision was and based as it was on a ground that would render all future workmen's compensation acts and similar laws impossible in the State of New York, it was to him shocking, as it must be to all of us, to think that henceforth the great Empire State, with its millions of population, one-fourth as great as England, or France, or Spain, (each of which has its own workmen's compensation law) should be forever prohibited from joining her sister States (and

the United States itself in Interstate Commerce cases) in enacting workmen's compensation laws and similar laws for the good of its people necessitated by the growing complexity of modern industrial life.

He appreciated, too, as must every lawyer and legislator, that simply to put into the State constitution a special amendment specifically providing that the Legislature might pass workmen's compensation acts would itself require a similar constitutional amendment for each and every future act of similar nature. For, according to the ordinary canons of statutory construction, the courts would be obliged to rule that, since it required a constitutional amendment to validate a workmen's compensation act, a constitutional amendment would likewise be necessary for future acts affecting the relations of employer and employee, involving property rights or individual liberty and not simply guarding health or personal safety. Thus, this specific amendment would make it quite impossible for the courts to hold future similar laws constitutional, even though, without the amendment, they might have been inclined to hold such laws valid. In other words, the special amendment, whilst good for the workmen's compensation act, would render future labor legislation more difficult to obtain.

Roosevelt was sound in his reasoning, as every thoughtful lawyer must concede. What he said to those members of the constitutional convention at Columbus was in effect to urge them to insert some general



clause into their new constitution which would permit the people to say that, notwithstanding the law for the protection of property rights may have stood precisely as the court of last resort had held in accordance with precedents, yet the people could express their change of views with regard to the limitations of the individual rights of property, by declaring that now and for the future, at least, the right of property, which is always held subject to the advancing ideas of mankind, should be held to be subjected to this or that additional limitation or burden necessitated by the general welfare.

When we consider that almost every step of human progress in industrial laws, such as the factory acts, the regulation of the hours of labor, etc., has been at first strenuously opposed by the courts, which are bound by precedents, precisely on this same ground, as depriving individuals of property or of liberty contrary to established constitutional rights, then we comprehend how true it is that rights of property and individual liberty themselves change as mankind advances, and that such rights are always to be held subject to the progressing views of the people as to the rightful limitations upon the so-called "sacredness" of private property and individual liberty.

Indeed, these *rights* themselves are limited by and dependent on the ideas of the whole people then prevailing and are not to be limited to the ideas of past generations, nor ought they to be limited to the guesses which courts might make as to the precise stage now reached in the progress of the people's ideas in relation thereto. All the time, rights of private property and individual liberty, it must be remembered, are to be protected by the constitution as sacred, and the constitutional provisions protecting them therefore need no change of wording, but these rights themselves change, and there ought to be a way found to register the change other than the mere guess of the court taken without evidence. Indeed, it is not for the courts to say that the people shall not place new conditions and new limitations upon the ownership of property, since all property, on ultimate analysis, is held by the individual subject to the public welfare. What is the absolute right of property in one generation ceases to be such in the next generation, simply because of the change in the ideas of the people as to what new limitations thereon are requisite for general well-being.

Thus Roosevelt was simply urging the

Ohio constitutional convention to frame some general constitutional clause whereby the people could signify their advance from their former position—as expressed in the court's ruling—such advance not being a reflection upon the court's reasoning at all, for the function of the court is simply to determine what the law up to that time considers to be the limitations of the right of property as laid down by the precedents and views of former judicial decisions. Roosevelt's idea is not a reflection upon the courts of last resort in any sense. It would simply permit future courts, or the same courts on rehearing, to say that the ideas of the right limitations of private property or individual liberty had changed. Without some such signifying of the change of the common ideas of the people, the courts would be following the ideas of preceding generations as to the bounds of private property and individual liberty.

Without some such general clause in the constitution, too, every advance along these basic economic and sociological lines, affecting the rights of property or individual liberty, could only be accomplished by separate constitutional amendments, each one making it additionally difficult for the courts to adapt themselves to changed conditions, without constitutional amendment for each act, even if they were anxious to do so.

The framing of such a general clause for a constitution would be a simple matter. It would not be a recall of judicial decisions, even though a judicial decision (perhaps rightly expressing the rights of property or individual liberty of the preceding generation) might be the occasion for the people's expression.

It would not be revolutionary, either. It would be decidedly sensible. It is, indeed, a safe prediction that within a few years' time the economists and jurists of our country will consider Roosevelt's ideas in this regard as fundamentally correct.

What the public wants just now is something concretely expressing Roosevelt's ideas, to see how they look. Accordingly, something like the following is suggested for a first draft of a constitutional provision such as Roosevelt was proposing to the Ohio constitutional convention in the much misunderstood Columbus speech:

After the court of last resort shall have held to be unconstitutional as contravening the guarantees of the inviolability of private property or individual liberty, an act of the Legislature intended for the general welfare, the people may, at the second annual general election thereafter held, or at a special election duly called, by vote determine

whether such act or similar future legislation, otherwise properly drawn, shall or shall not be considered in its general nature contrary to such guarantees.

After the people have thus voted the court, indeed, might properly re-hear the same case with the people's latest expression of the limitations of private property as a new and binding basis.

The recall of judicial decisions, thus analyzed, is seen to be not the reversing of any decision at all, but simply the furnishing by the people of positive evidence as to their present ideas of "due process of law" relative to the bounds of private property and of individual liberty, which, otherwise, the courts must guess at. Courts take evidence of customs of trade and of surrounding circumstances to learn in what sense a word or

phrase in a contract or will was used when written; why should they not, then, take from the people, whose life, unlike the individual's, is perpetual, authoritative evidence of the new sense of those fundamental words "private property" and "individual liberty," as such sense changes from generation to generation—keeping the courts abreast of progress, and loosening the people from the bonds of the dead ideas of past generations regarding private property and individual liberty?

Perhaps, indeed, are thus to be solved many of those grave questions looming up to menace our future which the deplored rigidity of our American written constitutions has made us fear we could not solve short of revolution or of civil war.



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#### EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT EXPLAINING TO A NEW YORK AUDIENCE HIS POSITION ON THE SUBJECT OF RECALL OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS

(In his address at Carnegie Hall, under the auspices of the Civic Forum, Mr. Roosevelt said: "I am proposing merely that in a certain class of cases involving the police power, when a State court has set aside as unconstitutional a law passed by the Legislature for the general welfare, the question of the validity of the law—which should depend, as Justice Holmes so well phrases it, upon the prevailing morality or preponderant opinion—be submitted for final determination to a vote of the people, taken after due time for consideration")

# NATURAL HISTORY IN THE CHICAGO SCHOOLS

THE N. W. HARRIS FOUNDATION TO EXTEND FIELD MUSEUM

THE Chicago papers of December 30, 1911, announced that the Trustees of Field Museum of Natural History had accepted an endowment of \$250,000 from Mr. N. W. Harris, the banker, the income from which is to be utilized to maintain a system of museum extension to the public schools of Chicago.

Field Museum, inaugurated at the close of Chicago World's Fair in 1893, supported by about \$11,000,000 in cash donations and en-

days, and notwithstanding that special appeals have been made, particularly to the public-schools, to take advantage of the opportunities the museum presented. Even those scholars who visited the museum in classes did not apparently come with a studious purpose, but, in spite of the earnestness of the teachers, were imbued, and not unnaturally, with a holiday spirit. Mr. Harris, who has long been a friend of Field Museum, becoming aware of the fact that out of a public-school membership of approximately 280,000 only about 22,000 visited the museum within a year's time, offered to coöperate with the museum in extending the institution into the class rooms of certain grades of the public schools through the means of little traveling museums, or cabinets, placed in the class rooms of certain grades at certain intervals, accompanied by brief lectures descriptive of these cabinets and elaborating upon the labels attached to the specimens. This consideration resulted in a foundation of \$250,000, which Mr. Harris decided upon after he had called to his advice the best teachers and sociologists available.

Mr. Harris has a deeper purpose even than the education of the young in natural science. He believes that if a scheme can be devised, and this is suggested as one, whereby the text-books may be given life, may be vitalized, and the younger minds of society given attractive fields in which to extend their imaginative and reasoning faculties, better citizenship will develop in the community and more stable civic conditions be promised. To certain children study is drudgery and school work toil, and they grow up in opposition to established rules and a compliance with them. This attitude of habitual disagreement takes different and often dangerous form as the child matures, and we have then an enemy of society as an organization. Mr. Harris believes that a mind interested is a mind tranquil, and that the habit of acquiring knowledge is like any other habit. If this habit can be made attractive and pleasing at first, it is more apt to continue.

The museum authorities consider the \$250,000 given by Mr. Harris only second in importance to the foundation by Mr. Field.



MR. N. W. HARRIS, THE CHICAGO BANKER

dowments, has become one of the great educational museums of the world. The munificent bequest of Marshall Field of \$8,000,000 to be equally divided between maintenance of the museum and the erection of a new building, has placed this museum entirely independent of all legislation or public tax.

Neither its collections nor its lectures have seemed to attract the attention of the public-school children which the trustees believed was to have been anticipated, notwithstanding all school children and pupils of all classes of public and private schools, colleges, and universities have been admitted free on all



A CHARACTERISTIC PORTO RICAN LANDSCAPE—A TOBACCO FIELD ON THE ROAD BETWEEN  
CAYEY AND AIBONITO  
(Field covered with white cheese-cloth)

## WHAT HAVE WE DONE IN PORTO RICO?

A SUMMING-UP OF OUR TEN YEARS OF CONTROL

BY FORBES LINDSAY

(Author of "America's Insular Possessions")

**U**NDER American administration Porto Rico has given ample evidence of its wonderful resources and almost limitless possibilities of development. Nevertheless, our people in general have anything but an adequate conception of the value and attractiveness of the island. Its soil is quite as fertile as that of Cuba or Santo Domingo. It is capable of producing as good sugar-cane and as fine fruit as any region in the world. Its tobacco has found favor widely among the most critical of all smokers, those of the United States. In the matters of scenic beauty and salubrity of climate Porto Rico has no superior, if, indeed, it has a peer, in the West Indian archipelago.

### THE ISLAND UNDER SPANISH RULE

During Spanish dominion Porto Rico was exploited as a source of revenue to the Crown. Little was done for the benefit of the natives.

Ninety per cent. of the people suffered from a disease that enfeebled them and diminished by half their natural efficiency. As neither the character nor the cause of the complaint was known, nothing was done to combat it. The general mortality was forty in the thousand. We have reduced it to twenty-two. One-third of the entire population was under ten years of age, and only 9 per cent. over fifty. One-fourth of all children between ten and fourteen years of age and one-half of all those between fourteen and nineteen were engaged in labor for wages. The educational facilities were extremely limited and the quality of the instruction very poor. Not more than 15 per cent. of the people could read or write. The school attendance was only 18,000, whereas now it is 150,000. There was but one good road in the island, that maintained mainly for military purposes between San Juan and Ponce. At present there are 1000 kilometers of macadamized high-

way which will compare with any in the United States, and the system is being extended as fast as the limited funds available will permit. There was no postal service worthy of the name, and only the most restricted electrical communication, whilst to-day all centers of population are connected by telegraph and telephone.

In the most prosperous years of Spanish rule the total commerce of Porto Rico rarely amounted to \$25,000,000 in value. It is now more than three times as great. There were no manufacturing industries, and agriculture was in a backward state, even though judged by the standards of the neighboring islands. The natural resources of the colony were generally neglected. Coffee culture alone was officially fostered. Fruit-growing was not upon a commercial basis. The production of sugar was insignificant. The tobacco raised was worth per pound less than half of what it is to-day.

#### THE DOWNFALL OF THE COFFEE INDUSTRY

For many years before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War three-quarters of the total value of exports was represented by coffee. It was the mainstay of the country, its chief, and almost its sole, source of prosperity. The great cyclone of 1899 practically wiped out the coffee *fincas* and destroyed much of the machinery and buildings. The crop suddenly fell from 50,000,000 pounds to less than one-tenth of that quantity. During the distressful months that followed the visitation thousands worked for food and received their pay in bananas. Not a few died of starvation and many were saved from that fate by the aid extended to the stricken people by the United States.

#### RAPID GROWTH OF SUGAR AND TOBACCO PRODUCTION

Thus, when Porto Rico came under our control it was in the depths of depression. In July, 1901, civil government was established in the island and the doors of the United States were thrown open to the free entrance of its products. From that time dates the beginning of its reformation.

The change of sovereignty, which worked detrimentally to the coffee industry, by depriving it of accustomed bounties and closing to it favorable markets, made possible a great development of the business of producing sugar. During the Spanish régime cane was grown and sugar manufactured by out-of-date methods, many of the mills em-

ploying animal power and the open-kettle process. The output was a mascavado grade, produced at a loss of 40 per cent. in extraction. With the encouragement of free trade between Porto Rico and the United States an almost instantaneous change took place. Capital embraced the obvious opportunity with alacrity. Modern mills, of the highest type, were erected. Extensive areas were planted in cane where previously never a stalk had been seen. The annual crop advanced in value from less than \$5,000,000 to \$24,500,000, and sugar land that might have been bought ten years ago for \$30 an acre is now worth six or seven times as much. Nor do these figures indicate an approach to Porto Rico's limit of productivity in this staple. At least half as much acreage as that already occupied by cane is unused, but available, and the government is adding to the area by irrigation on the southern side of the island, where the rainfall is often insufficient.

Both the cultivation and manufacture of Porto Rican tobacco have improved immeasurably in the last decade, previous to which the product was a heavy, coarse leaf, devoted mainly to local consumption. Early efforts to introduce the poorly made Porto Rican cigar to the United States market encountered failure and discouragement. But, with the application, under American direction, of new methods, growing wrapper leaf under cheese cloth, proper curing, and expert manufacture, a demand was created. Now the product of the island rivals "Havana" tobacco in flavor and appearance. The exports of the former have grown from little more than \$500,000 in 1901 to nearly \$6,000,000 in the past year.

The revolution in Porto Rican agriculture is indicated not only in a transformation of the face of the country, but also in changed economic conditions. Ten years ago, cattle was one of the principal items of export. Now, steers in large numbers and great quantities of meat are imported, because they can be bought more cheaply than they can be produced. The pastures have been broken up and devoted to the production of sugar, tobacco, and fruit. Land has risen in value to a point where it cannot be economically used for grazing.

#### SUCCESSFUL FRUIT-GROWING

The most remarkable feature of this development is the birth and growth of the fruit industry. The early years were a period of experiment and frequent failure. Methods

that are successful in Florida and California did not give similar results in Porto Rico. Gradually, the efforts of the government experimental station and the persistence of enterprising planters evolved practices suitable to the soil and climate of the country. Profitable fruit culture expanded by leaps and bounds until the annual export has reached a value of \$2,000,000. So great and rapid has been the change in the quality and manner of packing the Porto Rican fruit that, whilst four years ago the shipments from the island were despised and discriminated against in New York, they are now sought and command the best prices.

Cold calculation, based on the extraordinarily favorable conditions, points to the speedy expansion of fruit-growing until it shall supply a greater proportion of the exports than any other product, not even excepting sugar. This is a consummation very much to be desired in the interests of the islanders. The fruit planter settles in the country with his investment and spends his profits where he earns them. On the other hand, the operations in sugar and tobacco are mostly controlled by corporations and individuals domiciled in the States, who withdraw their surplus earnings, so that the local gain from these sources is represented almost entirely by the money paid in wages. Furthermore, whilst the latter industries afford hardly any openings for the small farmer, almost the poorest may enter into fruit-growing.

#### MODERNIZED FARMING METHODS

Rapidly the primitive processes of agricultural production that prevailed ten years since are giving place to modern methods. The steam plow is fast ousting its wooden prototype. Each year sees more machinery employed in the fields, and more intelligence brought to bear upon the cultivation of them. There is now about one-half of the arable land under crops. A continuance of the present movement must result, at no distant date, in the entire occupation of the island's cultivable area, and its subjection to intensive treatment.

The native planter has displayed a ready receptivity to the lessons of this latter-day development and a quick adaptiveness to the new order of things. Markedly increased efficiency in the peasant, or *jibaro*, is not to be looked for until he shall have been made a sound man physically. Meanwhile, a systematic effort is being made to instil into the rising generation some knowledge of



A CUT THROUGH A WALL OF ROCK ON ONE OF  
PORTO RICO'S NEW MOUNTAIN ROADS

agriculture and an inclination toward the scientific practice of it. Practical and theoretical instruction is given to the children of the public schools. An extended course in agriculture and allied chemistry is offered at Rio Piedras by the University of Porto Rico, which is constantly graduating young men fit to act as teachers and as superintendents of plantations.

#### THE PEASANT'S HANDICAP,—THE HOOK- WORM DISEASE

The *jibaro* of Porto Rico is happily safe against the possibility of being supplanted in the fields of his own country by imported laborers, as the *guajiro* of Cuba has been. The former is a vital factor in the development of Porto Rico. Upon him, in the next and succeeding generations, must depend in a great degree the progress and permanence of the prosperity upon which the island has entered. Every effort for his uplift and betterment will surely prove to be a good investment.



A TYPE OF THE NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS BEING ERECTED  
THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND

The *jibaro* has long lain under the stigma of being a lazy cumberer of the land. Every traveler, from Trollope to the tourist of yesterday, has joined in a chorus of undeserved condemnation. The fact is that the languid movements, drawn features, and dull expression of "*el palido*," the pale man of Porto Rico, are calculated to lead the superficial observer to a false conclusion. If he should follow this lorn-looking laborer into the field at break of day and remain with him until the return home at sundown to the one substantial, but far from sufficient, meal, the consequence would be respect for a man making a brave fight under a terrible handicap.

The *jibaro* is a sick man, suffering constantly but mechanically performing the labors of the day with pathetic doggedness and the dull patience of the ox. Those who know him best wonder at the amount of work that he does under the circumstances. It is the testimony of physicians attached to the field hospitals that he applies for relief, not because he is ill,—he has never known what it is to be otherwise,—but "because he can no longer work."

The hookworm was imported to Porto Rico with the first slaves from Africa in the sixteenth century, and at the time that the island came under our care the infection had become so widespread as to embrace practically all the country population and to account for one-third of the total death rate. The discovery of the parasite as the cause of the

prevailing anæmia was made in 1899 by Major B. K. Ashford, M.D., in charge of one of the camps maintained for the relief of cyclone sufferers. The public and the authorities were slow to appreciate the vital importance of the knowledge thus disclosed. It was not until 1904 that the Assembly granted a small appropriation for the purpose of conducting a campaign against *uncinariasis*, as the disease is technically termed. The work has since been vigorously prosecuted, though always with insufficient means.

#### A MEDICAL AND SANITARY CAMPAIGN

Forty-five dispensaries and field hospitals are maintained throughout the island, at which 50,000 patients were treated during the past year, with the result of 40 per cent. of complete cures and about 20 per cent. additional of pronounced improvement. Since the inception of the undertaking, upward of 350,000 persons, or nearly one-third of the entire population of Porto Rico, have received treatment. This wide benefaction has been effected at an average cost of less than 70 cents for each patient. When we consider the ascertained fact that a cure results in doubling the efficiency as a laborer of the former victim, the economic feature of the case, waiving its humanitarian aspect, would seem to justify any measures to which the administration might resort for the extension and expedition of the campaign.

The highest degree of success has been attained in the towns and barrios, where now the characteristically haggard face of the anæmic is rarely seen. It is believed, however, that 300,000 persons needing attention remain in the remote rural districts beyond the reach of the dispensaries. As the task of eradicating the disease from the centers of population is nearing completion, future efforts will be directed to the relief of sufferers upon the plantations throughout the country districts by means of regular visits by physicians.

The methods of prevention and cure are surprisingly simple. Inexpensive medications and proper nourishment will quickly route the parasite and dispel the anæmia.



ection occurs through the contact of bare feet with the earth and may be avoided by wearing shoes.

It might be supposed that under such conditions the task of sanitation would be an easy one. This is not, however, the case. Since he has had unquestionable proof of its efficacy, the *jibaro* has become quite willing to accept the aid of the medical officers, but cannot adopt changes in his habits of life with equal readiness. The gradual increase of the wage scale from 40 cents to one dollar a day, although accompanied by an increase in the cost of living, enables the *jibaro* to afford shoes. He generally possesses them nowadays, but has not become familiar with their use. He will wear them during a visit to the town, but on the tramps to and fro, fixed motives of comfort and economy prompt him to carry them slung across his shoulders. The younger generation, however, are proving more appreciative of the advantages of footgear, and all school children are shod.

Still more difficult is it to induce the *jibaro* to change his diet, which was that of his father and grandfather before him. At dawn he rises and, with no more than a draught of "*cafe puya*"—coffee unadulterated—to stay him, works until noon, when he gets his breakfast of codfish, boiled in oil, and a banana, or a *name*. In the middle of the afternoon he has another drink of coffee, and at the close of the day eats a potpourri of codfish, rice, and the common vegetables of the island.

This is very different from the regimen, richer in proteids and fats, that the sanitary officials would like him to adopt. Formerly the *jibaro* could not afford a more ample bill of fare and, in case of the least reduction of his income, was obliged to omit the accustomed codfish from his meals. At present, however, he should be able to spend a little more on food, and without doubt could do so if he would entirely eschew the *aguadiente*, of which he is somewhat too fond.

#### A GOOD SCHOOL SYSTEM

During last year one in every nine of the inhabitants of Porto Rico attended school, and this is a proportion that is not equaled in any other Latin-American country.

The educational system is patterned on that prevailing in the United States, and the schools compare favorably with those of this country in respect to the courses, equipment, and the proficiency of the teachers. The rural

schools are the most numerous and the most potent in the general uplift of the people. In these the regular course covers the first four grades, corresponding to those of our public schools, but, with the general advance among



DR. E. G. DEXTER  
(Commissioner of Education, and Chancellor of the  
University of Porto Rico)

the pupils, there is a constant extension of the work, in some cases through the sixth grade. About 250 traveling libraries are kept in circulation among the rural schools. All the teachers in the rural districts are native Porto Ricans, who are doing excellent work in extending elementary education to the most remote corners of the island.

Graded schools are maintained in sixty-six of the urban centers. In nearly all of them instruction is given in English, but Spanish is one of the regular studies. Practical gardening, manual training, and instruction in cooking, are recently introduced features which should have unusual value in a country of almost primitive ignorance. In the cities of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez are conducted high schools from which the graduates find no difficulty in entering any college or



HOW THE WELL-TO-DO PORTO RICANS LIVE.—AN ATTRACTIVE BUNGALOW IN WELL-KEPT GROUNDS

university of the United States. For the benefit, mainly, of adults, 232 night schools are in operation with an enrollment of more than 10,000.

#### A POTENTIAL PAN-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The public-school system of the island culminates in the University of Porto Rico, which was founded less than ten years ago, but has already attained a strong position and demonstrated its capacity for local usefulness. The sphere of its influence should, however, extend far beyond the island.

The United States is constantly entering into closer political relations with the countries of Latin-America, and a strong movement has lately been set on foot for the

extension of our commerce with the neighboring republics. It is well understood that the desired results are retarded by our ignorance of the language, character, customs, needs, and methods of business of the people whose trade we wish to attract. The lack of a school for instruction in such matters is widely felt in the country.

Here, in Porto Rico, is an institution that offers more complete courses in the Spanish language and literature than does any institute in the United States, and more extensive courses in English than may be secured anywhere in Latin America. The highest

results might be anticipated from the conversion of this local agency for learning into a Pan-American University, directed and supported by the United States, which would be the chief beneficiary of its work. Men from North and from South might here gain the knowledge that they desire without the disadvantage of a plunge into a distinctly foreign environment. The effects of personal intercourse between the representatives of various nationalities under such conditions would be of incalculable value in promoting social and business relations between the English- and Spanish-speaking peoples of the American continents. In fact, the many advantages that might be expected to accrue from the maintenance of the suggested institution upon liberal lines are obvious.



THE TYPE OF SCHOOL BUILDING ERECTED IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION



THE REMODELED SCHOOL BUILDING OF THE PRESENT DAY



THE CEREMONY OF CONFERRING THE BEAD HONORS UPON A CAMP FIRE GIRL  
FOR MERIT ATTAINED

## THE CAMP FIRE GIRLS OF AMERICA AND THEIR AIMS

**A**T last the girls of America are to have their own club, human and feminine in its appeal, nation-wide in its scope, and splendid in its ambition. Its aim is to make them more efficient, healthful, and happy as individuals and to teach them the value and charm of organization. Women have never had much experience with coöperation. The new movement will teach them by instilling the best qualities of the "gang" spirit into the minds of the girls in their teens.

The movement known as The Camp Fire Girls of America is a medium through which American girls from twelve to twenty are to be gradually led to understand and to take pleasure in performing those particular tasks and in fulfilling those distinctive duties, which, as civilized women, will soon face them.

Woman's home work is now much the same haphazard hodge-podge of all kinds of trades, professions, traditions and relationships that

it was four thousand years ago, although, during that time, almost all other human activities have become standardized and are now scientifically managed.

### PUTTING BEAUTY AND ROMANCE BACK INTO A GIRL'S LIFE

In these modern days machinery and factory work have taken away from woman most of what was formerly her productive labor and the picturesque part of her tasks. The factory and its products now replace the spinning-wheel, the hoe, the grindstone, the kneading-trough, the butter-churn, the sewing-needle, and even, in part, the cooking-range. More than this. The school has taken away from our mothers the very foundation task of rearing children, that of their education. In fact, the joy of real creative work has largely disappeared from woman's life, and with this creative work has gone much of the discipline that came with it.



A CAMP FIRE GIRL TOSSING HAY

Even some of women's accomplishments are now regarded as less essential than formerly. Mechanical piano-players and phonographs have partly done away with the necessity for practice on musical instruments. In short, to-day there are not very many worth-while things left for the girl to do—things which, if she does not do them, will not be better done by some one else. Boys have many things they must do, but girls very few, and those have lost the magic attraction of usefulness. The organizers of the Camp Fire Girls' association have tabulated a list of work being done by young people. It shows twenty times as many opportunities offered to boys as to girls. This seems likely to be the real explanation of the restlessness and dissatisfaction with which the modern girl faces those homely tasks which contented and fully occupied her grandmother.

The Camp Fire Girls' idea proposes to change all this by the very simple process of

investing home duties with a new interest and glamour. It aims to standardize the activities of American girls by having them work at certain specified tasks in connection with many other girls, and receive grade honors therefor. Thus the girls will be given a stake in modern social and industrial life.

The new organization, while modest in its inception, is national in its character and mighty in its ambition. It developed out of the various camps for girls which have been increasing in number very rapidly of late. Most of the few organizations open to girls (very few in comparison with those for boys) are based on utility. Mere utility, however, cannot be expected to do much for girls to develop their character. In addition to utility, as one camp manager put it, "we must supply poetry, adventure, and emulation as a stimulus to achievement." Girls must have romance and gratification of their love of the beautiful. These the Camp Fire idea is to supply.

Beauty and poetry, romance and emulation, are the foundation stones of the Camp Fire Girls of America. It is expected to take the place among girls that the Scout movement has taken among boys. Not only domestic activities, but rules of health are among its objects. Girls are to be taught the advantages of coöperation; they are to be inducted into the mysteries and attractions of the gang spirit; they are to be made to want to know what is happening in the world around them; and to become resourceful and efficient. In short, they are to be prepared to be healthy, alert, useful and cultured modern women.

The society is organized in a series of orders with three principal ranks and tests for membership. The "law" of the Camp Fire Girls is given as (1) Seek beauty; (2) Give service; (3) Pursue knowledge; (4) Be trustworthy; (5) Hold on to health; (6) Glorify work; (7) Be happy.



SHELLING PEAS TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF A HAPPY SONG

The official statement of the object is "to are three chief ranks, with certain costumes add the power of organization and the charm and order badges evolved in form from the of romance to health, work and play." There costumes and ceremonies of the American



A PICNIC DINNER IN THE WOODS





LEARNING TO PADDLE THEIR OWN CANOE

Indian. Fire is taken as emblematical of service and romance. From being a Wood Gatherer, the girl attains, after receiving a certain number of honors, to the position of Fire Maker, and then to that of Torch Bearer. The outward and visible sign of her honors is a chain of beads which is awarded to her when the band is gathered around the ceremonial fire in ceremonial costume. This camp fire may be an actual fire in the woods when the girls are camping, or as simple as a single lighted candle if the future woman must work all day in a department store, and may meet with her associates in an upper room only once a week. The society is evolving a type of dress which shall be serviceable and attractive, which may be used upon all occasions, and combine the advantages of a uniform and a durable, simple, attractive costume. Fashion is to be routed, and health and simplicity attained. Among the rules of health to be inculcated are included sleeping with open windows in winter; refraining from candy

and soda water between meals; practicing folk-dancing and metal-working; athletics, such as swimming, sailing and boating, riding a horse and driving an automobile. It is proposed to utilize all existing institutions for the spread of this idea, not to federate them, but to provide a new spirit within them. The response in the form of clamoring for membership has already come in amazing volume from boarding schools, playgrounds, summer camps, settlements, Y. W. C. A.'s, and many home groups. These, it is hoped, will all be laboratories in which experiments will be conducted in the readjustment of the modern girl to her work and play.

#### THE FIRE CEREMONIALS.

The Torch Bearer, the highest rank among the Camp Fire Girls, is a leader and her advancement depends upon the enthusiasm and success of the girls she leads. The real test of the organization is in the advancement from the first grade, that of Wood Gatherer, to that of Fire Maker. The necessary requirements are so nearly descriptive of the scope and aim of the society itself that space is given for them here. The chief requirements, in addition to service for three months as a Wood Gatherer, are:

(1) To help prepare and serve, together with the other candidates, at least two meals for meetings of the Camp Fire; this is to include purchase of food, cooking and serving a meal, and care of fire. All candidates work in rotation; that is, each does a different part of the work each time. Two meals prepared in the home without advice or help may be substituted.

(2) To mend a pair of stockings, a knitted undergarment and hem a dish towel.

(3) To keep a written classified account of all money received and spent for at least one month.

(4) To tie a square knot five times in succession correctly and without hesitation.

(5) To sleep with open windows or out of doors for at least one month.

(6) To take an average of at least half an hour daily out-door exercise for not less than a month.

(7) To refrain from sodas and candy between meals for at least one month.

(8) To name the chief causes of infant mortality in summer. Tell how and to what extent it has been reduced in one American community.

(9) To know what to do in the following emergencies: (a) Clothing on fire; (b) Person

in deep water who cannot swim, both in summer and through ice in winter; (c) Open cut; (d) Frosted foot; (e) Fainting.

(10) To know the principles of elementary bandaging and how to use surgeon's plaster.

(11) To know what a girl of her age needs to know about herself.

(12) To commit to memory any good poem or song not less than twenty-five lines in length.

(13) To know the career of some woman who has done much for the country or State.

(14) To know and sing all the words of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

#### HOW THE IDEA HAS SPREAD

The idea has already reached not only into almost every State, but into most of the cities in the country. A number of out-door camps have been organized, and innumerable groups in cities and towns are already carrying out the work. They report with enthusiasm of the results to the central organization in New York. Dr. Luther H. Gulick, author, educator, and head

of the Child Study Department of the Sage Foundation, is chairman of the Committee on Organization. He has associated with him some of the best known of those ladies and gentlemen in every section of the country who are interested in progressive sociological work. The symbol of the entire

organization is fire. The watchwords are Work, Health, and Love. The first two letters of each of these words are combined so as to create the special new word, Wohelo, for general use. There is a Wohelo ceremony intended to show how a picturesque form may be given to even the simplest act.



A CAMP FIRE GIRL IN THE REGULATION DRESS

(As she wears it in the house and upon more formal occasions)

(As she makes it more comfortable for living in the camp)







THE POPULAR GAME OF VOLLEY BALL, SUITABLE FOR YOUNG AND OLD, AND REQUIRING SIMPLE AND INEXPENSIVE EQUIPMENT

## NEW GAMES FOR THE PEOPLE

BY HENRY S. CURTIS

THE thinking world to-day is agreed that it is better to play yourself than it is to watch other people play. When we make of a game a spectacle, it becomes a kind of out-of-doors theatrical. It is amusement for the spectators and work for the participants and is not properly play for either. It may be a very pleasant sort of work, just as any dramatic performance may be. It may be well worth while for both the spectators and participants in the same way. But play is an activity that is carried on for its own sake, for the joy of playing, and a game that is fought out for the glory of the school or the fame or popularity of the player is no less "professional" because it is paid for in higher values than money. It is all right to go to the theater, and professional baseball, whether in the American League or the American college, serves a real purpose; but it must be evident that it has not the power to renew and recreate the body, mind, and emotions that active play has. We as a people do not play enough. We loaf too much, and work too much, but of real play of the energy-producing kind there is a dearth. We get dyspeptic and anemic and nervous from lack of exercise and despondent from brooding over things that we ought to throw off in recurring periods of joyous play. When we have a holiday many of us find our way to the saloon or some worse place, because we do not know what to do with our leisure.

It is scarcely possible that baseball or football should satisfy this need. Girls or women do not play either of them. Both are practically confined to boys and men between the ages of twelve and twenty-five. In this limited period of thirteen years not more than 2 or 3 per cent. are playing football on regular teams, and probably not more than 20 per cent. could safely play the American game. I doubt if more than 10 per cent. of the boys and men of even this favored age are playing baseball regularly. The lack of sufficiently large grounds, within the city, makes baseball almost impossible for the average city dweller, and the lack of players makes it almost equally difficult for the denizen of the country. After one settles down to his life work in business, or shop, or office, or farm, he does not get enough general exercise as a rule, and his muscles stiffen along the grooves of his accustomed tasks. Baseball is too violent a break with indolent or specialized habits after twenty-five or thirty. In England a gentleman plays cricket until he is sixty, but cricket is too slow for the American temperament. It takes too long to play a game.

Some one may be inclined to press the claims of tennis or golf. Both of these games are played by girls as well as boys and also by men and women after their school days are over. But tennis and golf are not games of the masses. They are essentially aristocratic

games belonging primarily to the country club and the wealthy city club. It is impossible to get space enough for these games within the city, and the expense required for the equipment and the privileges involved and the time required for the play put them quite beyond the means of the average man or woman. Probably less than 1 per cent. of our people are playing either tennis or golf. If we mean by a national game a game that a people plays, the idea that any of the games mentioned are national games of the United States is a delusion. We have no national games in this sense.

#### INCREASING LEISURE

It will be far more important for the coming generation to have an enthusiasm for some form of sport than it was for the past generation, because leisure is becoming a larger part of life. We have a dawning consciousness that our inspirations and maximal experiences come mostly in those times when the spirit is free to follow its own guidance, that wisdom or money cannot compensate a persistence in toil that gives not time to live. When it comes to a twelve-hour day in the steel mills or ten hours of monotonous work in a factory, such a life is not worth living.

Every year sees one or two States reduce the hours of labor for men and restrict and reduce the hours of work for women and children. The number of new hours that are thus given to leisure each year make an enormous total. It is becoming the habit of our people to take vacations from their own business or to demand them from their employers. Witness the tremendous growth of summer resorts throughout the country. According to Josiah Strong our national wealth is now doubling every fourteen years, and the rate is accelerating with each decade, owing to the great increase in machinery, power, and labor-saving devices. That we have a new conscience for a more equitable distribution of this wealth is shown by a hundred and one movements having in view industrial insurance, safety appliances, the "minimum wage," "standards of living," etc. Of this same feeling the rapid increase of the Socialist party all over the world is another expression.

Just now we seem to be standing on the verge of what may well be a new era in regard to leisure. The efficiency movement is upon us. Through the economizing of motions in the things done and efficient administration at the top, it promises that the work that the world has taken ten hours to do may now be

done in five. A second factor no less important is the enormous development of water power that is now going on throughout the country. This will mean inevitably that much that has previously been done by human hands will now be done by machines, that the output and wealth will be greatly increased, and that many new opportunities for leisure will result. Ten years from now the work this country is now doing in ten hours may well be done in four or five. Leisure that comes upon a man or a people that are unprepared to use it always means dissipation. We must begin to prepare for this coming leisure. We need games that the people will play.

#### VOLLEY BALL,—“MADE IN GERMANY”

The games to which I have referred in the title of this article are volley ball and indoor baseball. They are scarcely national games at present, perhaps, but they are coming in very rapidly, and they possess the characteristics which such games require. Volley ball is a game that we have imported from Germany. It is played with a ball a little smaller and about half as heavy as a basket ball, over a rope or a net seven feet and a half high. The court is twenty-five by fifty feet in size. The server stands with one foot on the back line and bats the ball over the net with the palm of his hand. If it strikes the ground on the other side, it scores one. If it is returned and strikes the ground on the server's side he is out. Twenty-one points are a game. There may be any number of players on a side.

This game has great advantages over any game that we have previously had. In the first place, it is a thoroughly good team game. In Washington, where we introduced basket ball and volley ball into the playgrounds at the same time, we found that we could get four or five teams in volley ball as easily as we could get one team in basket ball. The skill of the game consists in passing the ball from player to player on your side until you can knock it into an open space on the other side. Sometimes the ball will be passed back and forth over the net twenty times without its ever once touching the floor or ground,—something which rarely happens in tennis, which is a similar game without the team combinations.

The net is seven feet and a half high, and the ball is often twenty feet in the air. It is the best corrective we have for the round and stooped shoulders and the flat chest, so often engendered in the schoolroom and the

office. One has to keep his head up and shoulders back in order to play the game. It would be hard to devise in the gymnasium any better series of movements to straighten out the shoulders and stretch out the chest than the natural movements in playing the game. I believe also there is a certain exhilaration that comes from the mere fact that the head is held high and the glance is directed upward.

#### MAY BE PLAYED INDOORS OR OUT

Another great advantage that volley ball has is that it is equally well adapted for play out-of-doors or in a gymnasium. It is usually played out-of-doors during the warmer parts of the year and in the gymnasium in winter, but it is a type of game that may well be played out-of-doors all the year round.

The game is peculiarly adapted to the city because it is more economical of space than any other team game. The court is only half the area of the basket-ball court, and on this space twice as many players may have a good game, so that it requires only one-fourth as much space for each player. The ball is soft and light; it does not break windows or hurt passers-by. It can be played in the back yard, on a vacant lot, or in almost any kind of a school yard.

Volley ball is a very inexpensive game. A rope or a net, a couple of slender posts, and a ball, costing altogether six or seven dollars, are all that are required. This is considerably less than half of the expense for basket ball.

#### A GOOD GAME FOR YOUNG AND OLD ALIKE

Perhaps the greatest advantage of volley ball is its age range. Children will not play basket ball much before they are thirteen, and they will discontinue the game in the early twenties. On the other hand, they will begin to play volley ball at nine or ten and may continue to play until they are seventy. In the winter of 1910, I gave a playground course in Dr. Sargent's gymnasium in Cambridge. There were four clubs of Harvard professors who came over to the gymnasium twice a week to play a modified game of volley ball. The youngest man on any of the teams looked to be fifty, and several of the men must have been nearly or quite seventy. Almost the only game outside of tennis that is being played by college faculties is volley ball. Practically the only games that the business men are playing in the

Y. M. C. A. gymnasiums about the country are volley ball and indoor baseball.

Volley ball can be graduated to the strength by lowering the net or putting in more players. It can be made more strenuous by raising the net, increasing the size of the court, or reducing the number of players. Basket ball, the only other team game that we have been playing until recently that could be played in a small space, is a violent game having long periods of very intense activity with practically no relief. It is a greater strain upon the heart and lungs than even football. There are many boys and girls who ought not to play basket ball, while volley ball is safe for nearly every one.

Basket ball has an element of personal encounter in it and fouls are hard to detect. Disputes and quarrels grow out of basket ball games very easily. In volley ball, the players stay on their own side; there is no personal encounter, or "rough house," to guard against.

#### AS A RURAL-SCHOOL GAME

Volley ball is well adapted to the country and is often the only team game that can be played at the country school. In a one-room rural school there will not often be ten girls or ten boys old enough to play basket ball, and there almost certainly will not be eighteen boys old enough to play baseball. In volley ball the girls may play against or with the boys, so as to make up the number, or a very good game may be had with only two or three players on a side. It may be said that it is not best for the girls and boys to play together. Certainly the practice in the city schools and in the public playgrounds is to give the girls a play space that is separate from that of the boys. It is not a good thing for girls and boys to loaf about together, but there are no moral dangers that result from vigorous play together. There are few things that will do more to establish a healthy relationship between the sexes than such games as this, in which they may be almost equally successful.

#### "INDOOR BASEBALL,"—A MISNOMER

Indoor baseball was invented on the Hull House playground in 1894. Indoor baseball is a very bad name, as the game is played outdoors more than it is indoors. It is sometimes called playground baseball, but this is no better name than the other. The game is like regular baseball except that it is played

with a large, soft ball from twelve to seventeen inches in circumference on a diamond thirty-five feet on a side, instead of ninety as in regular baseball. The ball must be pitched "under-handed," and there is no stealing of bases.

The advantages of indoor baseball are similar to those of volley ball. The game requires very little space. It can be played indoors in winter, and outdoors the rest of the year. The ball is soft and does not break windows or injure passers-by. It can be played by girls as well as boys, and they will both continue to play it long after it has become unpleasant to throw a ball across the large diamond, to run so far, or to catch the hard ball. This has not been altogether realized by the American public at present, but we have in indoor baseball, in fact, an excellent game for people from thirty to sixty years of age, who have a love for the old game, but have begun to find it too strenuous.

Both indoor baseball and volley ball are peculiarly adapted for school use. There is a great new interest in physical training throughout the country. Schools of physical training are developing rapidly and every year one or two new schools are starting up, but they are not altogether able to train workers fast enough to supply the demand that is coming in from the playgrounds, the settlements, the Y. M. C. A.'s, and the schools. Many of the physical trainers go out to school systems where there are no gymnasiums, and the chief result in not a few places has been a few minutes in the classroom each day given to listless calisthenics which have not furnished to the children exercise, recreation, or fresh air.

#### PRACTICAL PHYSICAL TRAINING

Volley ball and indoor baseball show the way to a system of practical physical and health training in a system without gymnasiums or athletic fields. I suppose that the number of teams in these games is doubling every year; but educators are only dimly beginning to realize their significance. There are, however, many school systems in which they are being systematically introduced. I found there were from three to five teams in indoor baseball among the girls in every school in Houston, Texas, and in Kalamazoo, Michigan, there are from five to eighteen teams in volley ball in each school. I happen to know about these cities, but there are others where much the same thing has been done.

In Germany three hours a week of physical training are required throughout the common schools, and a large part of the schools have two hours a week of required play, and organized recesses besides. Three hours a week of required exercise is certainly not too much for growing boys and girls. During a considerable portion of the year, this exercise may well come from the games of volley ball and indoor baseball. If there are in a school five classes above the fourth grade, and each class has three periods a week, this would mean fifteen periods altogether, and three game periods each day. This could be easily managed in most school yards. Suppose a class contains forty pupils and approximately half of them are girls. The class is divided into four teams, two teams of girls and two teams of boys; or the girls and boys may play together on the same team, as is thought best. Almost any school yard will furnish room for two volley-ball or indoor baseball grounds. Of course the play will come out of the regular school time, the same as any other period of physical training. If the children tend to be noisy and disturb the school, the knowledge that noisy play will lose them the privilege will be a sufficient check.

This would seem like a revolutionary move to many school authorities, but it is not really so. We have been giving two or three periods a week to gymnastics in our school systems very generally whenever we have had facilities for gymnastics, and here is something that at the same time is better exercise than gymnastics, is good fun, and is carried on in the open air. Football and cricket have been compulsory in the English preparatory and public schools for a long time. About sixty different games have been introduced into the curriculum of the German schools. In the public schools of Gary, Ind., there is an hour and a half of organized play every day of the week in each of the elementary grades.

On the one hand, these games are offering to the schools excellent physical exercise that is adapted to conditions and that will cost very little,—almost nothing as compared with the cost of building gymnasiums. On the other hand, they are offering a preparation for the future that is quite as real as that of the common-school subjects. Recreation is a part of life, and an increasing part of it. It is no less necessary for the school to prepare for the right use of leisure than for the work to come. The school must see that increasing leisure does not mean increasing dissipation.

# ELIMINATING THE MIDDLEMAN

BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS

**I**N the search for some tangible reason for the high cost of living the public, or a vigorous section of it, seems agreed in condemning the middleman. Other influences are admitted,—waste of natural resources, the new sources of gold supply, and the arbitrary action of trusts or combinations, but these are less easily reached. Throughout the country the middleman finds himself attacked from both before and behind, the producer and the ultimate consumer seeking by a series of experiments to come closer together.

## MAYOR SHANK'S WORK AT INDIANAPOLIS

The attention of the country has recently been attracted to the vigorous experiments carried out by Mayor Shank of Indianapolis. That energetic executive discovered that potatoes, for which the farmers received sixty cents a bushel, were being sold for \$1.60 a bushel in the city markets. A car-load of potatoes was therefore purchased in Michigan, transported and sold without loss at seventy-five cents a bushel,—less than half the former retail price. The market prices of potatoes thereupon fluctuated violently for a time, finally coming to rest at about ninety cents a bushel.

The Mayor next turned his attention to selling meats, beef, mutton, pork, sausage, lard, etc., effecting a substantial reduction in prices. The price of poultry was reduced about eight cents a pound. Thereupon the Mayor gave up his active work in the public markets, but as a result of the campaign no local merchant has had the courage to return to the old prices and the public continues to reap the benefit.

## DES MOINES' EXPERIENCE

The same principle has been even more vigorously applied in Des Moines, Iowa. The prices of food products had reached an alarming rate, while the near-by farmer reaped very little benefit. An urgent demand arose for a direct market, but the influence of middlemen rendered it impossible. An ordinance permitting a municipal market was finally passed by the council and the Mayor, James R. Hanna, promptly opened one in

the City Hall Park. The relief was instantaneous. A reduction of from 40 to 50 per cent. was effected on the general store prices. In this market to-day a special ordinance forbids all hucksters from purchasing and reselling goods. The fight against the market has been very bitter.

The coöperative market clubs have also brought relief from high prices in several cities. The general plan is to band together a number of housewives and purchase supplies in as large quantities as possible, and as directly as is practicable from the original producers. There are several flourishing organizations of this kind in Brooklyn and the plan has been widely copied. An interesting development of this movement has been a vigorous boycott which succeeded in lowering the price of butter.

## COÖPERATION IN THE ARMY AND NAVY

The sanction and tacit sympathy of the federal government has been obtained for a very general coöperative movement to serve army and navy men. The organization has been incorporated as the "Army and Navy Coöperative Society," with a working capital of \$400,000. The list of directors is headed by Rear Admiral Marix, retired, of the navy, followed by Major General Roe, lately commanding the National Guard of New York. Captain Henry Harrison Scott, who was in charge of camps and warehouses during the San Francisco earthquake, will leave the service to devote himself entirely to the society. An office has already been established in New York, another will soon follow in Washington, and a long chain of stores or depots will follow.

The society plans to supply the army, the navy and marine corps, the revenue cutter service, and the militia of the various States and all national and State forces. The post exchanges and pay stores on board vessels of the navy are designed only for enlisted men, and it is this plan which is now to be extended. The coöperative stores will sell equipment, food, general supplies, and apparel. The articles for domestic consumption will be sold at the lowest remunerative rates. It is believed that prices which now obtain in the post stores may be duplicated.

The chain of stores will be modeled after the Army and Navy Coöperative Society, Ltd., of London, England. The British society has made possible a substantial reduction in prices in widely scattered localities. A large illustrated catalogue is issued by the society, from which the customers may make selections. These catalogues reach the most remote posts, enabling the entire army and navy to share the benefits. The shares of the British society, issued in 1871, have increased in value sixty times, and in recent years have paid a dividend annually of 300 per cent. The society is now capitalized at \$300,000, divided into 1,200,000 shares. The capital of the American society will be divided into 40,000 shares at \$10 each. The possession of a share permits the holder to buy from the society during life. The supplies will be sold only for cash.

#### - RAILROAD MEN COÖPERATING

One of the most ambitious of these experiments is announced by an organization of railroad men in Boston. It is intended to rival the great coöperative organizations of Great Britain and continental Europe, which have been adopted as a model. The society will be incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, with a capital stock of \$50,000, which will later be increased to

\$500,000. It is announced that 100,000 men employed on the railroads of New England will share the benefits.

A great chain of stores will be opened to these employees where a variety of commodities will be offered for sale at cost or thereabouts. Two such stores will first be established in Boston, to be followed by other establishments in all the railroad centers between Boston and New York. It is expected that the wholesale buying for the entire group will make it possible to procure supplies at the lowest possible figure. Since the various stores will be run at cost, a substantial reduction in prices is believed to be assured. As the enterprise develops it is planned even to enter the manufacturing field, after the manner of the English and German companies. The coöperative society will be directed by men prominent in railroad affairs of New England.

An efficient organization has been built up by the farmers of northern New Jersey for marketing their produce. The Monmouth County Farmers Exchange, as it styles itself, now has a paid-in capital stock of \$75,000 and the stock shares with a par value of \$5 have sold at \$6 and are held at \$7.

The experimental stage has long been passed in this enterprise. During the past year the Exchange did \$1,500,000 worth of business, securing very satisfactory prices.

## THE COST OF LIVING IN FRANCE

BY JAMES EDMUND DUNNING

(American Consul at Havre, France)

THE cost of living in Europe generally, and in France in particular, is as high in scale as it is in the United States under equal conditions.

The so-called "cheaper living" in Europe is effected, when it is effected, by social differences only, *i. e.*, a difference in the mode of life, not in the cost of sustenance.

My observations, for which I claim no special superiority beyond some possible advantage of very extended contact with the subject, lead to the conclusion that wherever European populations advance sufficiently toward the American mode of life, the expense thereof is like our own. The cost of housing, service, comfort, and subsistence is standardized on world-wide lines by world-wide eco-

nomic and physical conditions. When automobile tires are in special demand in North America, trade "booms" and prices rise in Borneo and Ceylon. The cost of producing furniture at Grand Rapids, Michigan, or of hauling beef to New York Harbor, influences that of housing and subsistence in the British Isles as quickly as the cable can transmit quotations. The sheep-herder in South Africa has heretofore got on in decency without tiled bathrooms and motor cars; but the day approaches when he will want those luxuries, and regard them as necessities, and when it comes he will pay for them about as we do, or perhaps a little more.

It is only a question of comparison, and the growing human taste for luxury in living.

It is very truly, on the continent of Europe, what an eminent American once called it: "The cost of high living,—not the high cost of living." The mode of life has altered everywhere,—more rapidly and positively in our young country than in the older nations. For what our grandparents raised up out of the soil, we pay several prices to a series of middlemen, who bring us the product, harvested, manufactured, packed, shipped, labeled, advertised, vended, and delivered to our doors,—at so much per cent. of final cost to us for every step.

In France, in 1911, the cost of living frequently exceeded that in the United States. It was a year of high food prices, to be sure, but so it was with us, for such movements are always theoretically and in these swift days nearly always practically world-wide. In Paris the maintenance cost of the average family was as great as that of the average in New York. Moreover, there never has been any actual "cheapness" whatever in European life over the American. There has been a difference in the mode of life,—based simply and solely on the fact that Americans insist on luxury in living, regardless of the cost, whereas in Europe (until Americans began teaching it our method), price, and never comfort, was the only question asked. Europe was rather slow to learn. Even now there are but two or three steam-heated hotels in London, for example. Even now, after half a century of protest, American travelers find but few Italian, Swiss, or German hotels, apartments or private houses containing anything like the luxuries insisted on by us at home, and hence supplied (and paid for), as a necessary part of every roof-tree. There is hardly a first-class hotel in any city in America above the 20,000 mark which does not have its "rooms with baths." In American cities, for many years, houses minus every sanitary appliance save a sink-spout have been exceptional; nor does Europe yet know the sheer luxury found in workmen's houses such as those in Washington, D. C., for instance where for \$100 a year are given steam heat, hot water, a bath, cemented cellar, and electric light.

Even in Paris there are still thousands of apartments without any bath arrangements, or any of the things which we term "conveniences" and which the much more thrifty Frenchman calls "the luxuries." Yet, in Passy, which is the home of the American colony in Paris, one finds almost American conditions,—electric lights, steam or hot-water heat, water on all floors, roomy kitchens, and baths. Thus, Paris is the best possi-

ble example of the Americanization of the Continent; because in the older portions of the city, where our luxury-loving people do not settle down, the "conveniences" are still those of half a century ago; while in the other sections, Passy, the Champs Elysée, and the Etoile, very nearly approximate average conditions (of course not yet the best conditions) in New York.

There are apartments in Paris (I mean "flats") rented for as much as \$20,000 a year,—which is close enough to New York's present limit of \$22,000. They are, of course, in the Avenue des Champs Elysées, which means a good deal in terms of dollars and cents. A first-rate apartment, in a good part of Paris for Americans, with all of the American conveniences, can be had for from \$1000 to \$3000 per year. A fairly good flat, in the same superior quarter, can be had for \$800, but it will face a courtyard only, and will be small and dark. These flats, renting at from \$1000 to \$3000 will be smaller than similar New York apartments in number of rooms. The rent will not include heat, light, telephone, or constant elevator service. The servants' rooms will be detached in the distant, unchaperoned, and unheated attic. There will be no servants' bath, no mail-chute, no intercommunicating telephone and no adequate central heat.

The New Yorker pays, *all other things being equal*, no more for his housing than the Parisian does, while he has many more conveniences, and many more ways of reaching the city by the numerous transportation lines. Add to this the almost unlimited choice and range of prices possible in New York, and the balance is very much against the French. In Paris the apartment hunter must take what he can find or stay in the *pension* with the inquisitive spinsters. In New York he can pick and choose according to street and light and quarter and convenience,—a dozen different landlords competing for his tenancy, and all within whatever limit he sets upon his rent appropriation. And this is why it is easier to be housed in New York with the all-round dignity which has regard not only to oneself, but to those one comes in contact with in life, than it is in Paris, *all other things being equal*.

#### HOTELS AND PENSIONS

Average American hotel living is cheaper than European. In Paris I live sometimes in the Hotel R. in the Rue de Rivoli, and at other times in the Hotel B. in the Opéra; and



in New York I live in the Hotel C. in the Thirties, and between Broadway and Fifth Avenue,—the ideal spot for the transient dweller in the city. In all these houses, whether I stay one day or ten, I pay the following and receive the following benefits:

ITEMS	PARIS Hotel R.	PARIS Hotel B.	NEW YORK Hotel C.	LONDON Hotel M.
Room per day	50	100	80	100
2 persons. . . . .	(\$5.00)	(\$2.50)	(\$3.50)	(\$2.50)
Bath. . . . .	100	0	100	0
Table. . . . .	100	50	100	80
Music. . . . .	80	0	0	100
Beds. . . . .	100	50	100	100
Telephone, outside.	0	0	100	100
Telephone, inside.	80	0	100	100
Elevator. . . . .	50	100	100	50
Sanitary appliances. . . . .	100	10	100	100
Lights. . . . .	80	20	100	80
Heat. . . . .	50	20	100	10
Service. . . . .	10	50	100	80
Mail chute. . . . .	0	0	100	0
Accessibility. . . . .	80	100	100	100
Class. . . . .	80	50	80	100
Cleanliness. . . . .	50	20	100	100
Fire protection. . . . .	10	10	100	10
Courtesy of staff. . . . .	50	100	100	100
Intelligence of staff. . . . .	10	20	100	100
Total points. . . . .	1080	650	1780	1410
Comparative Points. Best—100. Good—80. Fair—50. Poor—20. Very poor—10. None—0.				

The difference in number of points is striking, and the basis of comparison does not seem unreasonable. There are, naturally, many New York hotels far more expensive than these three of the average grade I have purposely selected,—as there are likewise in London and in Paris. But the differing scale applies to all alike, and when the student passes above a certain level he finds in America a class of hostelry which Europe even at its best has never attempted. Outside the larger cities the comparisons are even more impressive. Italy still manages to maintain an acceptable type of second-class hotel, in spite of advancing cost of operation; but elsewhere the second-rate accommodations are far less attractive than can be found in America anywhere for half the price or less. Compare, for instance, the innumerable restaurants, even in New York or Washington, where one has a first-rate abundant table-d'hôte meal for fifty cents, with the sort of place in France or Italy where one might eat for two-francs-fifty.

It is, of course, unfair to use the extremes of comparison involved in Paris, London, New York, and Milan. The proper comparison is that offered by the provincial cities in each country, towns of about equal effective size. By "effective size" I mean that a city of from 60,000 to 100,000 population in America lives on a scale and demands recognition as a municipal individual such as in Europe is attained by no town below the 200,000 grade.

America is full of cities of the 20,000 class which are known all over the world in trade or literature; whereas the 20,000 city on the Continent is generally a mere village by comparison. The difference is in the manner of provincial life, in separated houses, and in the greater independence of the individual in America. Some comparisons of capital commercial cities in several countries might be made:

ITEMS	PARIS Av. Victor Hugo	NEW YORK 72d Street	MILAN
	Points	Points	Points
Rent. . . . .	\$2000	50	\$2000
Baths. . . . .	One	50	Two
Lights. . . . .	Electric	100	Electric
Heat. . . . .	Deficient	20	Abundant
Telephone. . . . .	Extra	10	Included
Elevator. . . . .	Fair	50	Excellent
Accessibility. . . . .	Fair	50	Excellent
Convenience. . . . .	Fair	50	Excellent
Kitchen. . . . .	Very Poor	10	Excellent
Total. . . . .	390	850	660

#### HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

The cost of the food supply does not greatly differ in Europe and America. Certain articles cost more in the Old World than in the New, and *vice versa*, depending upon circumstances. In Italy sugar is higher because of the government tax. In France butter is twice the New York price because of limited supply and the fact that it is still a luxury. Meat is higher in Europe than with us because it is farther from Chicago and Buenos Aires; fair wine and oil are cheaper there because they are likewise closer to the sources of supply and are subject to no protective tariff paid by the consumer.

One great reason why food prices run generally higher in Europe than in America is because, not having any vast farm areas to draw upon as we ourselves have, a season of poor crops puts European cooks at the mercy of imports from foreign fields,—the high cost being increased by the cost of ocean carriage and the import duty at the port of entry. France ordinarily supplies herself with potatoes, for example, but in a bad crop year she has to buy part of the supply in the United States, paying not only a price advanced in Aroostook County, Maine, on cabled news of shortened crops in Normandy, but rail haul to the Atlantic seaboard, ocean freight, import duty at Havre and inward railway freight to the Paris or other market.

This item of long-haul applies to many articles, and tends to add an artificial burden to the total of delivered price. Handlers must cover themselves liberally against ever possible irregularities in the landing of cargoes at the ports, while in some commodities, notably fuel, the retail cost delivered to the

actual consumer sometimes represents a sheer leap, as much as 100 per cent., above the cost of the product at the mine or in the forest.

In 1910-11 the following retail prices were paid by housekeepers in Europe and the United States (New York):

COMPARATIVE SCALE OF RETAIL PRICES (OUTSIDE CAPITAL CITIES)

ARTICLES	FRANCE	UNITED STATES	REMARKS
MONTH OF NOVEMBER, 1911			
Beef	\$0.39	\$0.25	
Lamb	.49	.20	
Chickens	.35	.20	In France fresh; in America storage.
Flour	.08	.05	
Potatoes	.02½	.01½	
Corn meal	.08	.05	
Rice	.10	.06	
Sugar	.10	.07	
Tea	1.15	.60	
Coffee	.57	.35	
Milk	.06	.08	Per quart
Eggs	.58	.40	Per dozen
Butter	.44	.40	
Salt	.02½	.02	
Bread	.04	.03	Per pound
Anthracite coal	13.50	7.00	

Note: In New York and other large American cities, department stores sell nearly all these articles (and many others) at very much lower prices than are here quoted.

Account must be taken of the fact that in Europe the cook does the buying, and thus absolutely controls the food appropriation. She (male cooks are infinitely more troublesome) keeps an account with her mistress which is really only a sop to the latter's dignity, since there is no way of ascertaining the truth of the prices stated in it, even if one goes to the shops and personally interviews the cook's friends and co-conspirators on the spot. Whether or not the prices for which reimbursement is demanded by the cook are genuine, she is paid a commission of one cent on each twenty cents disbursed (one sou per franc), which custom is fixed and has not been overset, according to very recent reports, by any of the transplanted American housekeepers who have proceeded blithely to France to revolutionize domestic methods. This commission is, naturally, charged on the retail price of the food, and does not come out of the grocer's pocket. It amounts to five cents on the dollar, or to from \$75 to \$100 per year in the average prosperous upper-middle or professional class household in Europe.

The truth is that in America the prudent housewife always knows (and generally by reference to her evening paper) the exact retail cost of every article of food and can go to the market any day and make her purchases on the basis of fixed and generally advertised prices; whereas, on the contrary, no French housewife above the humble class could do so, even were the prices available for comparison. As I have frequently attempted (not always successfully) to show to Americans who have dreamed of the legendary

cheap life of Europe, the only classes which live cheaply on the Continent are those at the two extremes of the social and economic scale, the comparatively poor and the comparatively rich—the one by its identity with the market organization, and the other by multiplying the effect of certain special differences in the rent of extensive property and the pay of domestic servants. To the middle class between, there is no escape from the toll exacted by the sundry middlemen.

Added to the cook's commission is the one month's extra pay per year given to all servants in Europe at the New Year (though in Italy it is divided equally between New Year and the midsummer holiday on August 20); and the numerous tips paid of necessity to clerks, messengers, delivery drivers, and similar people of all kinds.

French cooks in France (like those in Italy) receive usually from \$12 to \$13 per month, plus the extras. Housemaids receive from \$8 to \$9. They are in no way so efficient as American servants of the same class, nor do the same servants work so well in France as they do when moved to America and settled in the different atmosphere. Men servants are paid from \$12 to \$20 per month and chauffeurs from \$40 to \$60, plus board and clothing. The last is a large saving over American pay for chauffeurs, but I am expressly writing at this time of the very much greater number of people everywhere who have so far successfully managed to achieve dignity of living and firmness of soul unaided by an automobile.

The average *menage* in France, maintained on a total income of not over \$6000 or \$7000 a year, is obliged to employ, in addition to the usual two female servants and an occasional scrubber, one outright additional hand for heavy work. That is, it takes three in Europe to do the work of two with us. In lower-grade households, with one servant, the European "general" is a marvel of endurance and stupidity at \$8 per month or so,—the mistress doing her share of the finer work. The "capable girl for general housework" is now totally extinct abroad.

It all depends, of course, upon the class of household under consideration, so that we might take three tabulated grades to complete our study,—three classes of households *not* in capital cities but in those of from 70,000 to 250,000. Let us suppose our households each to have two adults and three children, and one or more servants according to class. Clothing, as an ever-variable quantity, has been omitted altogether from the tables.

## CLASS ONE (1 SERVANT)

## COST OF HOUSEHOLD PER YEAR

EXPENDITURE	UNITED STATES	FRANCE	REMARKS
Rent.....	\$300	\$300	
Light.....	35	25	
Heat and fuel..	65	75	
Food.....	580	580	
Governess.....			
Cook.....	208	120	
Commissions		30	
Extra month		10	
		\$160	
Housemaid.....			
Extra month			
Scrubwoman.....			
Extra month			
Laundress.....		50	Part of French washing done out. Washing included in America
Butler.....			
Footman.....			
Chauffeur.....			
TOTAL.....	\$1188	\$1190	
WELL-BEING.	100%	70%	

## CLASS TWO (2-3 SERVANTS, 2 ADULTS, 3 CHILDREN)

EXPENDITURE	UNITED STATES	FRANCE	REMARKS
Rent.....	\$1000	\$900	
Light.....	50	75	
Heat and fuel..	100	200	
Food.....	1500	1600	
Governess.....			
Cook.....	312	156	\$6 a week in America
Commissions		80	
Extra month		13	
		\$249	
Housemaid.....	208	120	\$4 a wk. in America
Extra month		10	
		\$130	
Scrubwoman.....		72	
Extra month		6	
		\$78	
Laundress.....	156	120	2 days a week at \$1.50 in America
Extra month		10	
		\$130	
Butler.....			
Extra month			
Footman.....			
Extra month			
Chauffeur.....			
TOTAL.....	\$3326	\$3362	
WELL-BEING.	100%	80%	

## CLASS THREE (2 ADULTS, 3 CHILDREN, 8 SERVANTS)

EXPENDITURE	UNITED STATES	FRANCE	REMARKS
Rent.....	\$3000	\$1500	
Light.....	200	150	
Heat and fuel..	200	250	
Food.....	2500	2500	
Governess.....	520	180	
Cook.....	364	168	
Commissions		125	
Extra month		14	
		\$307	
Housemaid.....	208	120	
Extra month		10	
		\$130	
Scrubmaid.....	208	120	In Class Threescond maid
Extra month		10	
		\$130	
Laundress.....	208	120	
Extra month		10	
		\$130	
Butler.....	750	240	
Commissions	250		
Extra month		20	
Footman.....	500	180	
Extra month		15	
		\$195	
Chauffeur.....	1200	600	
Commissions	300	300	
Extras.....		200	Clothing extra in France
		\$1100	
TOTAL.....	\$10,408	\$6,832	
COMPARATIVE WELL-BEING	100%	100%	

To these three classes, which illustrate the grades of average society on both sides of the Atlantic between the workers and the rich, I add Class Four for purpose of comparison, to represent the workers. It is a very large class, more numerous in France as to absence of children, and represents the great mass of more or less inadequate couples who have so far lacked either gumption or opportunity to be more than instruments in the hands of others in the classes over them:

## CLASS FOUR (2 ADULTS, NO CHILDREN, NO SERVANT)

## COST OF HOUSEHOLD PER YEAR

EXPENDITURE	UNITED STATES	FRANCE
Rent.....	\$100	\$100
Light.....	25	10
Fuel.....	25	25
Heat.....	50	
Food.....	250	145
TOTAL.....	\$450	\$280
COMPARATIVE WELL-BEING	100%	20%

It will thus be seen that at both ends of our comparison we have opposite advantages. In America our lowest social scale leads the entire world within its class for comparative well being. It pays much more for cost of living, but, where the money difference is about 60 per cent. in favor of France and the sheer cost of living, there is a difference in the comforts of life of 80 per cent. in favor of the United States. That difference, indeed, is easily sensed in every superficial way by the most cursory observers of conditions.

In the center, however, in Classes One and Two, there is a strong tendency to equality in both countries. This is the lower middle class. On its more moderate scale (Class One) the cost of living is about the same, but the degree of comparative well being is 30 per cent. less. In Class Two, slightly higher in the scale, all conditions, both in cost and comforts, practically balance.

But in Class Three, the upper middle, which tends to merge into the rich, France leads us heavily. The fact is, deduced exactly from these tabulations but easily observable in its surface aspects by any watchful non-professional passer-by, that in France it is cheaper and as comfortable to live at about \$10,000 a year or more. Below that scale the cost is equal and the comfort less than in America.

The figures that I have tabulated seem to sustain the proposition set forth in the beginning of this article that one can live more cheaply in Europe than in the United States only by adopting a different mode of life.

# COST OF TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

IT is frequently asserted, and perhaps as often denied, that travel in Europe is more comfortable, faster and cheaper than in the United States. Strangely enough, varying conclusions on these points are expressed even by those who have traveled more or less extensively on both sides of the Atlantic, although comparative cost and speed are matters of fact, not of opinion, and these facts are of record, accessible to all who choose to investigate. Rates of fare are published both in Europe and America, while the time cards will settle finally in all cases the question of speed.

Time cards, to be sure, are not infallible prophecies of arrivals and departures, either in Europe or America. This recalls the oft-repeated assertion that European trains are more punctual than American. Unfortunately no authoritative data exists upon which comparisons can be based. The only official statistics regarding punctuality on either side of the Atlantic are those published by the New York Public Service Commission, which show that 81 per cent. of the 734,103 trains run in the Empire State in 1910 were on time. The other 19 per cent. were delayed an average of 5 minutes, 36 seconds. For so large a number of trains in all the varying conditions of traffic and weather of a year this may be regarded as a good showing. European trains may, or may not surpass this record; but at least they have not attained perfection. I have known a Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean train to leave the Paris terminus 18 minutes late, and have experienced other slight delays on European trains.

## DISCOMFORT OF EUROPEAN RAILROAD TRAVEL

Comfort alone is a matter of individual taste. To the traveler who prefers to be wedged tightly into a tiny box with from five to seven other sufferers, with no place to put his feet except in the lap of his *vis-à-vis*, who returns the compliment by breathing into his face because there is no place else to breathe, the European compartment car will continue to appear better than the roomy, well-ventilated American coach, or even the

parlor car or the sleeper. To those who are resolved to exalt the European "railway carriage" it matters not that it is of a type that has not been improved upon for three-quarters of a century. A large proportion of European railway carriages run on four or six wheels. Indeed, some of the finest examples of the continental car builders' art, shown at the Brussels exposition of 1910, were of this style. Yet four-wheeled and six-wheeled cars were rejected because of their conspicuous unfitness in the earliest days of American railroading. They are the most rigid, hardest-riding vehicles it is possible to design. They jolt, jiggle, and jounce in distressing contrasts to the smooth motion of a modern coach at home. Seat backs in the European compartment car being invariably at right angles to the seat, it is quite out of the question to recline in an easy position, even if there were no one opposite, with knees almost touching your own. And the back being formed by the wall of the compartment the passenger cannot sit erect unless he takes off his hat.

Any one who, after a fair trial of such accommodations can say that they are acceptable would, doubtless, prefer the frowzy European dining car, with advertising cards occupying every available area, to the clean, handsome American "diner," with its glistening silver and showy napery; while the meager and insipid table d'hôte of the former would seem more appetizing than the generous portions prepared to order by a competent cook in the latter. Since no final decision can be expected, the issue of comfort may be left out of this discussion. But no matter what one's views may be on other subjects, a dollar is always one hundred cents, whether it be expended in Europe or in America. And a dollar will buy much more transportation at home than it will abroad.

## A COMPARISON OF RATES

To demonstrate this fact the cost and time required for representative journeys in Europe and America of as nearly the same length as practicable are given here. That the com-

parison may be as comprehensive as practicable within the limits of a brief article, trips of various lengths in various parts of Europe and America are cited, with the rate per mile and speed per hour in each case.

In many cases the traveler in Europe can buy "rundreis" tickets for a round trip going and returning by different routes at a reduction amounting to from 3 per cent. to 24 per cent. But American summer tourists also have the privilege of buying round-trip tickets at greatly reduced rates. For example the regular one-way fare between Chicago and Denver is \$22.60; the round-trip summer rate is \$30,—a reduction of 33 per cent. From Boston to Phoenix, Ariz., the one-way rate is \$73.90; round-trip rate \$100.05,—a reduction of 32 per cent. From New York to Alexandria Bay in the Thousand Islands, the one-way rate is \$8.50; round trip, \$10.50,—a reduction of 38 per cent. From New York to Pacific Coast common points the one-way rate on the differential lines, that is, the roads between New York and Chicago that on account of longer distance and slower time charge \$2 less between these points than the so-called "standard" roads, is \$76.75. The regular summer season rate for the round trip is \$105.80,—a reduction of 31½ per cent. while on certain dates last season it was only \$87,—a reduction of 43 per cent.

To make the comparison between European and American rates perfectly fair, special limited tickets may be left out of consideration, and only regular one-way rates used. On European railways there are first-, second-, and third-class rates. As American roads have but one class their rates, with Pullman fares added, may be compared with European first-class rates, although this seems hardly equitable. The tourist who pays first-class fare, nearly a half more than second-class, on a European train gets nothing whatever for the extra money but a different color in the upholstery. The compartment is exactly the same size as a second-class one, and the seat is identical in style and shape, the sole difference being that the first-class passenger in some instances is entitled to one-third of a bench instead of the fourth that the second-class passenger gets. The parlor-car passenger in America in return for his extra payment gets a large revolving chair in which he may recline in as many comfortable positions as his ingenuity can suggest.

The average American finds Pullman accommodations none too good for him at home. He would be inexpressibly shocked

if he were caught riding in a day coach on anything but a suburban train. But once across the Atlantic he travels third class in England and second class on the continent and glories in it. European second-class rates may, therefore, be compared with American rates minus Pullman fare. Very rarely does the American tourist use foreign sleeping cars. On the other side of the Atlantic sleeping-car charges are so appalling that no one could sleep after paying them.

#### FAST TRAIN SERVICE IN AMERICA AND IN ENGLAND

The costliest ride to be had in America is on one of the fast trains between New York and Chicago. On these trains the fare is \$30,—an increase of 50 per cent. over the regular fare on the standard roads. As one is obliged to pay Pullman fare also in order to ride on this train the minimum rate may be said to be \$35. A compartment or a drawing room would make it still more. The train covering the longer route runs a distance of 979 miles, so that the rate figures out at 3.57 cents per mile. In return for this expenditure the passenger receives in addition to his berth the use of a buffet, library and smoking car at one end of the train, a parlor in the observation car at the other end, the use of a bath, the services of a stenographer, a barber, and a valet, and he may obtain fine meals at reasonable prices in the dining car instead of buying a cold lunch in a pasteboard box as he might have to do in Europe, for dining cars are far from being in as general use in Europe as they are in America. Also the passenger on these fast trains covers the 979 miles in 17 hours and 55 minutes,—which gives an average speed, including stops, of 54.41 miles an hour from start to finish. This is the fastest train for the longest distance in the world. The fastest train for the longest distance on the other side of the Atlantic runs from London to Plymouth on the Great Western Railway, 225¾ miles, in 4 hours, 7 minutes. This gives an average speed of 54.8 miles an hour. There are some sixteen other scheduled trains in England and France combined that make greater speed, but the distances are short. The fastest scheduled train for any distance in England runs from Darlington to York, 44 miles, at a speed of 61.7 miles an hour. The fastest train in France runs from Paris to St. Quentin, 95¾ miles, at 61.8 miles an hour. The fastest train in Germany runs from Berlin to Halle, 101 miles, at 55 miles an hour. Outside of these three countries

no scheduled trains attain a speed of as much as 50 miles an hour.

The nearest approach to this distance covered by a through train connecting important cities in Europe is the route of the Sud Express from Paris to Madrid, a distance of 902 miles. Although this is 77 miles shorter than the route of the Twentieth Century Limited the Sud Express consumes 26 hours and 13 minutes in covering it, which makes the average speed 34.36 miles an hour. The first-class fare for this shorter and slower journey is \$32.95, while the sleeping-car fare is \$12.06, or two and two-fifths times the Pullman fare for a longer distance. These two items alone foot up \$45.01, or an average of 5 cents a mile, or \$10 more for inferior accommodations than is charged for the costliest journey in America. Second-class fare from Paris to Madrid is \$23.35, or 2.58 cents a mile, which is \$3.35 more than standard fare between New York and Chicago.

#### THE EUROPEAN BAGGAGE TAX

But this is not the total cost of the journey. The American passenger is entitled to the free transportation of 150 pounds of baggage. In Europe, except in Great Britain, every pound of baggage, except ordinary hand baggage, must be paid for. No tourist can calculate these charges in advance, for the complexities of the baggage tariff are quite beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind. The only thing that can be counted upon with certainty is that they will be enough. I have paid as much as \$2.48 on two trunks weighing 168 pounds for a journey of 121 miles. At this rate 150 pounds of baggage, the amount allowed free on American roads, would cost the traveler from Paris to Madrid \$16.60.

#### LONG-DISTANCE RATES

In comparing the less expensive trains in America with those in Europe the contrast becomes still more striking. The distance from New York to San Francisco is 3254 miles by the shortest, and 3575 miles by the longest direct route. The regular one-way rate is \$79.75 by the standard, and \$76.75 by the differential roads. Sleeping-car fare would bring the total up to \$94.75 by the cheaper route,—which is 2.89 cents per mile. Even on a slow train consuming 28 hours on the road between New York and Chicago, and allowing 3 hours wait for a train at the latter place, the journey from west to coast would be made in 99 hours,

which gives an average speed of 33 miles an hour. Faster trains make the run in 93 hours at the rate of 35 miles an hour.

The longest distance traveled by a through train in Europe is from Paris to Constantinople, 2147 miles. The time required is 70 hours, which gives an average speed of 30.6 miles an hour. At this rate it would require 8 hours longer to make the journey from New York to San Francisco than is required by the slow train already mentioned. The fare from Paris to Constantinople is \$60.06; the sleeping-car fare \$16.79,—making a total of \$76.85, or 3.8 cents a mile. This rate would add \$22.45 to the fare between New York and San Francisco.

Lest it be thought that the rate between New York and San Francisco does not give a fair idea of average charges, take the fare from New York to Santa Fé, which is not a competitive point. The one-way fare is \$48.95, or \$61.95 with sleeping-car fare added. The distance is 2237 miles, or 180 miles farther than from Paris to Constantinople, while the fare is \$11.90 less and the time half an hour shorter.

The distance between Chicago and Denver is 1061 miles; between Paris and Naples 1063 miles. Yet the former journey can be made in 28 hours at an average speed of 38 miles an hour, while the latter consumes 40 hours, the average speed being but 26.6 miles an hour. The difference in fare is also startling. The one-way fare between Chicago and Denver is \$22.60; the sleeping-car fare \$6, making a total of \$28.60, or 2.7 cents a mile. From Paris to Naples the fare is \$32.40; the sleeping-car fare \$14.37, or nearly two and a half times the Pullman rate for the same distance, making a total of \$46.77, or \$18.17 more than for the same distance in America. The rate per mile is 4.4 cents. Second-class fare between Paris and Naples is \$21.85, or 2.05 cents a mile.

Express trains make the run from Paris to Lucerne, 396 miles, in 12 hours. The first class fare is \$14.10; second-class fare \$9.60, while 150 pounds of baggage, which goes free in the United States, would cost \$1.80 more. The distance between Chicago and Minneapolis is 422 miles, which is covered in 12 hours and 45 minutes. The fare is \$8 and a parlor-car seat is \$1 making the total cost \$5.10 less than the first-class fare for a shorter distance in Europe. Few Americans would think of making so long a journey in a day coach, though it could be done far more comfortably than in a second-class compartment in Europe. By this method of traveling the Amer-

ican journey would cost \$1.60 less than the second-class fare for a shorter ride in Europe. If one had baggage the difference in favor of the American trip would be still greater.

Express trains between London and Glasgow make the run of 401 miles in 8 hours and 15 minutes, which gives an average speed of 48.5 miles an hour. This is 15 miles an hour faster than the Chicago-Minneapolis train, but the fare is much higher, being \$14.50 first-class as compared with \$9, including parlor-car fare for a greater distance in America. Even third-class fare between London and Glasgow is 25 cents more than first-class railroad fare between Chicago and Minneapolis. The Empire State Express makes the run of 439 miles between New York and Buffalo in 8 hours, 45 minutes,—half an hour more than the time required by the English train for a trip 38 miles shorter. This is an average of 4.37 miles an hour faster than the English trains, yet the fare including a parlor-car seat on this limited train is only \$11.25, or \$3.25 less than first-class fare on the English train.

One may make the journey of 238 miles from Frankfort to Leipsic in the brief space of nine hours at a charge of \$8.28 first class, or \$6.16 second class. The distance of 225 miles between New York and Washington is covered in 5 hours for \$5.65 railroad fare and \$1.25 for a parlor-car seat,—a total of \$6.90. At the German rate the trip would cost 90 cents more.

#### ITALIAN TRAINS AND SERVICE

Italian passenger trains require anywhere from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  hours to cover the 162 miles between Naples and Rome, the principal two cities of the nation, the average speed ranging from 19 to 29.5 miles an hour. The fare is \$5.73 first-class and \$3.97 second-class. This may be compared with the run of 143 miles between New York and Albany, which is covered in from 3 to 4 hours, the average speed being  $35\frac{3}{4}$  to  $47\frac{2}{3}$  miles an hour while the one-way fare is \$3.10, or with parlor-car fare added \$3.85. At the Italian first-class rate the fare would be \$5.05. By riding in a day coach, not a difficult feat for so short a time, one could save 47 cents over the Italian second-class rate for the distance. And only those who have never seen an Italian second-class car could entertain any doubts about the superiority of the American accommodations.

The distance from Genoa to Milan is 3 miles greater than from New York to Phila-

delphia; but the fastest Italian trains consume 3 hours and 10 minutes in making the run as compared with 1 hour and 50 minutes between New York and Philadelphia. The first-class fare between the Italian cities is \$3.42, while the one-way fare between New York and Philadelphia, with parlor-car fare added, is \$2.75. The second-class rate between Genoa and Milan is \$2.40; the railroad fare alone between New York and Philadelphia is \$2.25. And it must not be forgotten that baggage must be paid for in Italy, as elsewhere in Europe.

#### AVERAGES OF RATES

Specific instances might be multiplied indefinitely, the comparisons always being to the advantage of American roads. To turn from the specific to the general, European second-class rates, which vary with the speed of the train, range from 2.18 cents a mile to 3.5 cents a mile, the average being about 2.6 cents a mile, as compared with an annual average rate for all the railroads of the United States ranging from 1.962 cents a mile to 2.003 cents per mile. From New York to Buffalo the one-way rate by the differential lines is only 1.82 cents a mile.

An American traveler who kept an account of his expenditures on eleven journeys in Europe aggregating 2154 miles found that he had paid out in fares \$76.55; and for transportation of his baggage weighing 168 pounds \$19.42 making the total \$95.97, which made the average rate 4.46 cents a mile. He paid regular one-way fares and never rode in a "train de luxe," which is a European attempt at the equipment of a limited train. One train averaged 49.69 miles an hour, but others only averaged from 20 to 37 miles an hour, so the average speed for the whole distance was only 30.4 miles an hour.

On returning home he made out a schedule of eleven journeys in America of as nearly the same length as those he made in Europe as was practicable, though the aggregate was 57 miles more than the total distance traveled in Europe. For these trips the total cost at regular one-way fares, including parlor-car seats, was \$60.15. Adding a possible excess baggage charge of \$2.75 brought the total up to \$62.90,—an average of 2.86 cents a mile, or \$33.07 less than the cost of the European trips with which comparison was made. Furthermore, the average speed on the American trips was 38.6 miles an hour, or 8.2 miles an hour faster than the European average.



# ANNOUNCEMENT'S OF CONVENTIONS, CELEBRATIONS, AND EXPOSITIONS, 1912

## CELEBRATIONS AND EXPOSITIONS

CELEBRATIONS AND EXPOSITIONS	PLACE
Central Canada Exhibition	Ottawa, Canada.
Industrial Exhibition	Winnipeg, Canada.
International Congress of the History of Art	Rome, Italy.
International Congress of Archaeology	Rome, Italy.
International Exhibition for the Book Industry and the Graphic Arts	Leipzig, Germany.
International Ex. of Industries, Commerce, Agriculture and Fine Arts	Kiev, Russia.
International Exhibition	Brussels, Belgium.
International Congress of Irrigation and Rice Culture	Vercelli, Italy.
International Women's Congress and Exhibition	St. Petersburg, Russia.
International Rubber Exposition	New York City.
Latin-British Exhibition	London, England.
Ohio-Columbus Centennial	Columbus, Ohio.
Pan-American Congress of Jurists	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

## EDUCATIONAL GATHERINGS

Catholic Educational Association	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catholic Summer School of America	Cliff Haven, N. Y.
Chautauque Academy and Summer Schools	Chautauque, N. Y.
Summer School of the South	Knoxville, Tenn.

## MEETINGS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES

American Baptist Home Mission Society	Des Moines, Iowa.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	Portland, Me.
American Federation of Catholic Societies	Louisville, Ky.
American Missionary Association	Buffalo, N. Y.
American Unitarian Association	Boston, Mass.
Anglican People's Union of America	Cleveland, Ohio.
Anti-Slavery Society	Tulsa, Okla.
Congressional Home Missionary Society	Chicago, Ill.
Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America	Chicago, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America	Albany, N. Y.
International Order, King's Daughters and Sons	Louisville, Ky.
International League of America	Albany, N. Y.
Methodist Episcopal Church, General Conference	Minneapolis, Minn.
National Episcopalian Association	Dallas, Texas.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union	Portland, Ore.
Northern Baptist Convention	Des Moines, Iowa.
Norfolk Conference and Summer Schools	Norfolk, Mass.
Presbyterian Church (North), U. S. A., General Assembly	Louisville, Ky.
Presbyterian Church (South), U. S. A., General Assembly	Bristol, Tenn.
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod	Cleveland, Ohio.
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod	Grand Rapids, Mich.
United Norwegian Lutheran Church of North America, Synod	Morning Sun, Iowa.
United Presbyterian Church of North America, General Assembly	Fargo, N. D.
United Presbyterian Church of North America, General Assembly	Seattle, Wash.

## SECRETARY

Dr. A. W. Bell, Chamber of Commerce, Winnipeg, Canada.

Committee of the Exhibition, Kretschak 27-10, Kiev, Russia.

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E. H. Bledsoe, Chautauque, N. Y.

Levin Shepherd, Winchester, Minn.

Dr. E. E. Rall, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

H. L. Morehouse, D. D., 23 East 26th Street, New York City.

Cornelius H. Patton, D. D., 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Frank J. Matre (Gen'l Supervisor), 723 Victoria Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

C. J. Kyder, D. D., 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Rev. Lewis C. Wilson, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Charles Chalmers, 101 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hubert C. Harrington, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

John G. Dahlberg, 372 Logan Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.

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Mrs. Frances P. Parks, Evanston, Ill.

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A. G. Moody, East Northfield, Mass.

William H. Roberts, D. D., 1319 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. James V. Bolles, D. D., 4020 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

James S. Tibbey, 411 Penn Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Jens Roseland, 2410 North Ballou Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. F. McGill, D. D., 224 Ridge Avenue, Ben-Avon, Pa.

## DATE

September 5-16

July 10

October

October 16

May-October

May 27-Oct. 14

April 12-Nov. 15

May 25-June 10

Sept. 23-Oct. 3

May

Aug. 27-Sept. 6

June 26

June 24

June 20-Sept. 20

July 24-Aug. 25

June 6-12

June 18-July 26

May 24-25

October 8-11

August 18-21

October 22-24

July 4-7

September 4-6

September 7-9

June 12

December 4-10

May 10-14

November 12-14

May 1

October 6-13

October 18-25

May 22-29

May 7-Sept. 30

May 16-26

May 16

May 16

May 15

May 29

June 6-13

May 22-28

## SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL GATHERINGS

## PLACE

## DATE

## SECRETARY

American Academy of Medicine . . . . . Atlantic City, N. J.  
 American Association for the Advancement of Science . . . . . Cleveland, Ohio  
 American Bar Association . . . . . Milwaukee, Wis.  
 American Chemical Society . . . . . New York City  
 American Climatological Association . . . . . Hartford, Conn.  
 American Electrochemical Society . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 American Electrochemical Society . . . . . Omaha, Neb.  
 American Historical Association . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 American Institute of Electrical Engineers . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 American Library Association . . . . . Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 American Medical Association . . . . . Ottawa, Canada  
 American Medical Psychological Association . . . . . Atlantic City, N. J.  
 American Mining Congress . . . . . Atlantic City, N. J.  
 American Nurses' Association . . . . . Chicago, Ill.  
 American Pharmaceutical Association . . . . . Denver, Colo.  
 American Society of Mechanical Engineers . . . . . Cleveland, Ohio  
 American Therapeutic Society . . . . . Montreal, Canada  
 Association of American Physicians . . . . . Atlantic City, N. J.  
 International Congress of Applied Chemistry . . . . . Washington—New York  
 International Congress of Esperanto . . . . . Cracow, Galicia, Austria  
 National Eclectic Medical Association . . . . . Washington, D. C.  
 Southern Medical Association . . . . . Jacksonville, Fla.

## POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CONFERENCES

American Economic Association . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 American Public Health Association . . . . . Washington, D. C.  
 Democratic National Convention . . . . . Baltimore, Md.  
 International Congress of Chambers of Commerce . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 International Congress on Hygiene and Demography . . . . . Washington, D. C.  
 Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration . . . . . Mohonk Lake, N. Y.  
 National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis . . . . . Washington, D. C.  
 National Conference of Charities and Correction . . . . . Cleveland, Ohio  
 National Conference on City Planning . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 National Massachusetts Association . . . . . Los Angeles, Cal.  
 Playground Association of America . . . . . Cleveland, Ohio  
 Prohibition National Convention . . . . . Atlantic City, N. J.  
 Republican National Convention . . . . . Chicago, Ill.  
 Socialist National Convention . . . . . Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Southern Sociological Congress . . . . . Nashville, Tenn.

## OTHER OCCASIONS

American Bankers' Association . . . . . Detroit, Mich.  
 Farmers' National Congress . . . . . New Orleans, La.  
 Grand Army of the Republic National Encampment . . . . . San Francisco, Cal.  
 Grand Army of the Republic National Encampment . . . . . Los Angeles, Cal.  
 National Association of Manufacturers . . . . . New York City  
 National Association of Retail Druggists . . . . . Milwaukee, Wis.  
 National Electric Light Association . . . . . Seattle, Wash.  
 National Irrigation Congress . . . . . Salt Lake City, Utah  
 Olympic Games . . . . . Stockholm, Sweden  
 Sons of the American Revolution, National Society . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 Sons of Veterans, U. S. A., National Encampment . . . . . St. Louis, Mo.  
 United Confederate Veterans, National Reunion . . . . . Macon, Ga.  
 United Daughters of the Confederacy . . . . . Washington, D. C.

Charles McIntire, M.D., 52 No. Fourth Street, Easton, Pa.  
 G. O. Howard, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.  
 Charles L. Phinck, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md.  
 Guy Hinsdale, M.D., Hot Springs, Va.  
 Prof. Joseph W. Richards, South Bethlehem, Pa.  
 Owen Miller, 3535 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo.  
 W. F. Leland, 500 Bond Building, Washington, D. C.  
 F. L. Hutchison, 33 West 39th Street, New York City.  
 J. Ritchey Horner, M.D., 659 Rose Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 George B. Uley, 78 E. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 Alexander M. Craig, M.D., 535 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
 Charles C. Wagner, M.D., Binghamton, N. Y.  
 James E. Calbreath, 1510 Court Place, Denver, Colo.  
 James E. Deal, 3610 Hancock Avenue, West, Detroit, Mich.  
 Calvin W. Rice, 29 West 39th Street, New York City.  
 Dr. Noble P. Barnes, 212 Maryland Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C.  
 Dr. George Kober, Washington, D. C.  
 Bernhard G. Hesse, Ph.D., 25 Broad Street, New York City.  
 Edwin C. Reed, Esperanto Office, Washington, D. C.  
 W. N. Mundy, M.D., Forest, Ohio.  
 Dr. Seale Harris, 905 Van Antwerp Building, Mobile, Ala.

Prof. T. N. Carver, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Seliskar M. Gunn, 755 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.  
 Urey Woodson, Owensboro, Ky.  
 Robert J. Bottomly, Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass.  
 Dr. John S. Fulton, Senate Annex, Washington, D. C.  
 H. C. Phillips, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.  
 Livingston Farrand, M.D., 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.  
 Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.  
 Flavel Shurtleff, 19 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.  
 Clinton Rogers Woodruff, North American Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 W. S. Braucher, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.  
 W. G. Childerwood, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 John M. Work, 205 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 J. E. McCulloch, 323 Sixth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn.

Fred. E. Farnsworth, 11 Pine Street, New York City.  
 J. H. Kimble, Port Deposit, Md.  
 Mrs. Frank N. Shiek, 2233 Park Boulevard, Long Beach, Cal.  
 Charles R. E. Koch (Adjutant-Gen'l), 31 West Lake Street, Chicago.  
 Mrs. Mary D. Beattie, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City.  
 George H. Paddon, Church Street, New York City.  
 Thomas H. Paddon, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 T. C. Martin, 29 West 30th Street, New York City.  
 Arthur Hooker, Salt Lake City, Utah.  
 James E. Sullivan, 21 Warren Street, New York City.  
 A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.  
 Horace H. Hammer, Reading, Pa.  
 Gen. William E. Mickle (Adjutant-General), New Orleans, La.  
 Mrs. R. W. McKinney, Drawer 490, Paducah, Ky.

# A WORLD'S OBJECT LESSON FROM THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY

BY W. T. STEAD

[The following pages contain Mr. Stead's interpretation of the meaning of England's settlement of the great coal strike by the adoption of two new principles,—namely, the minimum living wage as a human right, and the settlement of industrial deadlocks by government action when the whole public welfare is involved. The tone and spirit of this article are strikingly characteristic of a journalist whose busy pen had worked ceaselessly for the uplifting of the masses of his fellow men and women through more than forty years. There is a prophetic and triumphant note in this last article of his that must thrill his friends and readers throughout the English-speaking world.—THE EDITOR.]

LONDON, April 1, 1912.

**L**AST month I wrote, and wrote truly, that Britain stood on the brink of Hell. This month I write not less truly that Britain, having escaped Hell, is returning from the purifying flames of Purgatory. Whereat let us thank God and glorify His Holy Name forever. March has been a dark and dolorous month—a month of grim suspense and sore affliction, a trying month, a testing month, but nevertheless it is likely to be remembered long in our annals as one of crowning mercy. "For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth," and although "no chastening for the present is joyous, but grievous, nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby. Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees, and make straight paths for your feet." How appositely the familiar verses from the Epistle to the Hebrews apply to the present situation! For the making of straight paths, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, is the task to which the nation is now addressing itself, and we shall do well to take as our order of the day, "Follow peace and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Which lesson, if it be indeed taken seriously to heart, will be well worth the fifty millions sterling which Britain is computed to have lost in the Month of Trial.

## LIKE GOLD FROM THE FURNACE

The fining-pot is for silver and the furnace for gold, but the Lord trieth the hearts. We have been tried, and we have not been found wanting. From the highest to the lowest, from the King upon the throne to the humblest of his subjects in the depth of the mine, we have been subjected to a stern ordeal, and

if we have not come out pure gold from the refiner's fire, we can at least thank God and take courage from the fact that there has been so little dross to be burnt away. The Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor both referred in terms of gratitude and pride to the evidence which this stern crisis has revealed of the resources of our national character. The way in which this strike has been faced and settled has been the admiration and the wonder of the world. "The British democracy," exclaimed a Norwegian observer, "has set an object-lesson to the world." Even Maximilian Harden has been constrained to pay a tribute of admiration to the self-control and the dignity with which this conflict has been carried on. A French correspondent chronicled in amazement the fact that at the fiercest moment of the social war leaders on both sides met as friends, and that the bitterness of the industrial strife never poisoned the relations of the men and the mine-owners. There were not wanting evil ones, emissaries of Satan, who were prompt to proffer counsels of hatred and malignity. The inciters to class hatred were busy on both sides. But the nation heeded them not. So it has come to pass that we can look back upon what threatened to be a plunge into Hell with the devout thankfulness of those who have emerged from the purifying fires of Purgatory.

## "BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS"

First and foremost, honor must be rendered where honor is most due, to the King and his Prime Minister, for the patient, strenuous, and weariless energy with which from first to last they labored in the cause of peace. I say the King, because Mr. Asquith would be the first to acknowledge how keen was the interest taken by His Majesty in the

efforts made for the composing of the strife which threatened to convulse the realm, and how ardently and sympathetically His Majesty encouraged his Prime Minister to persevere in the paths of peace. Of Mr. Asquith it is difficult to speak too highly. From first to last he showed a statesmanlike appreciation of the gravity of the crisis. He made the appeasement of the strife the first order of the day and of every day. Surrounded by the chief ministers of his cabinet, aided and advised by the tried experts of the Board of Trade, he toiled day in and day out, week-day and Sunday, at the thankless task of removing misunderstandings, of clearing away obstacles, and of laying the firm foundations of a settled peace. He fought for peace as generals fight for victory on the field of battle, and if peace hath her victories no less renowned than war, Mr. Asquith is indeed entitled to the laurel crown and the victor's wreath. More than once it seemed as if the combat was going against him. But he never faltered and he never feared. He fought the good fight from first to last with marvelous temper, with invincible resolve, and in the end he had the rare distinction of bringing the strife to a close amid the plaudits of both the combatants, and an outburst of grateful appreciation from the nation at large. To him, indeed, may be said, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

#### THE MINER

If the first place belongs to the Prime Minister, the second must be accorded to the miners. There are a million of them, plain, uncultured men, who spend arduous lives in the constant presence of death, wringing from the deep hidden womb of the earth the fiery life that vitalizes the industry of the world. They were led by men of their rank, honest and painstaking, but who had never before been thrust into the limelight to play a leading rôle in a great national crisis. They had to hold their own in argument with the ablest brains which money could purchase and to confront day by day the picked intellects of the administration. That they blundered badly at times, that they occasionally flinched where leaders of more moral courage or, let us say, audacity, might have greatly dared, and that they managed things so curiously that at the last they all went into the lobby against the bill which conceded to the full the individual minimum wage for which the strike was originally declared—all this may be admitted. But over and above all these

things stands the fact that these leaders, with a divided counsel and an impatient million, never lost their temper or self-control, always confronted their antagonists with a united front, and finally succeeded in achieving a triumph for labor which last year seemed to be altogether beyond the sphere of practical politics. And when the end came they showed neither exultation in victory nor resentment against their adversaries, but applied themselves with a will to secure the speedy effacement of all traces of the war.

#### THE NATION

The strike was hailed at its inception as the most magnificent demonstration of the solidarity of Labor the world had yet seen. It was eclipsed before it ended by a still more magnificent demonstration of the solidarity of the nation. The struggle for the minimum wage in the mines incidentally entailed the total loss of all wages by nearly a million other workers, the paralysis of trade, the cessation of business. Men, women and children shivered in the bitter east wind before fireless grates. Advertisements are the stimulus of trade, and during the strike the advertising business was cut up by the roots. *Printers' Ink* for April says a single advertising agent canceled orders for £100,000 in the first three weeks of the strike. The railway companies curtailed their passenger services, and counted their losses by half a million a week. In the potteries and elsewhere private charity fed hundreds of thousands from day to day to keep them from dying of starvation. But in the direst hour of distress and of suspense there was neither panic nor passion. Silently and uncomplainingly, rich and poor set their teeth and grimly decided to see the thing through, helping each other as best they could until the ordeal was over.

It was a sight for sin and wrong  
And slavish tyranny to see,  
A sight to make our faith more fierce and strong  
In high humanity.

#### THE GOVERNMENT

The government, meaning thereby all men in administrative positions, both local and national, showed themselves worthy of their trust. If any exception may be noted—such as the prosecution of Tom Mann and the *Syn-dicalist* printers, errors of judgment due to excess of zeal on the part of local functionaries—they are but the exceptions which prove the rule. The local authorities, it is true, had

but little to do in the task of maintaining order. The miners themselves maintained such order that the Chief Constable of Wigan jocularly declared that he would have to put his policemen on short time. But on the few occasions on which order was imperiled the authorities acted with energy, but without flurry. The Home Secretary made no parade of troops, but the moment they were needed they were dispatched in sufficient force to make resistance impossible. But the chief burden of the government fell upon the broad shoulders of John Burns, and nobly did he respond to the trust. Mr. Burns has been of late years somewhat too much absorbed in the administration of his department to appear much in the limelight. This crisis brought him his reward. Confronted by a widespread distress and unemployment, compared with which the Lancashire cotton famine was a fleabite, John Burns addressed himself to the work of coping with the emergency with splendid composure and tireless energy. It is an amazing fact that during all these trying weeks not a complaint and hardly a question was addressed to the Local Government Board. Firmly putting his foot down upon panicky proposals, some of which emanated from the highest quarters in Church and State, Mr. Burns applied himself diligently to encourage, to direct, and to stimulate the administration of relief by local authorities and voluntary agencies throughout the country.

#### PARLIAMENT

The House of Commons showed up admirably in the late crisis. The great National Palaver showed that it could on occasion hold its tongue. Silence in certain crises is golden, while speech is only silver. Much impatient nonsense was written by some newspapers about the duty of debating in public delicate questions which were the subject of negotiations in private. But the House was unmoved by these gadflies of the lobby. So long as an amicable arrangement was possible it held its peace, and when legislation became necessary it legislated with a rapidity that almost takes away the breath. The House of Lords also deserves a word of praise. It effaced itself. If only it would follow the same course in other crises it would earn a high place among those institutions which have done their duty. The debates in both houses were not unworthy of the occasion. They were neither protracted nor irrelevant. The speeches even of the most extreme men were moderate and sensible as befitted the

representatives of a nation in the throes of a crisis. The speeches of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Thomas Lough, Mr. Brace, and Mr. Stephen Walsh were memorable. Only one unworthy speech was delivered by any leading man, and that was not spoken at Westminster.

#### THE OPPOSITION

The Opposition failed to rise to the occasion. It was throughout negative, reminding us of Disraeli's famous aphorism, "Conservatism is the mule of politics that engenders nothing." Mr. Bonar Law did well in depressing debate. He did well also in giving place to Mr. Balfour, whose return to the leadership—actual though not formal—was hailed with general enthusiasm. But, otherwise, none of the Unionist leaders distinguished themselves. They suggested as possible solutions methods which were manifestly impossible, and they shrank afraid from the heroic counsels of Mr. Garvin, who for once has utterly failed to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm. Once bit, twice shy is apparently the motto of the Unionist party. The worst thing about the Opposition was that its note was throughout one of bitter, almost rancorous, dislike and distrust of Labor. It was said in the lobby that the one thing the younger Tories were wishing for was such a prolongation of the strike as would bring the soldiers into the field; for a few dead colliers would be a welcome addition to the assets of the Tory party. Of course this will be repudiated as a calumny. I merely chronicle it as a story current in the lobby, and firmly believed by many Liberals.

#### THE MINIMUM WAGE BILL

Ministers did not resort to legislation until all other means had failed. It was only when they found that all the miners and 65 per cent. of the mine-owners were agreed that there should be a minimum wage that they most reluctantly resorted to legislation for the purpose of coercing the recalcitrant minority to stand in line with the majority. The act is loosely drawn, and as it provides no penalties for the violation of its provisions it may be regarded from one point of view as a mere pious declaration; from another point of view it is a revolutionary new departure. The vital clause is the first, which begins thus:

1.—(1) It shall be an implied term of every contract for the employment of a workman under-

ground in a coal mine [which includes ironstone mines] that the employer shall pay to that workman wages at not less than the minimum rate settled under this Act and applicable to that workman.

Then, after setting forth exceptions and conditions, Clause 2 declares:

Minimum rates of wages and district rules for the purposes of this Act shall be settled separately for each of the districts named in the schedule to this Act by a body of persons recognized by the Board of Trade as the joint district board for that district.

The Board of Trade may recognize any body of persons which it considers fairly and adequately to represent both workmen and employers—

the chairman of which is an independent person appointed by agreement between the persons representing the workmen and employers respectively on the body, or in default of agreement by the Board of Trade.

This chairman will have a casting vote when men and employers disagree. If, in a fortnight after the passing of the Act, no joint district board has been formed,

the Board of Trade may either forthwith, or after such interval as may seem to them necessary or expedient, appoint such person as they think fit to act in the place of the joint district board, and, while that appointment continues, this act shall be construed, so far as respects that district, as if the person so appointed were substituted for the joint district board.

#### CONDITIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Workmen who are aged and infirm, and who fail to comply with the conditions as to regularity and efficiency laid down by the rules, are excluded from the benefit of the act. The act remains in force for three years. Wages fixed by the district board shall remain for twelve months unaltered except by mutual agreement. At the end of twelve months either party can give three months' notice of their desire to vary the minimum. Existing special agreements to pay higher than the minimum shall not be interfered with. On the other hand, district boards may exempt mines from the general minimum by fixing a special minimum for such mines. The clause governing this matter is of great importance. It runs as follows:

The joint district board of any district shall, if it is shown to them that any general district minimum rate or general district rules are not applicable in the case of any coal mine within the district or of any class of coal mines within the district, or in the case of any class of workmen, owing to the special circumstances of the mine or class of mine or workmen, settle a special minimum rate (either higher or lower than the general district rate) or

special district rules (either more or less stringent than the general district rules) for that mine or class of mines or class of workmen, and any such special rate or special rules shall be the rate or rules applicable to that mine, class of mine, or class of workmen, instead of the general district minimum rate or general district rules.

Without this provision many mines would be shut down altogether.

#### FIVE SHILLINGS AND TWO

The only serious dispute arose between the miners and the government over the demand made by the former that Clause 1 (1), quoted above, should define the minimum wage as that of five shillings per day for adults and two shillings per day for boys, for those engaged at fixed wages. It was because this definition of the minimum was not inserted in the bill that the Labor party voted against the third reading. The demand was supported in the Cabinet by Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Buxton, and it met with much support outside. Personally, I thought the demand might have been conceded as a temporary provision, terminating with the provisional period during which wages were being fixed. The miners, however, would not listen to any such compromise, and the Cabinet was shut up to a plain yes or no to the demand that Parliament should fix definitely for three years the five shillings and two shillings minima. Mr. Asquith, vigorously supported by Lord Loreburn, Lord Morley, and, it is said, Mr. Winston Churchill, resisted the demand, not because they regarded five shillings as excessive, but because they rightly questioned the right of Parliament to lay down hard and fast rules as to what should be paid in any industry. If this were done for the miners, similar demands would be pressed by all other trade unions, and there would be no end to it. Having constituted the district boards, it would not be wise to withdraw from them the right to fix the rates of district wages as well as the rates to be paid for hewing. The miners threatened to continue the strike unless their demands were conceded, but ultimately they consented to refer the question to a ballot of the men, which is now (April 1) being taken.

#### THE MAGNITUDE OF THE MINIMUM BILL

The more the Minimum bill is considered the more immense will be seen to be the new departure which it initiates. Henceforth, two principles become part and parcel of our industrial life. First, that the worker must have a reasonable living wage, and, secondly, that when men and their employers cannot

agree what that wage is to be, the government, through the Board of Trade, must step in and either organize representative district boards with an independent chairman to settle the question, or, if that is impossible, it must appoint its own representative to proceed to the district and fix up the dispute. It is not compulsory arbitration. No penalties are prescribed in case either party disregards the award. But public opinion, which is a vague but potent Chief Justice, will mete out sharp punishment to those who, after free and full hearing, repudiate an award either of the district board or of the Board of Trade. It is in trades disputes as in international arbitration. The award cannot be enforced either by law or by force. But the public has in its hands the Boycott. A strike persisted in after an award has been given would dry up strike contributions, would paralyze charity and cut down credit. On the whole, the Minimum Wage bill is a maximum stride toward industrial peace.

#### THE "CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE" QUESTION

The indirect consequences of the Minimum Wage bill are even greater than any resulting from its provisions. The miners, after all, are but a million men and boys. There are forty-five millions of people in these islands. The Minimum Wage bill affects the million directly and the forty-five million indirectly. The nation has entered upon a new path. And the first outward and visible sign of the new departure is that the Condition of the People Question is now the first order of the day. The declaration of the government at the close of a brief debate on Syndicalism was perhaps of more importance than even the passing of the Minimum bill. Mr. Hobhouse said there was an amendment by Mr. Sherwell which more nearly expressed the views of the government than the motion before the House, and which they would be much more willing to accept. This amendment read:

The interests of the state and of social order could best be secured by immediate consideration of the causes of the unrest now and lately prevailing among the working classes.

Mr. Hobhouse went on to say that other countries had already caused inquiry to be made. He continued:

The government were prepared and indeed had begun to make inquiry, some limited inquiry, as to the rise in prices and the cost of living in this country; but he thought it would be far more satisfactory to get a far wider inquiry than that which had been carried out in other countries, and the government would be prepared to assent to some

wider inquiry than was going on at present. If his hon. friend the member for Huddersfield moved his amendment the government would accept it.

#### "A FAR WIDER INQUIRY"

If we turn to Mr. Sherwell for information as to the scope of this "far wider inquiry," he leaves us in no doubt as to its far-reaching scope. Speaking a day or two after Mr. Hobhouse, he said:

I believe that the time has come when Parliament must prepare for the new responsibilities which the needs of the times are thrusting upon it, by thoroughly and systematically investigating the conditions of social and national life, especially in so far as those conditions bear upon wages and prices and upon fluctuations in the cost of living. That will show us the way to remedies that cannot safely be sought without knowledge. Mr. Hobhouse's speech encourages me in the hope that Parliament will earnestly address itself to a thorough and far-reaching investigation of the conditions of life for the people.

I suppose this means a Royal Commission, with a wide mandate. A series of small sub-commissions, each charged with one branch of the inquiry, would enable the work to be carried through with celerity. It is to be hoped the Condition of the People Commission will not be like the Divorce Commission, which, after taking twelve months to collect evidence, is apparently taking another twelve months in which to make up its mind. Mr. Asquith is, however, not satisfied that a Royal Commission will answer.

#### LOOKING FURTHER AFIELD

The effect of the pacific settlement of the minimum wages question in Britain is likely to be felt far and wide throughout the world. For, as Lowell sang,—

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the  
broad earth's aching breast  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from  
east to west.  
Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the  
instantaneous throe  
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's sys-  
tems to and fro.  
At the birth of each new era, with a recognizing  
start  
Nation wildly looks at nation standing with mute  
lips apart,  
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps  
beneath the Future's heart.

When the Minimum bill was passing a Scandinavian observer in the Lobby said: "This is the greatest event that has happened since the French Revolution." And a vision of a new Heaven and a new earth has undoubtedly begun to dawn on many darkened eyes all over the world.



# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## CANDIDATES AND POLICIES DISCUSSED IN THE MAGAZINES

IN the March number of this magazine attention was directed to the treatment of current politics in the popular American monthlies. The more recent issues,—notably those for May,—are alive to what is going on in the pre-nomination campaign, and that large portion of the American public which depends on the monthly and weekly periodicals, rather than on the daily newspapers, for information and guidance in matters political will find in these publications articles that have a direct bearing on the present situation.

The most comprehensive attempt to inform the voter on the equipment of the several candidates for the Presidency, as disclosed by their records, is Editor Ridgway's dispassionate summary in *Everybody's*, entitled, "Weighing the Candidates." Mr. Ridgway's prefatory confession of his political faith is so terse, direct, ingenuous, and withal so characteristic that it is well worth quoting.

I call myself a Republican progressive. I wanted Hughes four years ago, and strongly resented Roosevelt's steam-roller for Taft, but voted for Taft. Said I would not again if he did not revise the tariff downward. He didn't. I vote in New Jersey. Voted for Wilson. Glad of it. Do not believe in sacrificing state or country for party. Do not believe a man should be nominated for a second term unless the first term has made good. I believe in careful experiments in so-called popular government. Do not believe in recall of judicial decisions. On the fence as to the recall of judges, and Federal and high state officials. Consider Roosevelt the most remarkable man alive. Have no fear of third-term bogey. But regret Roosevelt's candidacy. Believe he should withdraw. Will not support his candidacy for the Republican nomination.

There you have my prejudices, if they are prejudices.

Mr. Ridgway makes this candid statement of his beliefs in order that his readers may have a clear understanding of the personal equation involved in his attempt to summarize not only the achievements of each candidate, but what is said in his disparagement. He has undertaken, as he says, to photograph each candidate's features and color with a fidelity of a kinemacolor camera. Mr. Ridg-

way merely asks his readers to read without prejudice as he has tried to write without it, and so far as it is humanly possible for a writer to divest himself of prejudice, we believe it will be generally admitted that Mr. Ridgway has done this. He has made, it seems to us, a very fair presentation of the records of all the leading candidates now before the country, both Republican and Democratic, and has summed up the most effective points that are made by their opponents.

Something similar is undertaken by the *World's Work*, in presenting, in parallel columns, the personal platforms of Taft, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Harmon, as made known by utterances of these candidates on various occasions.

### Shall President Taft be Renominated?

By far the greater proportion of space in the magazines is naturally devoted to the claims of President Taft for renomination. An elaborate article on "The Forces Behind Taft" is contributed to the May *McClure's* by George Kibbe Turner and Arthur Wallace Dunn. The article is prefaced by this significant editorial note: "From all present indications an actual voting majority of President Taft's party does not want him renominated. Taft will almost certainly be renominated; he may be reelected. The following article aims to explain this apparent impossibility and to show the master manipulators who are framing Taft's campaign, and his appeal to the support of the gigantic forces of conservatism which have, in the past, aided our Presidents."

The writers begin with the declaration that in 1908 Taft was elected solely because he was believed to represent Roosevelt, and Roosevelt, to the American public, represented the great popular cause—the individual against the corporation, the progressive against the conservative. If President Taft is renominated and reelected, it will be because he represents exactly the opposite forces in the country to those he was thought to represent in 1908. "Four years

ago the general public was behind him; to-day the corporation is behind him, and the general public against him."

This brief extract gives the point of view of the entire article, which is fourteen pages in length and cannot here be quoted *in extenso*. In their opening historical survey the writers emphasize the point that the corporation influence in the United States never lost control of the Presidency until the election of Roosevelt. Elihu Root and William H. Taft were both members of Roosevelt's cabinet. "They seemed to Roosevelt the most remarkable political minds he knew, and he wanted one of them to succeed him. Root, the acutest mind, was impossible. He had for years, as a lawyer, been one of the most valuable instruments of the corporations in America. Taft was finally nominated, and the country elected him in the belief that he was Roosevelt. They had no other way, under our present party division, to estimate him on the main matter of political importance. They knew nothing about him really; neither did Roosevelt. All he had observed was the action of a big, sedentary mind working along, day by day, on the intellectual problems brought to it—an operation as dispassionate and accurate as the ticking of an excellent clock."

The article proceeds to relate the history of the split between the administration and the progressive wing of the Republican party on the tariff issue and other questions, and describes the President's campaign for renomination with special reference to the employment of patronage machinery throughout the South. One thing upon which the writers of this article believe the Taft managers are counting as a great force in the President's reelection is the present active work of Wall Street in the Democratic party. The Taft managers, it is said, believe that Wall Street will certainly hunt down and destroy any anti-corporation candidate in the Democratic party before he can be nominated. The party of the corporations is just now centering all its powers upon the destruction of Woodrow Wilson. In the meantime, the corporation candidates of States and section have been brought up to split the organization of the Democratic convention and make Wilson's nomination impossible. It is felt by the Taft managers, according to Mr. Turner and Mr. Dunn, that in removing Wilson from the race Wall Street will remove the one possible man in the Democratic party upon whom the party of individual rights can concentrate its vote. Without such a candi-

date in the field on the Democratic side, it is believed that Taft can be reelected.

One of the monthly magazine articles which is almost certain to be employed as campaign material by the Democrats, in the event of the President's renomination, is contributed by Mr. Amos Pinchot to *Pearson's Magazine* for May. This is a review of the incidents in the Alaska situation during the first half of Mr. Taft's administration. The writer acted as an attorney in an advisory capacity during different phases of the Alaska controversy. He asserts that his principal interest in the matter has been that of a lawyer who has followed a case in which he happens to have a deep personal interest, which he believes should be called to the attention of the public at this particular time. He states that the text of the article has been carefully passed upon by other persons competent to testify to its accuracy. Every statement of fact in the article he declares, is a matter of record and may be checked up by any one who cares to consult the documents in the case. He further states that the article has been refused by a large number of magazines on the general ground that it reflects upon the integrity of the President. A great part of the material contained in Mr. Pinchot's article was disclosed during the Ballinger investigation.

### A Plea for the President

The preponderance of magazine articles is decidedly anti-Taft. It is a relief, therefore, to find at least one editor whose sympathies are frankly with the administration. Mr. Joe Mitchell Chapple of the *National Magazine* (Boston) comes to the rescue in the April number of his magazine. To him William Howard Taft appears as the man of the hour, "moving surely and firmly in meeting an issue of more crucial moment to the government than that that characterized the sound money campaign of 1896."

With all the strength within him, without equivocation, William Howard Taft has taken up the gauntlet for sound constitutional government. His reply to the challenge of his predecessor has defined an unmistakable issue of the campaign. President Taft insists that to destroy the independence of the judiciary is to take away the keystone from the arch of free government. He has further insisted that irresponsible assaults upon the judiciary are a serious menace to enduring government, that they launch a rudderless ship of state on a sea of troubles. To deny that the people have ruled, he insists, is a reflection on our form of government, the pole star of which always has been, and always will be, the will of the people.

The cumulative force and experience furnished by the public career of President Taft inspire a confidence in his leadership that was not felt in the early days of his administration. Responsibilities often make the man, and the characteristic trait of William Howard Taft has been ultimately to secure results which are permanent and enduring, inspired by a spirit of broad-mindedness and fair play. He has patiently met the assaults from inside as well as outside his party ranks. The unswerving manner in which he confronted the tariff upheaval and pushed forward relentlessly for regulative and restrictive laws, safeguarding the interests of all the people, irrespective of wealth or any other conditions, has back of it motives of real patriotism.

Thoroughly aroused, he has entered the campaign of 1912 with the purpose of conserving the results of progressive legislation. His record as an executive has impelled fair-minded people to feel that meritorious work deserves recognition by reflection, according to the party traditions of the country. Indifferent as to the exploitation of personal power or leadership, and with his mind and energy centered upon the fundamental principles of government, he has loomed up as a champion of sound principles and a leader to be trusted. Consistent, fair and judicial, he has never allowed the popular favor of the hour to sway him from the convictions that inherently find expression in a majority of the people to-day, as in other days when the insidious impulses were met and checked in electoral combat.

### Taft-Roosevelt Relations

In the *American Magazine* for May, Mr. William Allen White gives his version of the facts and tendencies that led to the straining of the relations between President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt, culminating in the open break. Mr. White emphasizes, in the opening paragraph of his article, the proneness of men to admire in others that they do not themselves possess. This human characteristic is frequently the basis of friendships between so-called opposites. In Mr. White's opinion, this was the basis of the long friendship that existed between William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. As Mr. White points out, the qualities that each possesses as a man and a citizen are praiseworthy.

Mr. Taft's caution, his judicial indecision, his habit of waiting until the last bit of testimony is before him, in forming his opinions, and his insistence upon applying rule and precedent to all his important transactions, are as excellent human qualities as are Mr. Roosevelt's intuitive way of taking short cuts to his decisions, and his insistence upon applying moral standards rather than those of rule and precedent in reaching his conclusions.

It is entirely possible for men of these different temperaments to do a personally great team work together, and in small matters these contrasting traits are lost sight of.

It is only when men of these opposite traits find themselves opposed to each other in the leadership of men in a large way that the differences become serious. Then their opposing points of view divide their powers into factions and parties, and this, according to Mr. White, is what has happened in the United States within the four years last past.

Mr. White recalls the familiar facts that when he was nominated for the presidency, Mr. Taft was accepted by the progressive wing of his party as a progressive Republican. It was Roosevelt who persuaded the party that Taft was a progressive, and the party took Mr. Taft upon Roosevelt's indorsement. In Mr. White's opinion an obligation rested upon Mr. Taft to redeem Mr. Roosevelt's



THEN AND NOW!  
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)

pledge when he went to the White House. But that Mr. Taft himself realized that obligation is made clear by a letter which he wrote to the editor of *Collier's Weekly* just after his nomination by the Chicago Convention. In that letter he said:

It is easier since we had Lincoln than it was before to be a good President. He set a standard. It remained for Roosevelt to prove how the people will respond to a strong and true leadership, when the hour has come for great reforms. The policies which he inaugurated must be continued and developed. They are right and they are the policies of the people. For that reason his successor may well disregard any charge of lack of originality, if he does not make an entirely new program of his own.

Thus President Taft acknowledged that he was nominated by a party pledged to con-

tinue the so-called Roosevelt policies. As to the general understanding that in continuing the Roosevelt policies the new President would retain such members of the Roosevelt cabinet as desired to stay, the public, of course, has no direct knowledge. Mr. White, however, affirms that President Roosevelt, at least, shared the general understanding. In the case of one department, that of the Interior, the administration became unmistakably aligned against the Roosevelt policies, and it is a matter of history that when this led to the distrust of the country, the President stood by his Secretary and kept him in the cabinet. Commenting on this attitude, Mr. White says:

Loyalty is a most necessary virtue. But a certain discernment in placing one's loyalty would seem to be the part of wisdom in a statesman or even in a private citizen. It might be shown without trouble that President Taft owed as much to Roosevelt and the American people as he owed to Ballinger and his former clients.

After the passage of the tariff bill, in 1909, President Taft's administration became definitely set in a reactionary course. Within a year patronage was being withheld from the progressives and the President undertook to read them out of the party. This reactionary tendency, in Mr. White's view, was not set by conscious purpose; it was the natural expression of the President's character, "the reaction upon policies of the temperament of the man who sticks to the facts, sees no visions, reckons only in the powers that be, dislikes pioneering, chooses the soft way out of difficulties, and trusts in material rather than in spiritual forces to aid him in the extremity." President Taft desired then, as now, to be counted among the progressives. "He would like to go ahead, but desires to go decently and in order with the whole body of the troop and without missing a meal or losing much sleep on the journey; that means that he won't get far."

The widening of the breach continued. Colonel Roosevelt, after his return from Africa, believed that some things in the country were going wrong, and had definite convictions as to the proper way to set them right. He had no way of getting his convictions before President Taft, and he, therefore, had only two courses left—to sit silently by and see things going wrong, or to take his convictions to the people.

To say nothing would have been loyal to the President. To speak out was loyalty to his countrymen. What else could he do? He could not fit

his convictions to the President's course. He could not discuss these matters with the President, except as an unbidden guest to the White House. So he talked to the public, and men said he was treating his old friend badly. Yet if there was any obligation of friendship upon either side, any burden of gratitude upon Taft or Roosevelt, any pull of old relations that should tug at the conscience of either, the obligation or burden or tug should be upon Taft. For he was the beneficiary of whatever favors flowed from their relations. Yet he could not rise to admit it. He was and is bound by all the chains of a lifetime of easy-going habit to let things go so long as they do not involve official facts that call for immediate perfunctory proscribed action.

### Roosevelt and His Times

The *Atlantic Monthly's* recent appraisal of President Taft was noted briefly in our March number. In the May *Atlantic* the editor, Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, contributes a five-page review of ex-President Roosevelt's career. In Mr. Sedgwick's opinion, the troubled period through which we are still passing will be ranked as one of the four critical epochs of American history. First came the struggle for self-government; next, the uneasy reconciliation of the Republic with political democracy; third, the death grapple with slavery; and fourth, the battle for a completer social and economic freedom, the outcome of which no man can now foretell. To the future historian, Mr. Sedgwick thinks, it will be obvious that Mr. Roosevelt was fortunate in the times



"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"  
From *Collier's* (New York)

in which he lived. Within the last decade and a half a new social ideal has come into its own.

This quickened atmosphere of public life was the living breath in Mr. Roosevelt's nostrils. It was not a rarefied atmosphere. No close, hard thinking was demanded of an executive; no midnight oil and columned figures. The nation was rich and could afford to waste its money. It did not want retrenchment or economy. With a longing as pathetic as that of the French for their mythical equality of a hundred years before, Americans felt a vague passion for a new righteousness. What the public wanted, with its democratic demand for personality, was to see its new ideal take human shape, and Mr. Roosevelt was not unwilling to sit for its photograph.

Thus it has come about that to many millions of his fellow countrymen Mr. Roosevelt, "if not the Sir Galahad of politics, has, at least, sought the grail." This modern hero has been by no means free from error, in Mr. Sedgwick's opinion; but how many, he asks, of the leaders of history have lived the blameless life?

Because a man by great and signal service to his fellows has raised himself to eminence, shall we judge his defects more harshly than we judge the errors of those who have done nothing to throw

their sins into the shade? Is it not fairer that our gratitude should lead us to a larger charity?

In his concluding paragraphs, Mr. Sedgwick forecasts the verdict of posterity on Mr. Roosevelt's public record:

The best that a man does is his monument, and our children's children will look back on Mr. Roosevelt not without gratitude. In their school-books they will study how Mark Hanna closed one era, and how a new and better opened with Theodore Roosevelt. They will remember that the love of money which defiled so many of his contemporaries left him untouched. They will be taught that, with a frail body and with no special gifts of intellect, he became the rugged and impressive figure of his time. They will mark how, born to ease and a pleasant life, he sympathized with the unfortunate and fought their battles against prejudice and inequality. They will read how he lived and preached a clean and wholesome life. Surely, these are lessons good for boys to learn.

As I write there comes into my mind the figure of a workingman. Some years ago I saw him, seated in front of me in a trolley-car. The creases in his red neck and wrinkled face were soiled with sweat and dirt, and in his hand he held a newspaper close to his eyes as though the look of print puzzled them, while with a grimy forefinger I saw him trace, line by line, as his lips murmured the unaccustomed syllables, the words of one of Mr. Roosevelt's exhortations to be decent, to live clean, to play the game hard. That is the picture of Mr. Roosevelt's achievements.

## DO THE COURTS STAND IN THE WAY OF PROGRESS?

MAYOR GAYNOR, of New York City, who was for sixteen years a justice of the New York State Supreme Court, contributes to *Bench and Bar* an article analyzing the relation of the courts to legislation and commenting incidentally on the "recall" of judicial decisions. He shows, in fact, how certain decisions have been "recalled" by the people through constitutional amendment. He asserts that the courts have frequently stood in the way of social and economic progress:

In all ages, and pretty much everywhere, the courts have tried to apply their legal rules of thumb to social, commercial and economic matters, always with signal failure, and generally with injury to industry, commerce and the social good.

Nothing is more distressing than to see a bench of judges, old men as a rule, set themselves against the manifest and enlightened will of the community in matters of social, economic or commercial progress. The same is true in matters of morals and religious growth also. Jesus, Socrates and many who came after them, age after age, fell victims to judicial narrowmindedness. But the adverse decisions of courts have not been able to stop

human progress. Sometimes they baffle it for the time being. Sometimes, by creating exasperation in the intelligent mind, they accelerate it. Not to quote other instances, the decision of the United States Supreme Court remanding the negro boy Dred Scott back into human slavery only hastened the coming liberation of the slave.

Mayor Gaynor then cites certain judicial decisions in New York which, he asserts, "were planted right in the path of economic and social progress." He begins with the tenement-house tobacco case, decided by the New York Court of Appeals in 1885 (98 N. Y. Reports, page 98):

Good men and women who went around alleviating suffering and distress in poor tenements of the overcrowded districts of this city found tobacco being manufactured into its various products in these tenements. They found little children born and brought up there in the unwholesome fumes and smells of tobacco. They applied to the Legislature, and had a law passed forbidding the manufacture of tobacco in such tenements for the future. The court held that it was "unconstitutional" that is to say, that the constitution of this

permitted the manufacture of tobacco in poor tenements, and that therefore the Legislature could not forbid it. They professed to find this constitutional permission latent in the general provision in our State constitution that no one shall "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

The claim that the manufacture of tobacco in such places was detrimental to health, especially to the health of children, and might therefore be prohibited by the Legislature, received short shrift from the venerable and learned judges. They set themselves up as better judges of the question of health than the Legislature. They gave to this constitutional guaranty a meaning never dreamed of in England, from which we took it. The foundation of it is in Magna Charta. But no one in England up to this hour has ever imagined that it had reference to anything but the direct taking of a man's property—i. e., of his chair, of his cow, of his lot—or the direct restraining of his physical liberty. Nor did it occur to our forefathers when they took it from England and incorporated it into those fundamental instruments of government in this country, State and national, which we call constitutions, that any meaning would ever be given to it except that which it then had. It had then only a direct meaning in respect of the taking of a man's property or the depriving him of his liberty. Moreover, it was a check on the executive branch of government only in England, and not on the legislative, and it was put into our constitutions in that sense.

No one anticipated that it would ever be interpreted as a check on legislative power also, although that interpretation has naturally followed from our system of government. But the carrying of it to extremes by casuistry is another thing. This tobacco case, in which the court showed so much sensitiveness for the rights of property and liberty, and so little for physical, mental and moral health, was the final and full outcome of a course of constitutional exegesis which had set in in this country not many years before, and had for its object to embrace in the said constitutional guaranty every legislative enactment which by its operation might indirectly or remotely restrict the use of property or liberty in its widest sense. Its development was rapid, and finally reached that point which has enabled the courts to stand in the way of measures for the public happiness, welfare, morals and progress, which are grown common all over the world, and finally become expressed in statute law here.

The Mayor then reviews New York's experience with bakeshop regulation, the limiting of hours of labor for women in factories, and workmen's compensation. The attitude of the courts toward all these forms of legislation has been made known to the country by Colonel Roosevelt's writings and speeches. In conclusion the Mayor says of American judges:

They do not seem to consider who is to protect us against them in their judicial legislation. In the cases of the underground bakeries, the manufacture of tobacco in tenements, the working of women in factories at night, and so on, was not the Legislature, representing the community, as fit, at least, as a judge, or a bench of a few judges, mere mortals

like the rest of us, to judge of the wisdom or advisability of the laws passed, from the standpoint of the moral, economic and social welfare and progress of society?

### A Layman's View

Commenting in his own magazine on the Roosevelt proposition that has been discussed as the recall of decisions, Mr. S. S. McClure restates the proposal in a more general way as follows: American courts are now the judges of what laws American legislatures may or may not pass under our written constitutions. The people of a State should be allowed to approve or disapprove of the decisions of their own courts, when these decisions veto the acts of their legislatures.

Looking at this matter from the point of view of the European observer this must seem an extraordinary campaign issue to be projected into American politics at the opening of the twentieth century. For, in the first place, as Mr. McClure points out, the courts of the great nations of Europe have no such powers as these to take away; and, in the second place, for many years past the proposal to give such powers to the courts would have been considered highly reactionary and undemocratic.

It is first cousin to blasphemy in the United States, as every political campaign loudly testifies, to assert that our government under our Constitution is less democratic than that of any other country in the world. But it is exactly because our system of checks and balances so interferes with a simple and direct expression of the majority opinion that one country after another has taken it up, examined it, and put it aside, to adopt the direct majority rule provided for in the parliamentary system of England.

The fact is that the civilized nations of the world, by an almost unanimous vote, are discarding the system of "checks and balances" which constitutes the American form of government. They are establishing instead the English plan, a system designed to register simply and accurately the will of the majority of the people. And in doing this they are in many ways leaving the United States behind in the advance of democracy.

In England this matter was settled more than two hundred years ago in the great political campaign which set the Stuarts off the throne of England. Prior to the revolution of 1688 it appears that the English courts claimed and sometimes exercised the power to annul the acts of Parliament; but with that revolution, which established the supremacy of Parliament, the last trace of the judicial negative disappeared. Ever since that time nobody has seriously questioned the right of the British Parliament to be constitutional judge of its own powers.

## CLARA VIEBIG—A DELINEATOR OF GERMAN PEASANT LIFE

DURING the past twenty years a number of women writers have come to the front in Germany. Of these several had objects to promote, causes to further, or sex problems to discuss. Comparatively few wrote as artists; and thus it happens that only three or four can be fairly said to merit serious consideration from the purely literary point of view. Probably the most widely read woman novelist in German-speaking countries to-day is the late Baroness von Ebner Eschenbach, her *Lotti die Uhrmacherin*, *Das Gemeinde Kind*, and *Genrebilder* being, perhaps, first favorites. Since the death of the Baroness, the most prominent two German authoresses are Gabrielle Reuter and Clara Viebig. To the former "the middle class is anathema." In most of her novels the heroine is "a woman of extreme sensibility who is cramped by her surroundings." Her trilogy, *Aus Guter Familie*, *Ellen von der Weiden*, and *Frau Bürgerlin*, treat respectively of a daughter, a wife, and a mother, each of whom "suffers much from uncongenial circumstances." Writing of Clara Viebig in the *Contemporary Review*, Florence B. Low, some of whose observations have been quoted above, says:

In no way is Clara Viebig more remarkable than that, unlike her sister writers, she has no problem to propound, no "axe to grind," no cause to advocate; and it says much for the healthy tone of public opinion in Germany that her books have all gone into a great many editions, and have received the highest praise from both the critic and the man in the street. She is a genuine daughter of Germany, and therein the patriotic German feels it his duty, as well as his pleasure, to read her works, while as a true artist she needs must win praise from cultivated critics who recognize that she carries on the tradition of German literary art. Clara Viebig gives us the peasant as he really is: his dense ignorance, his hard struggle with a soil that yields the minimum of result for the maximum of labor, his wonderful power of endurance, the influence of religion—the district is Roman Catholic—and the strength of human love, even among the roughest and most brutal of beings.

Born in the Eifel district, her girlhood was spent in the town of Düsseldorf. When she was eighteen her father died, and she went to live with relatives who owned large estates in Poland. As she herself writes: "In the West and in the East, and in the Lower Rhine district dwell my three 'loves.' My heart belongs to each, and to each I owe much happiness; but my highest happiness I owe to my art." Her married life has been spent in Berlin, and here she has laid the scene of her

novels—perhaps her finest—*Das tägliche Brod* and *Einer Mutter Sohn*. The former, published in 1900, made the name of the authoress famous throughout Europe. The book deals with the small tradesman and the servant-girl classes of Berlin, and may be briefly epitomized as follows:

Mina, a fresh, honest, and affectionate peasant girl goes to Berlin in the expectation that her uncle, who has been regarded by her parents as a man of importance and wealth, will do great things for her. It turns out that he keeps an indifferent greengrocer's shop, and her aunt a registry office. The latter, seeing that she is strong and industrious, employs her to do all the roughest, hardest work of the house. We are shown the daily struggle to live for the greengrocer and his wife; the petty meannesses of the inferior shopkeepers; the temptations of servant-girls and shop-girls; the search for work by the son, Arthur, feeble, incapable, but not yet wicked. Overworked, underpaid, and underfed, her long life one round of toil from morning till night, Mina turns to the young man Arthur, who has shown a certain liking for her, with the inevitable results. When a baby girl is born Arthur is out of a situation, and Mina has been obliged to give up her place. The difficulties of the poor unmarried mother have never been more tellingly given; rejected by her own people, shamefully deceived by the man whom she had trusted, Mina almost determines to abandon the little girl in the public park, but when for the first time the little thing cries out "Mam-ma" her heart fails her. She resolves with that direct, simple sense of what is right, which has not been corrupted by her city experiences, that the father must acknowledge their child, and she takes the little girl with her to the Reschkes' shop.

The meeting with Arthur, who has gone to help his mother, is dramatically told. The mother showers abuse on the girl, but Mina remains firm in her demand that Arthur marry her; and the latter, at last aroused to some sense of justice, consents. Their married life continues the struggle, for Arthur is constantly in and out of work, and sometimes, out of sheer desperation, he ill-treats his wife. But the book ends on a note of hope: through the kindness of Mina's old employers she and her husband obtain a post as caretakers, and their daily bread seems assured. Into her heavily burdened and trouble-scared soul there penetrates a glimpse of the Invisible; on Christmas Eve she vaguely feels the presence of One who dwells beyond the stars, and she murmurs the Lord's Prayer. She will teach her little girl to pray. "It is good; it makes one's life easier," she says as she draws the child toward her.

This gifted writer has published two very powerful dramas which show that she possesses considerable dramatic talent—*Die Bäuerin* and *Das letzte Glück*.

Only mere mention can be made of her *Das Weibendorf* (published in 1900 and now in its 26th edition), *Der Kreuz im Venn*, and



the two historical novels, *Die Wacht am Rhein* and *Das Schlafende Heer*, which, taken together, show the many-sidedness of this writer's genius. Clara Viebig, whose full name is Cohn-Viebig, is in her fifty-third year. She makes her home in Berlin.

## THE NEW NORMAL COLLEGE FOR WOMEN IN LEIPSIC



FRAU HENRIETTA GOLDSCHMIDT, WHOSE WORK WAS  
THE BASIS FOR THE LEIPSIC WOMAN'S COLLEGE

**FRIEDRICH FRÖBEL** was the champion of the idea that the child's education should begin in the cradle and that the mother should be the first teacher. From him Henrietta Goldschmidt caught the flame of her life's enthusiasm—the preparation of girls for their natural mission as guardian and instructress of the next generation.

In 1871 Frau Dr. Goldschmidt founded in Leipsic the Society for Family and Public Instruction. Herr Dr. Johannes Prüfer in the *Woche* (Berlin) traces the development of the Fröbel-Goldschmidt idea from this Society to the new Normal High School which has just been opened in Leipsic under the presidency of Frau Dr. Goldschmidt, now an octogenarian, and under Herr Dr. Prüfer's legal and parliamentary assistance as managing director. The first society, says Herr Dr. Prüfer, began kindergarten institutions for the poor, founded a seminary for teachers of kindergarten, and finally a lyceum for ladies. The lyceum was then something entirely new for the Germany of forty years

ago. Higher education for women was unknown beyond occasional courses in modern languages, literature and the history of art in young ladies' finishing schools. In the Goldschmidt Lyceum, however, scientific lectures given almost exclusively by University professors were arranged in three and four cycles for women of riper minds. But Frau Dr. Goldschmidt felt that the lectures must become a permanent institution, with far greater scope and much stronger organization to supply the need for the increased demand made by civilization on the mother and the teacher who sometimes must take her place. In 1874 Frau Dr. Goldschmidt expressed publicly this great aim of her life, and decades of unassuming but vigorous efforts have passed by before the venerable lady attained her end through the philanthropy of a wealthy Leipsic resident. Last autumn the new High School opened its first term with a number of lecturers among whom are many celebrated in their specialties. The college owns several institutes as well as the lecture halls.

A particular feature is the Museum of Methods of Instruction. Every new idea in pedagogy is here examined and put to practical test. There are five divisions: (1) Domestic Training, (2) Public Playgrounds and their Care, (3) Benevolent Institutions, (4) Educational institutions with particular objects, (5) Societies for the encouragement of higher ideals or instruction among the lower classes. The Museum hopes to embrace gradually all methods available for modern instruction. There are special fields for practical work in the City Home for Nurslings which is presided over by the Geheimen Sanitätsrat Dr. Taube, and in the public kindergarten of the college, which has been beautifully decorated by Walther Caspari and his sister, the representatives in Germany of the line of work Elizabeth Shippen Green, Jessie Willcox Smith and Rose O'Neill are so brilliantly following in America. Herr Dr. Prüfer ends with the interesting bit of news that every educated woman over eighteen will be admitted as auditor to all of the lectures and practical courses of the college, and there are only statutes to govern admission to

the final examinations. The fees for the term are two dollars and a half for one lecture a week and three dollars and a half for a lecture twice a week. The Board of Directors consists of Frau Dr. Henriette Goldschmidt, Herr Dr. Prüfer as Managing Director, Fraulein Dr. Gosche, Frau Clara von Hagenow, Frau Senatspräsident von Pelargus, and Dr. Doren and Dr. Biermann, both professors at the University of Leipsic.

Though a late comer in this field that we Americans have carried to the highest perfection, it is instructive to note that our sister college in the Vaterland has outstripped us in generosity and liberality of outlook in two

points: in the nominal fees and in the admission conditions which will enable a great number of young women to cultivate a genuine talent for training children without requiring of them a superfluous knowledge of calculus or even of physics. Many feminine minds that are lightning quick to find the path to a baby's needs in his first gropings after consciousness have unconfessed and mortifying difficulties with compound fractions and Latin grammar. The donor of the funds for the college has preferred to remain nameless, which fact may perhaps contain a seed of high wisdom and good taste for our American philanthropists as well.

## RUSSIAN MUSIC AND TOLSTOY'S VIEWS ABOUT IT

COMPARED with that of other nations, Russian music has but a short history, yet the claim has been made for it that "it depicts the true type of a Slav, the melancholy, simple, and hospitable *mujik*, with more fullness of color and virility than, for instance, the German or Italian compositions depict the representative types of those nations." This view is expressed by Mr. Ivan Narodny in *Musical America*. In his opinion,

Russian music as a whole is a true mirror of the Slavic racial character, its life, passion, gloom, struggle, despair and agony. One can almost see in its turbulent or lugubrious chords the rich colors of the Byzantine style, the half Oriental atmosphere that surrounds everything with a romantic halo, gloomy prisons, wild mountains, wide steppes, luxurious palaces and churches, idyllic villages and the lonely penal colonies of Siberia. It really visualizes the life of the empire of the Czar with a marvelous power.

To the average West-European, Russian music "sounds sometimes too realistic, sometimes too gay, sometimes too symbolistic, sometimes too sad, and is often lacking in unity and technic." But that is the very nature of the Russian mind and emotions.

Every Russian artist, be he a composer, writer or painter, hates to become artificial and intentionally puts in his creation all the naïveté and inspiration of his race without polishing it too much. One can see this so distinctly in most of Tschai-kowsky's symphonies, in the songs of Moussorgsky and in his opera, "Boris Godunow."

On the other hand, Russian music, more than any other of its arts, expresses the peculiar temperament of the nation, which is just as restless and unbalanced as its life. A Russian emotion is stirred only when it is gripped with something extreme, be it too sad or too gay, too glaring or

too somber, so that everything must express pathos and joy to the very limits. The most typical in this respect are probably Rubinstein and Tschai-kowsky, the one more Oriental, the other more Slavic.

Mr. Narodny, on the occasion of a visit to Yasnaya Polyana, once heard a discussion between Tolstoy and Rimsky-Korsakow concerning the compositions of Rubinstein and Tschai-kowsky who had been guests of Tolstoy. Tolstoy had asked Rimsky-Korsakow's opinion of the two composers in question. The conversation which ensued was in substance as follows:

"I look at them as introducers of Orientalism into our music," said the great composer. "We



A CARTOON OF HIMSELF BY MODEST PETROVITCH MOUSSORGSKY

("What Shakespeare was in dramatic poetry, that was Moussorgsky in vocal music," says Claude Debussy)

are a semi-Oriental race, a bridge between the West and the East, and I think they are our pioneers in representing that peculiarity. But do you know anything of Modest Petrovich Moussorgsky, who did in music what Shakespeare did in dramatic poetry? He is a real giant."

"I am surprised to hear it," replied Tolstoy. "He played some of his songs to me, but they seemed rather primitive and too realistic."

"Well, that's his power," said Rimsky-Korsakov. "He is a great self-made man and will be appreciated only in the future. The trouble with him is that he created his music two hundred years ahead of his time."

"But we were speaking of Rubinstein and Tchaikowsky," interrupted Tolstoy. "I like them both in their ways, but for some reason I prefer Rubinstein. Tchaikowsky's melancholy is often terrific and makes me hate myself."

"I thought you were fond of tragedy."

"Not in music," replied Tolstoy. "Rubinstein stimulates my imagination, but Tchaikowsky stirs up my emotions and makes me look hopelessly at life and fate. An artist should not deprive a man of the last spark of hope but give him hope. I think that makes us so passive and brooding, while, for instance, Anglo-Saxons and Germans are active and their art is stimulating."

"Leo Nicholaievitch, I think you are right. But what do you think of our modern musical realism?"

"I don't care for it," replied Tolstoy. "You are less realistic than anyone else of our modern

composers, especially your friend, Moussorgsky: that's why I like you most. But for some reason Wagner and Beethoven remain my most favored musical gods. I like beautiful harmonies and chords free from any dissonance. I like the Wagnerian melody or the solemnity of Beethoven."

"That may be why you are so religious and look at art without ethical foundation as a degenerator of humanity. You want art and religion combined, don't you?"

"Yes," replied Tolstoy. "I want all our churches and monasteries to be transformed into public opera houses, concert halls and theaters. Why should they be six days empty and dead while on the seventh they are half filled with old men and women or curious children. Our clergy has put a premium on the temples and everything connected with them. Religion is made a sport and art is a sport. I want them combined, that's all my tendency. All art must be uplifting, inspiring and free of charge for all humanity. I am too old to start a campaign in this respect, but I hope it will come."

"Wasn't that also Tchaikowsky's idea? I understood that you said to Tchaikowsky that you did not like the idea of opera in its present form."

"I said so," admitted Tolstoy. "But I did not mean to abolish opera entirely, as the newspapers commented. I merely would like to see it transformed into a musical play, with prose in between, which is more natural. I like realism on the stage."

## JOHN BY, OTTAWA'S LONG-FORGOTTEN FOUNDER

ANYONE searching for the city of Ottawa on a map of Canada in 1853 would have sought in vain. But he might have found instead what the maps of to-day fail to give—the name of Bytown, the town founded by one John By, an English officer, of whom Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle wrote more than half a century ago, "If ever any man deserved to be immortalized in this utilitarian age, it was Colonel John By." Posterity, however, has not been generous to the Colonel. In 1854 the place was incorporated as the city of Ottawa; and with the adoption of the new name By's claims to recognition seem to have been ignored. Indeed, "but for stray references in the pages of Canadian history and for a tardy proposal to erect a memorial at Ottawa, it might almost be supposed that they had been entirely forgotten." As Mr. Charles S. Blue remarks in the *Canadian Magazine*:

What lends luster to his name and ought to secure for it a permanent place in Canadian history is the fact that he was the founder of the city which to-day occupies the proud position of the capital of the Dominion.

When the late Queen Victoria chose Ottawa to be the chief city of Canada, she merely dedicated what John By had created.

He selected the site, planned its streets and spaces, and supervised the early stages of its construction; he first had the vision of its great destiny, and with rare energy and foresight directed his effort toward the fulfilment of that destiny.

From Mr. Blue's article we learn that By was born in England in 1781, and soon after receiving his commission in the Royal Artillery was transferred to the engineering branch of the service. He first came to Canada in 1802, and was stationed at Quebec for nine years. In 1811 he was hurried to Portugal, took part in the siege of Badajoz, was recalled to England, and eventually found himself on the unemployed list. In the spring of 1826 he was still "waiting for something to turn up," when he received orders to proceed a second time to Canada, to superintend the construction of the Rideau Canal. This was a work demanding "skill and resource amounting almost to genius, backed by amazing fortitude and determination." We con-

dense from the *Canadian* article some of the more striking features of the undertaking.

Colonel By had to cut his way through a country where fogs and flood had hitherto reigned undisturbed, a country the seat of ague and fever, of mud, marshes, and reptiles, where the only mode of progress was the bark canoe of the Indian. His surveys rapidly completed, he arrived in the village of Hull in September, 1826. The situation on the southern bank of the Grand River, as the Ottawa was then called, appealed to him, and he decided to form the entrance to the canal there. The hill now crowned by the Government buildings at Ottawa was then a thickly wooded eminence; beneath was a beaver meadow; and beyond stretched a dense cedar swamp. Into this solitude came By with a squad of sappers and miners in May, 1827, and immediately it sprang into life. The cornerstone of the canal locks was laid on Aug. 18, 1827, by the ill-fated Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin, who was returning from one of his northern trips.

The difficulties and disappointments attending the work would have daunted most men. The first bridge built by Colonel By over the Grand River at the Chaudière Falls was swept away by the spring floods, and at Hog's Back, a few miles distant, a large dam nearly completed was destroyed by an ice jam. The Colonel himself contracted a fever from the effects of which he never fully recovered, while his men suffered greatly from the severity and extremes of the climate.

At last, after five years of the most arduous labor, performed under conditions of extraordinary difficulty, the Rideau Canal was completed, and on May 29th, 1812, amid fitting celebrations, the first steamer, called the *Pumper*, passed through the locks.

It would be gratifying to read that By received in due course suitable honors at



JOHN BY  
(Founder of Ottawa, Canada)

the hands of his countrymen. Far from this being the case, no sooner was the Canal opened, than he was called home to stand an investigation on a charge of extravagance in his expenditures. It appears that "the Government of the day had been attacked on the ground of spending public moneys without the constitutional authority of Parliament; a scapegoat had to be found somewhere, and Colonel By was the victim chosen." The blow to his pride plunged him into "low spirits," as he himself wrote, and he died at Sussex, England, in 1833. Ottawa has indeed "a duty to perform to his memory that has been too long delayed."

## ASPHALT—WHAT IT IS AND WHERE IT COMES FROM

THE dictionaries in tracing the origin of the word "asphalt" assign it to the Greek *asphaltos*, a loan-word of uncertain but Eastern origin. A writer in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, however, ingeniously suggests that it may be derived from the Greek *sphallo*, "I slip," with the prefixed negating *a*, which would give the meaning "slip preventer,"—a little irony of our language, "because in modern life, when we think of asphalt streets and pavements the slipperiness of them is the first characteristic to enter our minds." Yet in early times its

use undoubtedly was to "prevent from slipping," especially as a cement "to hold in position the stone slabs out of which the palaces of Nineveh and Babylon were built."

Asphalt belongs to the substances designated as "bitumens," of which there are about thirty varieties ranging from (1) the bitumens proper, such as the malthas of mineral tars and natural combustible gas, through (2) the coals (the pyrobitumens), to (3) the artificial bitumens, such as street and illuminating gas, paraffins, and the residua from many refining processes. The *Bulletin* writer



THE STORAGE OF CRUDE ASPHALT IN TRINIDAD

(These deposits are believed to occupy the center of an extinct mud volcano)

assigns asphalt to the first of the groups just mentioned, which he describes as "the prime efforts of nature's laboratory;" but just what process is, is, he tells us, "still unsettled by geologists and chemists."

The interesting fact for America in connection with asphalt is that "the industry centering around it has of late years passed from the Old World to the New, and that the asphalt supply in the Western Hemisphere seems to be able to meet the demand." In Old Testament times asphalt or bitumen was used almost exclusively as a cement; and cisterns lined with it 3,000 years ago are still serviceable today. During the Middle Ages, however, its advantages seem to have been lost sight of, and it was "not until the nineteenth century was reached that any industry was based upon it." Who first suggested the use of asphalt for paving is not known; but "in France, some time after 1800 and before 1850, attempts were made to pave a street in Paris with asphalt mixed with quartz." As far as America is concerned,

the first bituminous mastic street laid in any Atlantic coast city is claimed by Newark, New Jersey.

This was in 1870, and the constructor probably used pitch and petroleum residuum from Trinidad . . . Washington, D. C. soon after followed this example, and then the practice became general throughout the country.

Asphalt is widely distributed over the globe.

In the United States solid bitumens are found along the Connecticut River, in New York State, in New Jersey, and West Virginia. In Texas beds of asphalt occur, and veins have been found in Colorado, Utah, Kentucky, Missouri, and California. . . In Cuba, the British West Indies, Mexico, and Venezuela immense sources of asphalt are recognized. . . Deposits of a very pure asphalt occur in Egypt; no others are reported from the Continent of Africa. In Asia a very pure asphalt has from an immemorial period been cast up by the Dead Sea. . . In Asia Minor, Persia, and the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers valuable deposits of solid bitumen are found.

The chief two sources of paving asphalt are those of Trinidad and Bermudez lakes, of which the *Bulletin* writer says:

The deposits of the pitch lake in Trinidad occupy a bowl-like depression of about 114 acres, probably the center of an extinct mud volcano. . . There is an overflow from the lake to the sea through a

crevice in the rim, and this stream is 15 to 18 feet deep, but beneath the stream is a ravine still filled with asphalt, which seems to have no limit to it. Trinidad asphalt is too hard and brittle for direct use on street pavements and must therefore be mixed with other material before it is finally laid down.

The Bermudez lake of asphalt is situated in Venezuela across the Gulf of Paria, about 105 miles due west of the Trinidad lake. . . . This lake covers an area of 1000 acres, being nine times the size of the lake in Trinidad, although a larger amount of asphalt is not necessarily implied, for the deposit in Venezuela is in some places only a few feet deep.

In the United States, Texas and Oklahoma supply a natural bituminous limestone, while a natural bituminous sandstone—apparently peculiar to the United States—is found in Kentucky, Missouri, Texas, Utah, California, and Oklahoma. In several States semi-as-

phaltic oils, of value in the preparation of road material, occur in abundance. But road paving is by no means the only important use to which asphalt is put. To quote the *Bulletin* again:

It affords one of the best methods of protecting any work in masonry, or iron vaults, roofs, reservoirs, and against wet and even dampness, for in all its finished stages asphalt is impervious to moisture. . . . For roofs as well as floors it is of great value, and it seems to provide one of the best-known foundations for heavy machinery, hammers, and power presses.

To this must be added the fact that asphalt is an almost perfect insulator substance, and is consequently largely used in electrical work. From every point of view it would seem that asphalt can safely count on a prosperous future.

## COÖPERATIVE BANKS AND AMERICAN FARMERS

**T**HE International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, Italy, has recently issued a pamphlet upon the various coöperative credit systems now in operation in Europe, which shows that the total business done (outgoings and incomings) by the farmers in Germany in 1909 under the Raiffeisen system was \$1,557,293,580; and by the Schulze-Delitzsch popular banks, \$3,231,801,035. Referring to these figures, the United States delegate to the Institute, Mr. David Lubin, asks, "How about the American farmers?" And in *Farm and Fireside* he twits the American farmers with protesting against the trusts while they (the farmers) by their present "ineffective and incomplete organization" actually make themselves easy victims of the organized financiers. It is satisfactory to note that American agriculturalists are at last awaking to the importance of this matter. The Southern Commercial Congress, which met at Nashville, Tenn., last month, called a special session of a select committee of representatives from various sections of the Union, to meet the American delegate to the International Institute to consider the Raiffeisen and other European systems of rural coöperative credit. In the pamphlet referred to above, the Institute outlines more than a score of the coöperative banking and credit systems of Europe; but as the most important of these are the Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch we shall confine ourselves to a presentation of some details of these two institu-

tions, which we think will be of interest to the readers of the REVIEW.

In the early part of the nineteenth century many small farmers and artisans in Germany suffered severely at the hands of usu-



MR. DAVID LUBIN  
(The United States Delegate to the International Institute  
of Agriculture, Rome, Italy)

pers, from whom they procured the credit which was indispensable to the exercise of their business. To quote from the Institute pamphlet:

The seriousness of the situation, rendered more acute by the economic transition which was taking place and was bringing with it a great and urgent need of credit, was clearly recognized by two men, who have deserved well not only of Germany but of the whole civilized world, by devising and putting into practice the best methods of remedying the evil. These were Frederick William Raiffeisen, burgomaster of Weyerbusch, and Francis Frederick Schulze, better known by the name of Schulze-Delitzsch. The former was the originator of the rural coöperative banks, which have spread into all civilized countries; the latter of the urban popular banks.

The fundamental principles of the Raiffeisen system are: (1) unlimited liability of the members; (2) a restricted area of operations; and (3) gratuitous management.

**Membership.**—The members are farmers, usually peasant proprietors. The 12,614 rural banks existing throughout Germany in 1909 numbered 1,163,186 members, that is, an average of 92 per bank. The minimum number of members required by the legal constitution of the banks is seven, and some of the banks have exactly this number.

**Liability.**—Raiffeisen's principle was that of the unlimited joint and several liability of the members. Of banks existing in Germany, 92 per cent. are based upon unlimited liability, and about 8 per cent. upon limited liability. A small number of banks were based upon an intermediate system.

**Shares.**—In order to exclude any danger of capitalistic speculation, up to 1876 none of Raiffeisen's banks had any shares. In that year, being obliged to comply with the Imperial law which compelled coöperative societies to have foundation capital, Raiffeisen fixed the shares at a maximum value of 10 marks.<sup>1</sup> In 1909 the average paid-up capital per member was 19 marks.

**Entrance fees.**—The pure Raiffeisen system does not admit of any entrance fees as being contrary to the lofty conceptions of mutual responsibility which inspired Raiffeisen's propaganda.

**Area of operations.**—The area of operations is limited to a commune or parish. The system of the rural banks is, in fact, founded on mutual confidence and collective liability: the members must not only know each other personally, but must also be able to see from day to day the manner in which their money is employed.

**Management.**—The management of the rural banks is very simple. The administrative functions are divided between the Committee of Management, the Council of Supervision, and the General Meeting. The executive work is carried out by the Treasurer. The General Meeting appoints the Committee of Management, the Council of Supervision, and the Treasurer. The conduct of the business is entrusted to the Committee of Management, upon which often sit the best-educated persons of the districts, such as the schoolmasters or priests; for these, however, actual farmers are being more and more substituted. The

Committee of Management usually give their services gratuitously. The Treasurer is paid for his services.

In 1909 the expenses of management amounted, on the average, to the modest sum of 638 marks per bank. The maximum cost was 0.53 per cent. the minimum, 0.04 per cent.

The business of these banks consists mainly in making advances to members. These loans are on current account or for fixed periods. At the close of 1909 the outstanding loans were: on current account, 425,995,403 marks; for fixed periods, 1,082,446,388. The chief safeguard for the success of the rural banks lies in their very constitution. It is possible for each member to keep an eye upon the affairs of his fellow members, so that he can easily judge at any moment of their solvency and of the manner in which they are utilizing the money obtained from the bank. Of the flourishing condition of the rural banks sufficient evidence is forthcoming in the fact that in 1909 the net profit realized by them was more than 7,000,000 marks. Of this enormous profit only a small fraction was distributed as dividend, 87 per cent. being carried to the reserve fund.

The working capital of these banks is composed of the current accounts, the savings deposits, the accumulated reserve fund, and the amounts obtained by means of loans from other banks or private individuals. It should be stated that only 11.2 per cent. of nearly 2,000,000,000 marks placed at the disposal was furnished by outsiders, 88.8 per cent. being provided by the farmers themselves or by the local public. The total business done by the rural banks in 1909 was 6,537,075,950 marks, or about \$1,557,293,580; and the loans granted during the year amounted to 924,195,024 marks, or \$220,196,170.

The Schulze-Delitzsch banks were established before the rural banks. Whereas Raiffeisen sought to adapt coöperation to the needs of the farmers, Schulze-Delitzsch planned organizations that were suited to the needs of town-dwellers. Still the farmers largely utilize these banks, over 26 per cent. of the members being independent agriculturalists. It will be seen from the following details that the Schulze-Delitzsch banks differ in many respects from the Raiffeisen organizations.

**Membership.**—In 1910 the average membership of the 939 banks affiliated to the Federation was 639—a figure considerably higher than the average for the rural banks. The rural banks secure their members exclusively from farmers; the popular banks draw theirs from the social classes and various trades.

<sup>1</sup> A mark is worth about 24 cents.



**Liability.**—Of the 939 banks in 1910, 567 were based on unlimited liability and 372 on limited liability.

**Shares.**—The shares of the members are somewhat high. At present the average share-capital per member is 360 marks, but there is a constant tendency to increase this.

**Management.**—These banks do not follow the plan of unpaid management. On the contrary, their management is rather costly, and is conducted on strict business lines.

The Schulze-Delitzsch banks transact banking business of almost every kind, although their chief object is that of granting loans for short periods to the members. In 1910 no less than 4,000,000,000 marks were loaned, of which 1,200,000,000 were outstanding at the close of the year. The gross profits for the year 1910 were 76,000,000 marks. The net profit (after deducting interest on borrowed capital, depreciation, etc.) was over 18,000,000 marks, or 8.60 per cent.

on the share capital. The total business done by the 939 banks affiliated to the National Federation and by the 96 not so affiliated was 13,566,182,463 marks for 1910, or about \$3,231,801,035.

Such are some of the more important data concerning the two leading coöperative credit systems of Germany. It will be seen that Mr. Lubin is justified in saying that

in the United States, so far as money is concerned, finance and commerce are organized, and agriculture is unorganized, thus paving the way for the trusts in agricultural products. In Europe, on the other hand, coöperative credit is so strongly organized that it makes the cornering of the farmer's products, and consequently, the dictating of prices, a practical impossibility.

Having been shown the way, it is up to the American farmers themselves to reverse the present condition of things.

## DECADENCE IN THE USE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE

FOR some time past there have been complaints of the inability of the rising generation "to use with vigor, exactitude, and delicacy that marvelous instrument of expression, the mother tongue." The outcry is heard from many lands, but loudest from France. In that country, it is said,

the products of the press are lamentably inelegant and incorrect, youths at school and university—students of science, law, history, of literature itself—cannot equal their predecessors of two decades ago in the arrangement, method and clearness of composition. The young engineers are incapable of writing intelligible and well-ordered reports. Even teachers are infected with the common decadence.

Various causes are assigned for this deplorable state of things, as the decline in the study of Latin and Greek, and the usurpations of science.

Still others attribute the fault to the overcrowding of the curriculum in the secondary schools; to a too early specialization in vocational training; to the dislike on the part of pupils and parents of intellectual effort; to the perpetual reading of newspapers and the consequent neglect of literary masterpieces; to a vile democracy which will not tolerate any superiority in culture, but enviously pulls down every elevated ideal to its own dull level. Finally, it is asserted that the only explanation of the phenomenon is to be extracted from some impalpable quintessence called the Spirit of the Age.

These quotations are from an address on "Disrespect for Language," by Prof. Lewis

Freeman Mott, president of the Modern Language Association of America, and reprinted from the *Publications* of that body. Professor Mott is of the opinion that all of the causes mentioned operated with especial force in the United States, and that though it can neither be demonstrated nor disproved that we lead the world in disrespect for language, our failings in this direction are sufficiently obvious. These may be traced to the complexity, hurry, and fullness of modern life.

This haste, this distraction, and the constant effort to gain fresh advantages, often render us heedless of the treasures we already possess, and especially of that treasure of treasures, our mother tongue. . . . Town and country are practically all drawn within the same circle of ideas and are stimulated to strive for the same ends. To stop this rushing current is as hopeless as to oppose the Mississippi in its march to the sea. We must seek, therefore, not to retard, but to utilize the tide of time. . . . It is a violently destructive force. . . . One plain duty of education is to rescue unharmed from the devouring sweep of innovation the precious gifts of the past. Civilized man commands, for use or abuse, a highly developed literary language, the harvest of ages, the legacy of millions; assuredly every resource provided by the life around us should be employed to preserve from injury this priceless inheritance.

Discussing the question, "Has there really been a decline in the correct use of the mother tongue?" Professor Mott says:

The imperfections of ordinary talk are notorious. . . . Enormous quantities of inferior "cur-

rent literature" cannot fail to have a deleterious effect upon both thinking and speech. . . . Even our Rhodes scholars, according to an Oxford criticism, "have not been accustomed to write and express themselves clearly and with precision. Some are terribly rough intellectually, with little or no literary sense and very limited command over expression. In the composition of an English essay they have, as a rule, almost everything to learn. Their linguistic attainments are also, as a rule, slender." . . . Our best monthly periodicals are not guiltless, and serious volumes of literary studies too often betray an inexpert and even clumsy hand. There can be little doubt that an evil exists which must be faced and overcome.

Among the things to be strenuously combated is "a heedless clumsiness of expression, combined with poverty of vocabulary and verbal inaccuracy," a fault rendered epidemic through the general practice of dictating to a stenographer. The ephemeral jargon of sport has "wrought more extensive ravages than ever before, and the abuse of slang has so impoverished the daily intercourse of myriads that they have lost all command of any other language."

Moreover, in addition to these conditions and influences, an unbroken stream of immigration floods our cities with the confusion of Babel. Many of our newcomers largely forget their native tongue, yet never acquire proficiency in ours; so that, both of our own native progeny and of the progeny of the Old World, we have among us, multiplied by thousands, the man without a language.

As to how the situation, "sufficiently

serious," is to be dealt with, Professor Mott urges the importance of a thorough study of the vernacular; and,

in addition to the mother tongue, some language, whatever it be, should be studied intensely, exhaustively, so that it may be really worthy of respect and help to dispel the notion that any form of civilized speech can be cheapened into

A liberal art that costs no pains  
Of study, industry, or brains.

Large quantities of intellectual fodder cannot be suddenly chewed and digested. . . . Unless accurate reading is insisted upon, and grammatical and verbal distinctions are minutely scrutinized, no language can claim to be a disciplinary study.

As regards instruction, what is wanted is a competent and effective body of teachers of English, French, and German for our secondary schools. These must be provided by the universities. Courses specifically adapted to the professional needs of teachers should be designed. And from our coming teachers of languages, "more than from any others, should be demanded a pure literary style."

Yet our teachers of physical science also, if they are to do their work aright, must not be lacking in this essential element of power. It is no false rhetoric that is required, no embroidered decoration of inflated eloquence, but the ability to speak and write with propriety, precision, and finish.

A vigorous combat has to be waged against ignorance and heedlessness, and the teacher's part is to oppose and to conquer disrespect for language.

## FELIPE PEDRELL AND MODERN SPANISH MUSIC

SEVERAL months ago "Mother Spain" reëchoed the jubilee festivities in honor of the master Señor Don Felipe Pedrell that Spanish America had inaugurated at Buenos Aires a year ago. Recognition by the general public has only come of late to the venerable composer who is also a learned musical historian and critic of brilliancy and vigor. He had, in the eyes of gay and frivolous Castile, the unpardonable fault of being born a Catalan, which is much the same for Spaniards as in the old day the fact of being born in Puritan Boston would have been for a New Orleans girl of the "Mandarin caste." Pedrell has been called by some German critics the Spanish Wagner, and the comparison is not misleading. The Spaniard, too, has used the treasury of the folk songs of his stern mountain race as the base of his music-dramas.

That he brushed aside the Spain of caressing color and seductive rhythm of the popular Castilian Zarzuelas is his greatest claim to international rank as a creative genius. M. Henri de Curzon in the *Nouvelle Revue* (Paris) speaks of Señor Pedrell's career of enthusiasm and abnegation, patience and daring. He says:

Engaged in the composition of sacred music for choir and orchestra and in technical research and compilation of ancient music texts, it was not until 1890 that Pedrell offered to his country a work typical in a way of what modern Spanish music should be. Conceived in a modern form, it should above all remain national and borrow nothing from any foreign model or school. The text was the tragedy of the Catalan poet, Victor Balaguer, "The Pyrenees." The voice of the people vibrates in the music enveloped in a harmonic web whose original richness throws into high relief the melodic threads in all their fiery, savage, immortal youth.

The tragedy is founded on the war of the Albigeois, and the fight for the independence of the Spanish regions of the eastern Pyrenees. The day of Panissars (in 1285) which ends the third act marks the definitive expulsion of the French troops of Philip the Bold. The prologue, which has been much heard abroad, is a recitative for barytone, sustained by a colorful orchestration, and is punctuated, as it were, by Aragonese and Catalans singing their national glories, noble ladies and trouvères vaunting the Courts of Love, inquisitors clanking their iron chains, and soldiers lauding the victors. The first act shows Ermesinde, Comtesse de Foix, a Catalan lady, alone with her ladies and trouvères, the Comte being absent in defense of the country. Ermesinde, fearful of an assault on the château during her husband's absence, opens, nevertheless, a "Court of Love," where the ballades succeed the complaints, and the martial *servente* to the ardent *tenzon*. In the midst the Papal Legate appears, announces the Count's defeat and his own seizure of the château. The Comtesse refuses to surrender, and the flagstones rise suddenly and troops of men-at-arms emerge with the Comte de Foix crying the family battle rally, in accordance with an old legend that on a day when all seemed lost the flagstones of the great hall would rise themselves against the invaders. The second act is called "Moonbeam" and the time is 1245 with the Midi in the hands of the Church's allies, vassals of France. The Comte de Foix is dead and his son gone to a monastery. The scene shows the cloisters of this monastery, where the gipsy Moonbeam, dressed as a page, has come with the juggler Sicart to persuade the Comte to undertake the defense of Montségur, the last castle that resists the French. The Comte replies that he wishes the Inquisition to believe him dead, that the funeral dirges heard from the chapel are for him, and that he will not again enter the world of strife. The gipsy evokes the spirit of the old Count to appear and exhort his cowardly son to remember his vows. Before the apparition, the young Count hesitates no longer and will leave. But the moment has passed. Estelle de Aura, the heroic woman sprung from the de Foix line, has at last been overcome and Mont-

ségur is in flames. But the young Count, overcome with remorse at his cowardice, dies as a brave man, and when the victor Inquisitor breaks into the cloister, he surrenders and cries, "May the fire purify me from my crime, and may my ashes be cast in the wind that blows over the Pyrenees! May one day avengers spring from them to cry again, 'Foix par Foix et pour Foix' to the echoing crags!" The third act shows the day of Panissars, and the camp of the Almogavares, the picked corps of King Pedro of Aragon. They await the passing of the vanquished invaders. The gipsy Moonbeam, more than eighty years old, gives her last breath to the song of supreme victory of her land, the terrible war song of the Almogavares, a popular Catalan theme with introduction of an Arab war theme.

M. de Curzon remarks that he does not believe that in any literature a work can be found, at once epic, dramatic and symbolical, better conceived to awaken the patriotic fervor of a country. The score is a work of conviction, of science and inspiration that will keep a place apart among the purest and most original works of musical art. The "Célestine" of Pedrell was directly opposed in character to "The Pyrenees" and is an adaptation from a celebrated novel of Rojas as was the "Manon Lescaut" of Massenet. The hero and heroine, Caliste and Mélibée, are the prototypes of lovers for the Spanish drama, and their mad, carefree but eloquent and poetic passion is delineated by Pedrell in delicate and grotesque scene by turn, with vivacity and luminous good taste. "The Pyrenees" was Pedrell's tribute to patriotism, "Célestine" to Love, and "*Hispaniæ Schola Musica Sacra*" to Faith. Spain has few sons as worthy of her.

## IS ENGLAND STILL THE WORLD'S LEADING NATION?

A FINE tribute to England and her contributions to civilization appears in the Warsaw *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (the Illustrated Weekly) by the famous Polish publicist, and novelist, "Boleslaus Prus" (Alexander Glowacki). Such a tribute is significant in these days when there is so much criticism of Britain and so many warnings that her days are numbered.

Replying to the charge of egoism, personal and national, made against the English, this Polish writer says:

Every nation is egoist, though not every one is rendering and has rendered so many useful services to humanity as have the English. They are re-

markable agriculturists, breeders and miners. Their products of industry and trade are distinguished by accuracy and durability, as well as simplicity. Their seamen and travelers have visited every corner of the world. Their merchants are the most honest. In the field of technical inventions the English occupy a first-rate position. For, if it is a question of factory motors, or transport machines and means of communication, or of operative mechanisms, geodetic, optical, and other instruments,—the English either invented, them or introduced into them independent and important improvements. On a still higher round of activity the English possess, besides a multitude of learned investigators, geniuses of the kind of Newton and Darwin, who have pried into the most extensive laws of nature. And, furthermore, they possess their own philosophy, extraordinary poets in the persons of Shakespeare and Byron.



IS AN ANGLO-GERMAN ENTENTE DUE?

KING GEORGE (to Kaiser): "My dear cousin, we don't need all this armor in this warm Peace weather. Let's have some of it off. It will ease us and please our people."

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

When, finally, we pass over to social matters and the great humanitarian ideas, we there again meet Englishmen in the highest places. They were the first to act against slavery. They were the apostles of the amelioration of the lot of workingmen, women and children. In their country liberty has united with order, and progress has allied itself with a judicious conservatism. Being so very useful to civilization and humanity, the English have merited prosperity. They are not only the wealthiest nation, but they feed the best, dwell the most comfortably, and live the longest. Speaking

thus, I am not forgetful of the English proletariats—but where is there no proletariat, and where can the mean level of prosperity be compared with the English?

In the success of the English, continue the Polish writer, no small part is played by sports of all sorts. The English also belong to the most active nations and those traveling most. It is a very significant fact that the ideal of a man possessing the highest virtues, physical, intellectual, emotional, and social, is known in all languages by the English word "gentleman." This implies, declares Prus, that this beautiful type came into the world and became common first of all in England.

A grievous thorn in English life and history is Ireland. It must, however, be remembered that to-day we are no longer looking on the sin, but rather—on the repentance and satisfaction, and that the epoch of the real wrongs done to Ireland falls in the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. As for India, those who know, judge that the rôle of the English there is that of a civilizer rather than that of a torturer, and that India, left to itself, would suffer more than to-day. For, it is certain that in India it is the English that are elevating agriculture, draining the marshes, building the roads, fighting against disease and rapacious animals, removing cruel customs, and spreading enlightenment. The world rôle of the English may be summed up in three words: "They outstrip Europe." The great French Revolution was preceded a century and a half by the English Revolution. The liberties that Russia obtained in 1905 were possessed by the English nearly seven hundred years ago; while the Prussians are persecuting the Poles to-day in the way the English treated the Irish two, three, and four centuries ago.

## WHAT A EUROPEAN WAR WOULD MEAN FOR MISSIONS

NOW that the actual danger of a clash between England and Germany seems to have passed, it is easy to realize the tremendous issues that would have been involved in a war between these countries. How near the danger was is forcefully characterized by the Rev. Prof. David S. Cairns in the *International Review of Missions*. He writes: "Two great European nations have awakened to the discovery that through the pleasant summer days of 1911 they had, unawares, been walking through the valley of the shadow of death." In another paragraph of the same article he speaks of the threatened war as "the danger of a deeper national cleavage than modern history has known for nearly a hundred

years." While others are asking what such an event would mean for civilization and the political progress of nations, the reverend professor takes a wider view and asks, What would a European war mean for the Kingdom of God? To begin with,

the enormous financial strain upon the countries involved would cripple the resources of the world mission at the very moment when great expansion is necessary. There is no aggressive project of our missionary societies that would not feel the effect. Plans for building and equipping Christian schools and universities would all be arrested. Everywhere throughout Asia and Africa men would be compelled to wait idly and see the great flood tide that might have carried them into harbor sweep past them and turn again to the fatal ebb.

Of far greater importance would be the moral and spiritual effect on the Church, were Britain and Germany to engage in maiming and destroying each other. Neither of these countries could emerge from the conflict without enormous losses.

With all their weaknesses and sins these two nations stand for progress and liberty as well as order, and their latent capacity for the service of the Kingdom is past measuring. Why should their noble energies of heart and brain, that might be turned to such splendid profit in the constructive labor of the Kingdom of God be squandered in sanguinary struggle for predominance? There cannot be such a misuse of noble gifts without disaster to the higher life of both lands. . . . A European war would, broadly regarded, brutalize the whole life of Christendom just as the Thirty Years' War did in its day. . . . There can be no doubt that a victory for war would mean a victory for the sweater, the procurer, the slum-owner, and for every dreadful parasite upon our social life, and a defeat for every noble and generous aspiration for the suffering poor and for the idle rich; for it would mean the paralysis for the time of the one power which can at once reconstruct and sustain the

order of society in all the Christian lands. To sum up the whole argument, a European war would be one of the great crimes of history. It would be "treason to the Kingdom of God."

Dr. Cains takes the position that if one really believes in God one must repudiate the fatal idea of the necessity of war.

The common way in which men look at the question to-day starts with men and nations as they are, concludes that, being what they are, war is inevitable and comes easily to the next step that, since it is inevitable, the sooner it comes the better. We shall start instead with God, and with His Kingdom. We shall believe that no treason to that Kingdom is inevitable.

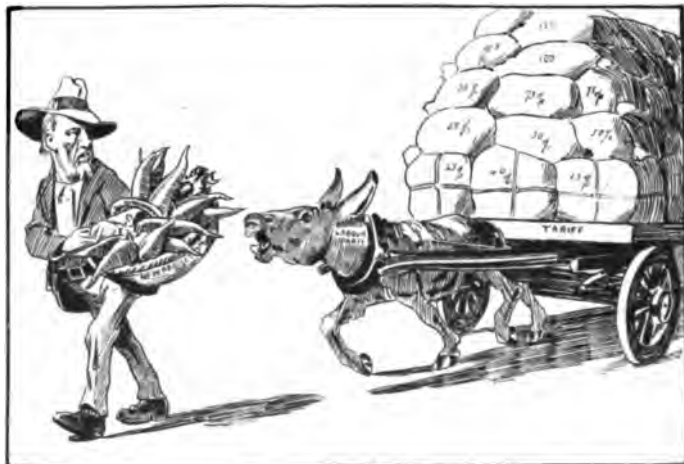
Finally, a European war would "depress and deaden all the higher energies of the lands involved at a moment laden with destiny for the human race, dark with dangers, but rich also with splendid opportunities given to few indeed among the generations of men since history began."

## AUSTRALIAN LEGISLATION CONCERNING LABOR

**C**RITICIZING Premier Asquith's action in regard to the recent strike in England, and deprecating "the inscription in the statutes of Great Britain of the principle of the minimum wage, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in his paper the *Economiste francais*, says "it is Australian legislation concerning labor that it is sought to introduce into Europe. The little communities of the Antipodes, it must be remembered, are societies placed in exceptional conditions.

About a million of persons in New Zealand and four millions on the entire area of the Australian continent occupy spaces which could sustain a population fifteen or twenty times as large. They are therefore absolutely at ease, in presence of an exuberant nature which to the products of the soil adds the resources of a very rich subsoil. They find, besides, in Europe the capital necessary to work these riches. In unfavorable years, as from 1890 to 1895, they suspend their repayments to the European houses; when the years are favorable, as since the

beginning of the twentieth century, they pay regularly the interest on the capital entrusted to them. They export little besides agricultural and mineral products; they have a highly prohibitive customs tariff; and they are opposed to a numerous immigration from which the distance from Europe has already protected them. These little communities have established a labor régime that is singularly artificial.



THE TARIFF AND THE LABOR PARTY IN AUSTRALIA  
THE AUSTRALIAN TARIFF MAKER: "See how he loves me. Why, the ass will follow me anywhere with this in my hand!"  
From *Punch* (Melbourne)

In this connection M. Leroy-Beaulieu cites the "highly interesting book" by M. Broda, entitled "The Legal Fixation of Wages: Experiences of England, Australia, and Canada," in which Australia has the largest space. This author, he says, is "an enthusiastic admirer of Australian legislation concerning labor and an active propagandist of the regulations Australia has established," and he gives a curious résumé of the régime applied in certain of the small Antipodean communities in question. He concerns himself particularly with the legislation of the province of Victoria, the capital of which is the principal city of the Australian continent. He writes:

In 1896 the legislature of this province inaugurated the principle of wage-committees for certain industries. These were: clothing (tailors, etc.), underwear, baking, shoemaking, woodworking, tanning, preserved fruits, spring-mattresses. Gradually the socialist legislatures of the province extended the application of the wage-committees to nearly every other industry. In 1907, 51 industries were subject to wage-committees; and in 1909, when the mines had been included in the régime, of 79,000 workmen in Victoria 75,000 had submitted to it.

At first these wage-committees were composed of representatives of the workmen and of the employers, named in equal numbers by each of the parties and presided over by a man supposed to be impartial, and chosen,

in default of agreement, by the government. But in 1903 a new law was voted, in virtue of which the committees were composed of 4 and 10 representatives of the employers and workmen respectively, all nominated by the government for a period of three years.

Despite the statement of the author, cited by M. Leroy-Beaulieu that everything worked famously in Australia, the editor of the *Economiste* is prepared to dispute the assertion. And he says conclusively:

One fact is certain, not only have strikes not disappeared from Australia, but in certain cases they have been quite acute. He quotes the strike of coal miners in New South Wales, in which 15,000 miners were concerned and which lasted from November 8, 1909 until February, 1910. . . . In February of this present year, at Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, a strike which began with the tramway employees, extended to the members of forty-three trades unions; and military aid toward putting an end to the strike was refused to the Queensland premier by the minister of the Australian Commonwealth.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu, in view of these facts, asks, "Why should the great nations of Europe be bound by the leading-strings of nascent societies?" Such nations could but imitate Gulliver in breaking at a single effort the network of bonds with which the inhabitants of Lilliput had enveloped him. It is deplorable to see the Britannic government presenting so fatal an example of feebleness and lack of foresight.

## RACE ADMIXTURE IN AMERICA

"AMERICA is likely to be not the cradle of a new, but the grave of an old race" is a prophecy which certain pessimists have of late been endeavoring to sustain. In the *North American Review* the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant recently presented the case for the optimists, his purpose being to show that America has nothing to fear from race assimilation. Frankly admitting that "not colonial independence, not federal unity, but racial amalgamation is the heroic problem of the present," the writer faces the problem squarely. He says:

Our free government is a standing invitation to the oppressed of other countries, and our undeveloped wealth makes a constant appeal for strong arms and hard workers. What can we do, then? We cannot shut out "foreigners" and still be true either to our own ideals or to our practical requirements. Nor can we pick and choose. There is no accepted standard of excellence except health and "literacy." Moreover, there are not enough

of one foreign stock, were we to select one as the best, to do the work in the United States waiting to be done. Why shouldn't the badly off foreigner come here? . . . We cannot say to the immigrant, "Stay where you were born, because the government there is best adapted to you." Some of our new people are even exiles—driven from their homes. Nor can we say, "Reform your government." Such a method under despotism is too uncertain for men who desire to see results.

Quoting from an article by Prof. William Z. Ripley on "Race Progress and Immigration," he thinks all will agree with the professor that

the first impression from comparison of our original Anglo-Saxon ancestry in America with the motley crowd now pouring in upon us is not cheering. It seems a hopeless task to cope with them, to assimilate them with our present native-born population. Yet there are distinctly encouraging features about it all. These people, in the main, have excellent physical qualities, in spite of unfavorable

environment and political oppression for generations. *The great problem for us in dealing with these immigrants is not that of their nature, but that of their nurture.*

Assimilation takes place by (1) inter-marriage, (2) the common-school education, and (3) the exercise of political rights; and the rapidity of race assimilation in the United States "is proved by the absence of racial domination where given races are numerically in the ascendancy." Mr. Grant cites numerous authors to justify his optimism, among them Prof. Earl Finch, who "presents some facts tending to prove that race blending produces a type superior in fertility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks." Prof. Franz Boas, too, in his recent volume "The Mind of Primitive Man," says he "does not fear the effects of the intermingling of races in America." Reference is also made to distinguished men having "an ancestry of a mongrel sort":

Alexandre Dumas (West Indian negro blood); Alexander Hamilton (French and English); Du Maurier, St.-Gaudens and Dante Gabriel Rossetti stand for still greater strains of bonds of nationality. Lafcadio Hearn (Greek and Irish). These few examples show that intermixture is at all events not destructive in its effect.

Robert Browning was "rather proud of the fact that he was the product of four strains of European blood; and both Wendell Phillips and Phillips Brooks had Du Maurier's 'drop of Hebrew blood.'"

Mr. Grant considers the rapidity with which the democratic ideas are taken on by

immigrants under the influence of our institutions as remarkable. He has personally had experiences with French-Canadians, Portuguese, Hebrews, and Italians, and these races "have certainly taken advantage of their opportunities among us in a fashion to promise well for their final effect upon this country." For the Jewish immigrant Mr. Grant has the following good word:

The intellectual problems and the advanced thinking of the Hebrew, his fondness for study, and his freedom on the whole from wasteful forms of dissipation, sport, and mental stagnation, constitute him a more fortunate acquisition for this country than are thousands of the descendants of Colonial settlers.

And even for those who "pin their faith to the Baltic and northern European races there is reason for hope to be found in current immigration." From 1899 to 1910, the Hebrew and Slovak period, there were two millions and a half from northern Europe. And, says Mr. Grant, "if, on the other hand, nearly two millions of the immigrants have been southern Italians, let us show them gratitude for their invaluable manual labor, for their willingness, their patience, their power for fast work, and their love for America." Smallness of stature does not argue degeneracy. The Romans were small compared to the Goths. The Japanese are also small. Finally, Mr. Grant points to the fact that "the best thought and the best teaching of the country on race mixture is optimistic and constructive." Even an alienist like Dr. Dana is hopeful of the immigrant's contribution.

## TWO SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE CONGRESSES

**D**URING the month of March last there were held in Cape Town, South Africa, a congress of the African Political Organization under the presidency of Dr. Abdurahman, one of the leaders of the movement among the colored races of South Africa for their complete social, economic, and political emancipation. The cosmopolitan character of this movement is to be seen in the fact that Dr. Abdurahman is of Malay origin, though by birth a native of Cape Colony where there is a considerable Malay settlement, many of whom are fairly wealthy. Dr. Abdurahman received his medical education in Scotland, where he married a Scotch lady who is still, it is said, a Christian, though the doctor himself is Mohammedan, and is highly esteemed by the colored people of Cape Town of all races

by the aid of whose vote he was elected a few years ago a member of the Cape Town Municipal Council.

In his address at the opening of the conference Dr. Abdurahman strongly condemned the oppressive character of recent and proposed legislation, the curtailment of the political rights of the colored population, and the failure to meet their legitimate demands in regard to education. These, he asserted, were producing a condition of affairs the result of which would be startling.

The colored races of all origins were rapidly beginning to see the necessity of union, which was the only way in which they could secure and protect their existing rights. A deep-seated feeling of passive hatred was being engendered against the white races, and unless the Union Government's color



policy was changed, passive hatred would develop into active resistance. The white policy means a war of extermination against colored races and natives, and urged on the congress to lay down a basis on which to contend for political rights.

The importance of this declaration becomes all the greater when the force behind it comes to be reckoned up. Taking the whole Union of South Africa, the white population increased by only 161,219 in the last seven years, while the native and colored added 621,456 to its numbers. In 1904 the black and brown races form 78.5 per cent. of the total population; to-day they are 78.55. The increase in the number of males since then has been, white, 51,336, native and colored, 336,039. These returns do not include Basutoland, Bechuanaland, or Rhodesia where the black population overwhelmingly outnumbers the white; and to this condition has to be added the fact that the death rate among the blacks is decreasing.

All the efforts, so far, that have been made to encourage white immigration to South Africa have failed, especially from Great Britain, so that the tendency of the white race is backward. This an observant writer on the subject at the conference ascribed to an attempt to build up a white nation upon a basis of colored labor. Among the anomalies of the situation he pointed out that with all its "cheap" black labor it lives largely upon foodstuffs produced by "expensive" white labor in countries thousands of miles away. South Africans will be heard declaring that white farm laborers are impossible because they are too costly, and the very men who say so are eating food produced by that very kind of labor in other lands.

Then, again, black labor is encouraged by law. The operation of the Pass law in the Transvaal, the terms of the Workmen's Compensation act, and the system of taxation, all aim at giving the employee as much cheap and easily controlled black labor as possible.

Naturally, this policy, extending over generations, has had the effect of creating in the mind of the white man a prejudice against manual labor of any kind. All rough work is "Kaffir's work," therefore degrading. Under this policy white South Africa is going back. Whole industries are drifting into the hands of the colored races, and unless the system which has obtained for more than two centuries is soon altered, South Africa must become a black man's land. It may support a nation, but it will be a black and brown nation.

One remarkable feature of Dr. Abdurahman's address at the late conference of the colored races of South Africa was his urging

them to drop Dutch and learn English. In this he saw another unifying influence that would extend far beyond the limits of the Union, and link in a common cause all the colored people of Africa now under the British flag.

About the same time that this African political organization congress was held in Cape Town, another (called the South African Native National Congress) was held in Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. This was presided over by Mr. J. Mocher, president of the Orange Free State Native Association. Delegates were present from Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Among them were lawyers, doctors, ministers and native chiefs, the first resolution forming the Native National Congress of South Africa being moved by P. Ka Isaka Seme, described as late of Jesus College, Oxford, and Columbia University, B.A., and George William Curtis, Gold Medallist of the Society of the Middle Temple and barrister-at-law, and of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Province.

The subjects discussed after the formation of the congress were: Native Marriage and Divorce; Native Schools and Churches; Native Labor; Native Beer; The Black and White Peril; Native Land and Reserves; Native Courts, Civil and Criminal; Segregation and the Native Pass Laws. The discussions lasted during three days and were conducted with great decorum and marked ability. The land question in particular received great attention, the Transvaal Government having passed a law against the purchase of land by natives, which, however, had been disallowed by the British Government. The Orange Free State was now the only spot in South Africa where a native was not allowed to purchase land, but the Union Government was about to bring a bill into the Union parliament which was intended to prohibit the sale of land to native syndicates, and was the thin edge of the wedge by which the natives all over South Africa would be prevented holding land. The labor question also was considered at some length, and the paramount chief Letsie II. of Basutoland, after the congress, in accepting the honorary presidency conferred on him, said that henceforth he was no more the paramount chief of one tribe, and cautioned the Basutos going to the mines for work against tribal animosities, as all the South African native races were now all one in all.

### The Labor Question in South Africa

What some of the South African press think on this subject may be gathered from the following extract from an article in the Johannesburg *Sunday Post*, headed "Black and White," dealing with the question of colored labor and the trades unions:

At the best, the total constituency of the Labor party in this country does not represent more than a fraction of the workers of South Africa. Every day the colored man is coming more and more to the front as a skilled, as well as an unskilled, laborer. In the very nature of things the future is with him. The trades unions of the Rand sit up at nights in the Trades Hall and exclude the colored person from their organizations; but while they are thus engaged the Lovedale College and the Trappist monasteries and many other native institutions of the kind are turning out skilled colored workers by the hundred and the thousand. In Kingwilliamstown the daily paper is "set up" by blacks. And not even among the ranks of the Labor party itself is there unanimity on this question. For instance, in the Cape the Typographical Union and other trade bodies admit the colored person, while other unions, such as the Plasterers, exclude him. Ten years

ago all the plastering in the peninsula was done by white men, who invariably threw down their tools if a man with the smallest touch of the tar-brush appeared on the scaffolding alongside them. To-day the European tradesman has practically disappeared from this branch of skilled labor, and the Malays have the whole trade in their hands. These are facts which we Europeans have to face, whether we like them or not. The statesmanship of the Creswells and the Wyberghs has never been applied to a real solution of this question as it affects the future. The leaders of Trades Hall politics do not, in this respect, look farther than their noses. They point-blank refuse to realize that, as John X. Merriman told them long ago, they are merely the aristocrats of labor; and that the democratic character and methods of the British trade union are an impossibility in this country.

## THE MAXIMUM WORKING-DAY

HAINZ POTTHOF, a member of the German Reichstag, writing in the *Gegenwart* (Berlin), gives comprehensive data regarding the highly important question of the time-limit of labor, concluding with the considerations that should govern its determination.

While the German Empire has thus far passed no general laws regarding the daily or weekly time-limit of adult male labor—having left it to the Landtag to fix the maximum in industries where excessive hours prove injurious to the workmen—other countries, he reminds his readers, have proceeded to general enactments.

France was the pioneer, prescribing, in 1848, that the working-day shall consist of ten hours in Paris, and eleven hours in the provinces; since 1900, twelve hours is, as a rule, the maximum, but in all industries where women and adolescents are employed the ten-hour day prevails (applying to male adults as well), and for mine-workers nine hours a day. In Switzerland, too, the maximum working-day was introduced as early as 1848. The favorable results led to the general application of the eleven-hour day throughout the land. Austria, likewise, prescribed the eleven-hour day for the industries in 1885, and ten hours for mine-workers. These countries admit but few exceptions and exercise a thorough surveillance, while the legal restriction to eleven and one-half hours in Russia exists merely on paper. Australia and New Zealand, also, with their far-reaching public regulation of labor conditions, have a legal time-measure. In other countries such restrictions extend only to certain occupations; as, for example, in Germany—outside of the Bundesrath's sanitary ordinances—to trading-places in the open street, which must close at nine, leaving ten to eleven hours of rest. Thus England introduced the eight-hour day for miners in 1908, and limited, prior to that time, the working-hours of railway employees. A number of States of the Union, too, have adopted the eight-

hour day for miners, road-workers, those occupied in the cigarette and textile industries, smelters, or similar callings. Specially noteworthy is the Massachusetts law of 1906 which forbids any employee of the State to work over forty-eight hours a week. In other countries, too, the working-hours of miners are fixed by law, as are those of laborers in the rice-fields in Italy (nine to ten hours), and of bakers, etc., in Norway. In Bavaria, since 1908, the eight-hour law prevails in the mining industry, and in the Prusso-Hessian railroad system the nine-hour day in the workshops.

Germany, thus, says Herr Potthof, stands by no means in the van of this movement. But even if the success of lessening the hours of labor, its hygienic and economic results, are dependent upon factors that vary greatly in the different activities and countries, serious attention should be given to what Prof. H. Herkner, the political economist, says in the summary of his careful investigations, which appears in his manual of political science. We quote:

The incalculable number of favorable, even if by no means uniform, experiences that have thus far resulted in industrial life from the gradual reduction of the daily working-hours, coupled with the results of the latest psychologic-physiological researches, justifies the assumption that if in work which is influenced half-way by the personality of the workman the ten hour limit is exceeded, either the employer suffers from the labor not being sufficiently intensive or the workman from over-fatigue. A diminution of the time of labor to ten hours, therefore, will, as a rule, not only have no injurious effect upon economic interests, but will in many cases even promote them.

The idea that the legal enactment of the ten-hour day in Germany would have no great significance is a mistaken one. In spite of the gradual diminution of the time of labor.

due to the power of the trade-unions and the insight of the employers, joined to the legal restriction of female and child-labor, there are many industries where the working-day exceeds ten hours. The same is true of other occupations—thus public entertainment, nursing (!), and, above all, home labor. In these

domains, likewise, where economic objections to limiting the time of labor cannot be urged, it might be well to have legal regulation. Nor should it be confined to laborers in the stricter sense of the word. A minimum amount of regard should be paid to other employees also.

## HUMIDITY—A FRIEND, NOT A FOE

THERE can be no doubt that most of us have been very much to blame. Time and again we have vented our wrath upon that demon of discomfort, Humidity, which turns out to be not a demon at all, but in reality one of our best friends. Dr. P. W. Goldsbury, in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, demonstrates the importance of humidity on hygiene. He writes:

In the popular mind, only the discomfort felt on hot, close days is associated with this word. The impression may be gained that humidity is something to be deplored, but, properly speaking, a better term would be sultriness. For this means a high percentage of moisture along with excessive heat. On days when the temperature is not high, the amount of humidity may be the very cause of the agreeableness of the air. During the summer when the days are hot and dry, the freshness of the morning and the soothing coolness of the evening are enjoyable, not only because the heat is diminished, but also because the air is tempered with a higher proportion of moisture. If we substitute for the word "humidity" the phrase "moisture in the air" we shall know better what is meant.

The term "humidity" is used in two senses: *absolute* humidity, which refers to the actual amount of water in the air per cubic foot at a given time; and *relative* humidity, which is the percentage of water in the air at any time as compared with the total amount which the air could hold at that temperature without some form of precipitation such as dew or rain. To quote further from the article under consideration:

If a heated flat in winter be at a temperature of 70 degrees, and the absolute humidity or amount of water held in suspension be the same as in the air outside, where the temperature is only 18 degrees, the relative humidity there will be only one-eighth, or 12½ per cent., and that only providing our outside air be saturated with moisture, which is often not the case.

If the air outside, at a temperature of 18 degrees, have an absolute humidity of but half a grain, then its relative humidity will be only 50 per cent., and the air inside, though having the same

absolute humidity, may have, by reason of its higher temperature, a relative humidity of only 6¼ per cent. If we reflect that a humidity of from 60 to 75 per cent. is none too much for average conditions of human life, we can realize how far below normal is the air in which most of us are housed during the winter. As a matter of fact, various tests of air in schoolrooms, hospitals, and living rooms during the winter time have been made here and there through the country; these show that the humidity often went below 40 per cent., and upon occasion got down below 10 per cent.

Under such conditions indoor air in winter is very dry and irritating. This is one of the prime causes of chapped hands and parched lips.

One of the important problems of modern building construction is that of making indoor conditions more nearly like outdoor as regards humidity. Methods for raising the humidity in buildings are still in the experimental stage. Dr. Goldsbury has made various attempts to improve the moisture quality of the air in different rooms. He says:

When the building was heated by furnace, a dish of water was kept over the register. A muffin tin was used for this purpose, as its form presents an exceptionally large surface below for the heat to strike and, therefore, increases evaporation. The muffin tin had to be filled much oftener when cloth was hung over it so that the water was sucked up into the meshes by capillary force, thus increasing the evaporating surface. I have found wet towels or newspapers, too, spread about the room somewhat helpful in moistening the air, but it proved difficult by such means to increase the humidity above 5 or 10 per cent. This, however, was enough to give a sense of increased comfort, for our delicate tissues respond to even such slight favoring changes.

Closing the register at night lowers the temperature of the room and, therefore, lessens the amount of moisture required for comfort. Merely in the condition of one's throat in the morning one would find ample warrant for the shutting off of the heat at night.

Under our conditions of indoor life, we suffer not from too much humidity, but rather from too little.

# NEW MONEY FOR THE RAILROADS

## WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENTS

**Wanted: \$8,500,000,000**

**W**HAT is the most important problem now confronting American business men?

Last month the New York Chamber of Commerce gave its answer to that question. It may surprise many people to find that the Chamber apparently "shakes off, as dew-drops from the lion's mane," such things as currency reform, tariff revision, Sherman Law amendment—and even a "Money Trust" investigation. At any rate, the real problem, as that conservative and influential organization sees it, is, "to find some means of making it possible for the railroads to obtain, during the next five years, new capital to the amount of \$8,500,000,000."

That is the sum which the statisticians estimate the railroads will need to make their facilities equal to the expanding traffic of the country. It is as plain as day to anyone that the country's "productive capacity"—which, of course, measures its prosperity—cannot go on increasing as it has in the past, unless the facilities are afforded to carry its products to the markets.

For the last five years, the railroads, in their development, have been falling behind the growth of manufacture and commerce, largely because investors have shown reluctance to purchase new issues of their stocks and bonds in the amounts required. The situation, therefore, now looks critical.

It is manifestly impossible, as the Chamber of Commerce urges, that the eight and a half billions—a sum equal to eight times the national debt, or to two and a half times the whole amount of money in circulation—can be obtained out of the current earnings of the railroads. Clearly, the investor's purse strings must be loosened somehow. And the way to do that is again to give him the assurance that, if he buys railroad bonds and stocks, he will have employed his savings safely, and at an adequate rate of return. What is needed, in other words, is that the railroads' credit shall be fortified.

There is less danger now than there was two or three years ago of railroad earnings continuing to be affected adversely by a multiplicity of new restrictive laws. Readers

of these notes will recall that the record of last year's legislation along those lines was most encouraging. It showed a 58 per cent. decrease in the number of bills enacted to deal with transportation questions.

But the roads still have their troubles. Some of the demands with which they have more recently been confronted—all tending to render them less able to show the satisfactory profits that investors have been accustomed to expect—are thus outlined in the Chamber's report:

"(1) A demand for increased service, better equipment, new terminals, faster transportation, more expensive provision for insuring safety.

"(2) A demand for higher compensation for labor.

"(3) A demand for cheaper rates of carriage for both passengers and freight."

The greatest of these is the demand for cheaper rates. Hence the Chamber of Commerce "urges upon the Interstate Commerce Commission and all the State railway commissions the importance, for the future, of so carefully weighing and considering the effect to be produced upon the railroads in the making of any necessary readjustments of freight rates, that the same may be accomplished without further curtailing the total revenue of the railroads, upon which their borrowing credit depends"; bearing in mind, as stated by the Railroad Securities Commission, that "a reasonable return is one which, under honest accounting and responsible management, will attract the amount of investors' money needed for the development of railroad facilities; and also bearing in mind that the development and prosperity of the railroads mean the development and prosperity of the country."

After all, "the most important problem" seems to be one of common sense and arithmetic quite simple.

### **"Business With an Income at Its Heels"**

**T**ROLLEY-CAR conductors, employed by 239 representative street and electric railways, collected last year 502,361,320 more nickels than they did the year before.

More than forty per cent. of these nickels, or 209,555,700, were "saved," to be added to net income for the holders of bonds and stocks based upon those various enterprises.

Stated in the orthodox way, these figures, which were presented in detail in the *Commercial & Financial Chronicle* of April 6, mean that the gross earnings of the electric roads increased \$25,108,066, or 6.44 per cent. over 1910; and that net earnings increased \$10,477,785, or 6.53 per cent. Truly a remarkable showing of stability of revenues, especially when it is considered, as the *Chronicle* suggests, that the period under review "was marked by a trade reaction, and by other unfavorable developments." The contrast with what happened to the steam roads is striking. The latter lost 1.06 per cent. in gross, and 2.67 per cent. in net.

It seems that out of the 239 street railways reporting, only 33 sustained losses in gross earnings, and only 60 in net. Closer analysis shows that where the losses did occur, they were, for the most part, sustained by enterprises "in the smaller communities, where the activities of the population are bound up in some one branch or division of trade," and where there were instances of the throwing into idleness of the greater part of the population.

The noteworthy gains, on the other hand, were in the cases of enterprises "in most of the larger cities, where population is dense, where there is much accumulated wealth, and where trade activity is not exclusively dependent upon a single industry, or a single group of industries."

Here is further evidence on the advantages of practising the principle of investment distribution.

Electric lighting, gas, water, and all the other public utilities would doubtless show similar results. Little wonder that their securities as a class have gained so rapidly in investment prestige.

### Some Observations on Farm Mortgages

A BUSINESS MAN, who "grew up" with that part of the country "which used to be called the West, but is now known as the Central West," wrote to this magazine a short time ago about farm mortgages.

Among other things, his questions called for some reference to the interest rates on such investments, and their relation to security. One suggestion made in that connection was: that, while first mortgages of

the so-called "standard" grade did not pay more than seven per cent., there were those which could often show perfectly good reasons for a rate as high as eight.

It was pointed out, however, that it especially behooved the intending purchaser of the latter class to be at some pains in ferreting out those reasons; and that, in any event, one of the most important things for the investor to satisfy himself about early in his investigation was the reputation of the banker or broker who had the mortgages for sale. If this were found to be high—a reputation based upon long and successful experience—the weight of presumption, at least, would be in favor of the soundness of any investment on which it might be staked.

The business man replied, "not," as he very graciously explained, "for the purpose of criticizing" an attitude of conservatism, but rather of suggesting that the comment made by this department indicated a lack of whole-hearted appreciation of such investments, as a class.

"I have," he observed, "often laughed at the provincialism of your thoroughbred New Yorker, who would get the cold shivers where Western mortgages were mentioned—because the richest people we have here made their piles in just those mortgages."

He went on to say that eight per cent. did not frighten him. Indeed he had seen the time when ten per cent. was the current rate. He said he had no difficulty nowadays in investing his money at six per cent., getting security such as was acceptable to the conservative savings banks in his State; and he added, "neither would any business man here who attended to his own affairs."

It is timely to give these observations space in these columns, if only because they afford the opportunity of dispelling the notion, which, in fact, is fairly widespread, that the "provincial New Yorker" (by which it may be assumed the Central Western business man meant, "the average Eastern investor") any longer gets the "shivers," when a mortgage on somebody's farm in the West, or in any other section of the country, is mentioned as a likely medium for the profitable employment of funds.

Witness, for instance, the "estate" of a well-known New York manufacturer, which was only recently reported to have over \$1,000,000 in loans on farms in a single State of the great wheat belt. Moreover, one might multiply instances of individual investors of comparatively moderate means, turning more and more each year to securities

of this type. The head of at least one prominent loan agency in a Southern State—the kind that boasts a record of “twenty-five years’ experience without the loss of a dollar”—finds it worth while to make an annual trip through New England and the East, calling on investors, personally.

But where these instances are found, it is safe to say that in every case, as a preliminary to the investment, there has been a great deal of painstaking inquiry to discover how much expert knowledge of underlying values goes to back up the mortgages offered.

Then, there is scarcely any other kind of financial transaction, in which the “personal equation” plays a more important part. Here the “expert’s” examination must involve such intimate things as the habits of the borrower, his reputation in the community, and even the size of his family.

The investor, who, like the business man referred to, is able on his own account to gather such details, as well as to form an intelligent judgment of the loaning value of the land, itself, occupies an enviable position. Eight per cent., or even more, need not scare him. Indeed, the REVIEW OF REVIEWS knows of one—a Pacific Coast attorney—who gets fourteen per cent. on his “estate money” buying second mortgages, and who says he “never was lucky enough to have a foreclosure.” But the average investor at a distance can scarcely hope to be put in the way of such opportunities. He acts wisely by refusing to yield to the lure of extraordinary income—whether it be from mortgages, or from any other type of securities.

### Mortgage Loans Scientifically Managed

**T**O get at the kind of results possible by combining conservatism with system in mortgage investment, the experience of the great life insurance companies is valuable.

Take the Northwestern Mutual of Milwaukee, whose recently published report shows a total investment of \$153,562,654 in loans secured on real estate—both farm and city. These yield, not eight, nor even six per cent., but an average of approximately five. They are based on property, which the company’s own inspectors value at \$478,586,075, giving security of more than three to one.

And here is a significant fact in connection with the Northwestern’s experience:

While it has loaned on this class of security, since 1857, a grand total of nearly

\$418,000,000, it now holds under foreclosure real estate to the amount of only \$646,500. It appears, moreover, that the “defaults” thus represented have involved no actual loss—and probably little inconvenience. For the properties so held are shown to be paying in rentals  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., net.

One important factor, contributing to that remarkable showing, is the company’s observance of the scientific principle of “geographical distribution”—a principle, by the way, easily applicable to investment on any scale, small as well as large. Note the twelve States, among which the Northwestern’s largest mortgage risks are divided:

Illinois.....	\$26,242,681
Iowa.....	22,084,251
Missouri.....	21,269,085
Minnesota.....	12,828,263
Ohio.....	11,124,301
Indiana.....	7,104,366
Washington.....	5,895,645
Wisconsin.....	5,654,369
South Dakota.....	5,562,387
Nebraska.....	5,409,500
Kansas.....	5,317,678
Colorado.....	4,046,258

Other States represented are Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia in the South; Oregon and California on the Pacific Coast; and New York in the East.

This company, like many others of its kind, has found the great Northwest one of the most attractive fields for investment during recent years. One substantial reason is that that section, as a whole, has impressed the experts with its happy combination of low land values and enterprising farmers.

### A Peddler’s Investment Principles

**B**EGAN Life With A Pack, But Ended With \$1,822,294,” ran the headlines of the newspapers, not long since.

It appeared that Benjamin Hart, a native of Virginia, had begun his career many years ago as a peddler. He went from town to town with a pack on his back. His business flourished, and his savings piled up until he soon had money enough to tempt him to try his fortunes in New York. There, too, his astute mind reaped its reward. He made more money in real estate. Eventually he retired and became an investor in stocks and bonds. He died in France four years ago, but the value of his estate became known only upon the filing of its appraisal in the transfer tax office of New York State, recently.

One of the rare opportunities to get at the experience of the individual investor on a

fairly large scale is afforded by a study of the schedule of the securities owned by the "Virginian peddler." Some of his most important holdings—ranging all the way from bonds of his native State down to the most popular of the industrial stocks—were:

#### BONDS

State of Virginia  
District of Columbia  
Imperial Japanese Government  
Northern Pacific Railroad

#### RAILROAD STOCKS

New York & Harlem	Central Pacific
Cleveland & Pittsburgh	Southern Pacific (com. and pfd.)
Union Pacific preferred	
New York, New Haven & Hartford	Railroad Securities Co. Missouri, Kansas & Tex.

#### BANK AND TRUST CO. STOCKS

National City Bank of New York  
First National Bank of Richmond, Va.  
United States Trust Company

#### INDUSTRIAL STOCK

United States Steel

That list goes far to explain the extraordinary ending of a career, so humble in its beginnings. It fails to conform in many respects to the more modern idea of investment "balance." But it shows that Hart had heard, at least, of the old motto, "Don't put all your money in one thing—or in one kind of thing."

The list of security holdings, moreover, mentioned but 255 shares of miscellaneous stocks, which, at the time of Hart's death, had no value at all. He had taken some chances, but obviously not until he could afford to take them.

Such a record is more or less astonishing to one who has spent any time going over Surrogates' reports. How few "estates" recorded therein show so slight a percentage of waste investment effort!

### Municipal and National Trading

**I**N view of the widely agitated question of government operation of enterprises, it is interesting to note the contrasting statement as to the effect of such operation offered by an English and a German authority, and commented on in an article by Otto Corbach in the Berlin *Gegenwart*.

The writer remarks at the outset that, in all countries on our plane of culture, the range of national and municipal activity is being irresistibly broadened. Everywhere this tendency is in accordance with public

opinion, but everywhere, likewise, the same evil attendant phenomena may be observed: growing debt of States and municipalities, increasing taxation, the encroachment of bureaucracy. And since, just as generally, too, the limit of the taxable capacity of the people is being dangerously approached, modern nations must ultimately face the alternative of training their national and municipal administrators to a rational economic system, such as is pursued by private enterprises.

For England, the writer continues, Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock), the "noted naturalist, politician and banker, advocates, in his work, "On Municipal and National Trading," the latter course. Lord Avebury asks whence, finally, would taxes proceed, if public expenditure should increase more rapidly than taxable property, private enterprise be increasingly eliminated and all affairs possible be conducted by State or city.

In the last 24 years the average taxation per capita in England and Wales has risen 83 per cent., while the average debt per capita has increased 11.8 per cent., and the rate of taxation per pound of taxable values, 75 per cent. Moreover, the assessment of values has been made more vigorous. In spite of this the public expenses have not been covered. In 1883-4 England's municipal debt amounted to £193,000,000; in 1903-4 it had risen to £469,000,000. Owing to the heavy loan made to municipal administrations for their enterprises, the tax payers had to pay a higher rate of interest for the capital required for their own undertakings.

Profits, where there are any in municipal enterprises in Great Britain, are obtained only through monopolies. Glasgow realizes a profit on its street railways, but Boston, Massachusetts gets a much greater sum from its railways, which it does not operate. Lord Avebury shows in detail that the privately owned street railways in the United States pay far more taxes and yet charge lower fares than the city railways in England. He condemns even the government ownership of railroads.

On the latter point a diametrically opposite view is taken by Emil Schiff, a German authority, in his work, "Unternehmertum oder Gemeindebetriebe" (Private vs. Communal Enterprise). He points out that in Germany the extension of the railway system is more energetically pursued than in England. He admits that under favorable conditions private railway management may



exhibit some advantages—competition affecting the speed and number of trains favorably; improvements, particularly such as concern the comfort of passengers, being more readily introduced. He holds, however, that the advantages are outweighed, among other things, by unsteady and confused rates, wild speculation in concessions and railroad shares, neglect of general economic interests, the favoring of individual patrons, the exploitation of the masses, the operation of a number of competitive lines over essentially identical ground, etc.

In general Schiff agrees with Lord Avebury as to the injurious results of State and municipal operations; his contention, however, is that they are not *necessary* ones; that they can be obviated. That the objection of over-burdening the administrative machinery can be mastered is evidenced by the organization of the great trusts. The crucial difference between private and public enterprises lies in the fact that the former are spurred on by economic necessity to a constant exercise of all their powers. No amount of reform can overcome that fundamental distinction.

### Agriculturists and Credit in the Philippines

**I**N a recent address the Governor-General of the Philippines stated that the Islands with their eight million inhabitants, in spite of vast natural advantages—rich soil, abundant water, numerous ports, great veins of ore and forests of almost inestimable value, are actually importing necessary articles and merely because they lack the organization needed for production at home. Señor Rafael Corpus in the *Cultura Filipina* monthly (Manila) discusses the urgency of procuring such organization at once and emphasizes the fact that the commercial prosperity of the Islands must be based solely on the development of agriculture.

Only 45 per cent of the available 2,872,704 hectares of arable land are actually cultivated. The 815,453 haciendas or farms are mostly tilled by their proprietors, and the great majority are small. But our compatriots are poorer than their fellows in other countries because they even have to eat imported produce; and because the credit of the farming class is worse than elsewhere. Their situation is extremely precarious. Every year they are forced to borrow money, either to buy cattle or to meet old debts. There are no local

institutions in any of the towns except Manila, Iloilo and Cebu to control these loans unless we count the Postal Savings Bank branches of the government or the branches of the Agricultural Bank of the Philippines. But neither of those have responded to the needs of the small farmers. There is much mutual distrust between these smaller proprietors and the banks, because the former do not understand banking methods, and the banks incur too great risks and expense to be compensated by small transactions. Hence the banks cater only to the great proprietors, and the smaller owners must appeal to the private banking houses which impose usurious conditions.

To the evils of usury are added the difficulties the small farmers have in legalizing mortgages on account of their faulty title deeds, and the costliness of the legal process under existing laws. It is not only necessary to improve the credit conditions, but to train the farmer to use the credit obtained more productively than he now does. Many of the farmers are consumed with greed of more land, which prevents not only others from cultivating them, but eats up their own money in payments.

Señor Corpus quotes a Commissioner of the British Indian Civil Service that it is not merely cheap and easy credit which is required, but one which will educate, discipline and guide the borrower. The credit should be extended solely to those who have learned to plan and to save, and should be the reward of self-help. As a first step, Señor Corpus believes in the establishment of agricultural aid associations on the order of the Raiffeisen Verein in Germany.

Señor Corpus points out that none of these successful organizations abroad have been aided by the governments until they already enjoyed security and prosperity. The only advisable rôle for the government to play would be to make the way easy for individual initiative and enterprise, and to make laws to remedy the chaotic condition of title deeds to lands. The small towns offer favorable openings for small coöperative credit associations, and if these were established in several towns in any province, there could be a central organization founded, and gradually a network of associations such as the model mentioned in Germany. Such a joint association might possibly undertake, either alone or with the government, the repairing of roads and the creation of experimental agriculture colonies.

# THE NEW BOOKS



JOHN GALSWORTHY, THE ENGLISH NOVELIST  
AND PLAYWRIGHT

(Mr. Galsworthy is now visiting in this country. His play, "The Pigeon," has aroused a good deal of discussion in New York. In May, 1911, we published an article by Mr. Edwin Björkman on Galsworthy. This sketch was afterward used as a chapter in Mr. Björkman's book of essays, "Is There Anything New Under the Sun?" which we reviewed in our January number.)

## PLAYS OF THE SEASON

THERE are plays supposed to carry a moral that are too trivial to brush the film from the most susceptible tendril of our conscience; there are other plays that shock us rather brutally into a realization of their ethical teachings, and there are plays into which a moral has been deftly interwoven, that are wholly delightful and entertaining. In this last category we must place Mr. Galsworthy's play—"The Pigeon."<sup>1</sup> The author calls it a fantasy in three acts. It is that, but within the fantasy is a kernel of gentle philosophy without which—as one of the characters observes—"all would be as dry as the parched skin of an orange." Technically the play is rather formless; a kind of exposition of a theory in brilliant dialogue. Wellwyn, the Pigeon, a disciple of indiscriminate philanthropy, and his three amiable friends, a professor of sociology, a parson, and a justice of the peace, attempt the reformation of a wandering vagabond, a drunken ex-cabman, and a wayward and runaway

wife. Wellwyn takes them all into his studio to lodge on Christmas night (having previously given them his card and invited them to call if they were needy), and thenceforward their reformation goes merrily on at the mercies of the opinionated social reformers to the tune of "my theory" and "my theory." As a result of the experimentation of the uplifters, the girl grows more wayward and finds a new affinity in the vagabond, and the ex-cabby is, if anything, a little more drunken than before. The Pigeon says it is deplorable, but he goes on treating them like human beings, giving without imposing conditions, for he is as hopeless in his way as the vagabonds are in theirs. He has no theories of reform; he gives because he is delightfully human and can't help it. The climax comes on the following April Fool's Day when the vagabonds attempt suicide rather than submit to further reformations from Wellwyn's friends and go to prison with Wellwyn's card in their hands. It is certain that he will go on giving away his money and his hospitality just as before. "It's stronger than me," he confesses shamefacedly. Ferrand, the Gallic vagabond, voices much of Galsworthy's sociology. Speaking of the reformatory institutions in which he has been placed, he says: "One thing they lack, those palaces. It is understanding of the human heart. In them tame birds pluck wild birds naked. Those sirs with their theories, they can clean our skins and chain our 'abits—that soothes for them the æsthetic sense; it gives them too their good, little importance. But our spirits they cannot touch for they nevaire understand. Without that, Monsieur, all is as dry as the parched skin of an orange."

From Lady Gregory, who came to America with the Abbey Theater Players, we have two volumes of Irish folk-history plays.<sup>2</sup> The first series contains

### Irish Plays

three tragedies, namely, "Grania," "Kincora," and "Devorgilla." The second series, the tragic-comedies, "The Canavans," "The White Cockade," "The Deliverer." The tragedies are dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, "one of the world's strong men," and the tragic-comedies to John Quinn, "best friend and helper these half score years on this side of the sea." To fully understand and appreciate these fine plays, it is necessary to have a background of knowledge of Celtic myths and folklore and also of the Irish Theater movement. Synge, Yeats, George Moore, and Lady Gregory have been intimately concerned with the Irish Theater and its productions. While some of the plays produced at this theater, notably "The Playboy of the Western World," by Synge, have met with censure and disapproval, Lady Gregory's plays, which were quite free from faults of excess, have met with universal approval. "Grania," the most powerful of the tragedies, sets before us the story of three lovers, one of whom, Diarmuid, had to die. Back of the story of love and sorrow is revealed the triune spirit of all life, which belief belongs to pagan as well as to Christian creeds. The music for the songs in the plays, notes and casts are given in an appendix.

<sup>1</sup> The Pigeon. By John Galsworthy. Scribner's. 80 pp. 60 cents.

<sup>2</sup> Irish Folk-History Plays. By Lady Gregory. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 203 pp. \$.

Arnold Bennett publishes three humorous tritites of farces<sup>1</sup> written as long ago as 1899. They are pleasant manipulations of certain marionettes of

Mr. Bennett's, not in the least pretentious, but bubbling over with effervescent humor. The first,—"A Good Woman,"—pivots on the changes of a passionate feminine temperament. "The Stepmother" is a clever exaggeration of the woes of a lady novelist, and "A Question of Sex" draws comedy from the incidents that attend the birth of a child, which to inherit ten thousand pounds should have been a boy and turns out to be a girl. These farces cannot be compared to Bennett's novels for merit, but they are in themselves droll and amusing.

"The Heralds of the Dawn"<sup>2</sup> is a virile play by William Watson. There are eight scenes laid in the mythical kingdom of Ideonia. The time is the Morrow of Antiquity. Evil days

William Watson  
as Playwright

have fallen on the kingdom, the king is beset with doubts and fears; his son, Prince Hesperus is hopeful, but the subjects complain of misrule and bring their murmurs to the palace gates. The king quiets them with a promise of relief from their oppressive taxes when his savage general, Volmar, shall return with booty from the wars against the king's enemies. Volmar returns, but before the day of his triumph is ended the dagger of an assassin finds his heart and the hope of the king is dead. Broken and discouraged, he abdicates his throne to Prince Hesperus, who grants mercy to the assassin because he had once saved his life and also because the crime was one of private vengeance. The play symbolizes the passing of the old order of brute life and the coming of the new era of brotherhood and peace. As poesy, the book fails to approach the standard of "Sable and Purple," but it is written with considerable fervor and the imagery is noteworthy for its strength and beauty. The lines are written not so much by the poet who has caught down the divine fire from the skies, as by the thoughtful idealist who looks with serene hopefulness down the years.

Charles Rann Kennedy's new play, "The Terrible Meek,"<sup>3</sup> just now on the boards in this country, is a daring dramatization of the crucifixion. As to the right Mr. Kennedy

"The Terrible  
Meek"

has to handle this subject by methods of stagecraft, we must remember that for many years we have been making pilgrimages to Oberammergau to see the Passion Play, and so we can hardly make the plea that this Rann-Kennedy production is a sacrilege or even in doubtful taste. A British soldier (typical Tommy Atkins, like to him who told of the hanging of Danny Deever), a captain, and a peasant woman speak the lines. The words come out of the darkness that shrouds the stage, stark flashes of the agony of Golgotha translated down into modernity. Fear of the unknown forces that sway the pendulum of the ages back at the last to justice, strikes at the hearts of the soldier and the captain who have done their deed. They are afraid in the darkness, of what they know not. Tommy Atkins says after he has stumbled over the captain in the



CHARLES RANN KENNEDY

gloom, "I tek my oath, I thought for a moment as you was—well summat else"; and again when the peasant woman moans he starts in terror with "Be 'indus. Summat sort of—there, 'ark." He relates the details of the execution with a soldier's callousness; they have cast lots for his "togs" and he has drawn the boots. When the soldier leaves for guard duty the woman tells the story of her son's life to the captain, his boyhood, his simple life, his ministry, the approach of the end, all with tragic simplicity. Then the black pall of darkness lifts and there is revealed a bleak, stony hill "lit with unearthly splendor." It is Golgotha. The characters wear garments of the East. The woman is the Mother of Jesus, the captain is a Roman centurion; Tommy Atkins is a Roman soldier. Above them rise three gaunt crosses bearing the gibbeted men. Around about all is peaceful; sheep nibble at the grass; the air is filled with the tinklings of bells. The captain speaks: "Something has happened up here on this hill to-day to shake all the kingdoms of blood and fear to the dust. The earth is his; the earth is theirs and they made it. The meek, the terrible meek, the fierce, agonizing meek, are about to enter into their inheritance." As the light spreads over the hill, the soldier speaks: "Look, sir, wot did I tell yer? It's coming light again." The captain answers in one word—"Eternally."

Mr. William Dudley Foulke's lyric drama, "Maya,"<sup>4</sup> is woven about the central idea that the mysterious aboriginal race, the Mayas of Yucatan, are of Phœnician descent. Mr. Foulke attempts to prove, in easy flowing verse, that the surviving remnant of this ancient people remains almost wholly Phœnician to-day in physical features, mental traits, and even customs. There is a

<sup>1</sup>Maya. By William Dudley Foulke. New York: The Cosmopolitan Press. 70 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>1</sup>Polite Farces. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Co. 97 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup>The Heralds of the Dawn. By William Watson. John Lane Co. 93 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup>The Terrible Meek. By Charles Rann Kennedy. Harper Brothers. 43 pp. \$1.

young Spaniard who falls in love with the daughter of the reigning Maya king; there is also the villain who tries to separate them.

#### BIOGRAPHY

The period of national appreciation of Robert E. Lee as one of the really great men of our national history has only begun. **Lee as a National Figure** Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., entitles his searching and sympathetic study of the Southern leader "Lee the American." This is as it should be. We have begun to see the eminent Virginian as a product of our nation, the tri-



MRS. ROBERT E. LEE

umph of our national type, not merely the idolized leader of a section. Although this work is not, in the strict sense, a biography, it is even more useful to the general reader, for it is a study of the character of a man of whose leadership and greatness in failure Americans of all sections are justly proud. Mr. Bradford is of Northern birth and training, and yet he writes of General Lee with an understanding and appreciation which carries conviction to his readers. The author remarks significantly that he has profited by the public criticism given his chapters when they appeared as articles in some of the magazines.

A stimulating study of the career of an eighteenth-century politician which becomes essentially a history of politics during the period in which his career is comprised, is given in Dr. Thaddeus W. Riker's two-volume biography "Henry Fox, First Lord Holland."<sup>2</sup> Fox exemplified the keen, brilliant, but rather indolent spirit of the eighteenth century as it manifested itself in England. He had, says Dr. Riker, a shrewd mind and generous heart and a certain measure of independence. Yet

he was essentially a politician,—"one of that group of political figures which played their part in that epoch of transition between the despotism of Walpole founded upon the system of skillfully manipulated parliaments and the sovereignty of King and people idealized by the younger Pitt."

Those who were fortunate enough to attend the Dickens centenary dinner in New York heard Kate Douglas Wiggin tell of her meeting with Kate Douglas Dickens when she was a slip of a girl like her own Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm. Her story of the meeting has been brought out in book form with a quaint miniature of Mrs. Wiggin as she looked when the meeting took place on the train between Portland, Maine, and Charlestown, Massachusetts. She writes of the novelist: "I knew him at once—the smiling, genial, mobile face, rather highly colored, the brilliant eyes, the watch chain, the red carnation in the buttonhole and the expressive hands much given to gesture." The story is somehow by the fascinating art of Mrs. Wiggin placed in the world of little-girlhood.

Mr. Bolton Hall<sup>4</sup> has prepared an excellent volume of extracts from Tolstoy's letters, books, and table-talks, classified and coordinated in such a manner as to give a distinct sense of connected utterance. It is a complete summary in convenient form of the teachings of the great Russian. With Romain Rolland, Mr. Hall feels the unity of

#### Tolstoy's Sayings



A NEW PORTRAIT OF MRS. KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN

<sup>1</sup> Lee the American. By Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. Houghton Mifflin. 324 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Fox, First Lord Holland. 2 vols. By Thaddeus W. Riker. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 857 pp. \$6.75.

<sup>3</sup> A Child's Journey with Dickens. By Kate Douglas Wiggin. Houghton Mifflin. 32 pp. 50 cents.

<sup>4</sup> What Tolstoy Taught. By Bolton Hall. B. W. Huebsch. \$1.50.

Tolstoy's doctrines despite the contradictions found in his writings. The chapters, reading like a finished original instead of quotations, teach us of the "Pursuit of Happiness," "The Search for Truth," "Animal Life," "Love's Sacrifice," "Delusions About Life," and of many other kindred subjects which filled the mind of the man who strove to live up to his own ideal of selfless love. We cannot as yet find Tolstoy's integral place, whether as "amiable idealist," dreamer, or prophet, or as a high and mighty genius; we cannot place our finger on the feverish pulse that sent him wandering, in absolute negation of self, out across the frozen plain to meet—death. It is enough for us that he was and is a great spiritual force, and one who looked with reverent and loving eyes upon the image of Christ.

## TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Since the overthrow of Abdul Hamid, the stream of books on Turkey and its people coming from the press of England and the United States has not diminished. Rather, since Turkey's descent on Tripoli, it has seemed to increase in volume. Most of these add something to our stock of knowledge, and some of them indicate an insight into the life of the Turkish people which causes us to readjust our time-worn notions concerning them. Such a book, preëminently, is Sir Edwin Pears' "Turkey and Its People."<sup>1</sup> For many years Sir Edwin lived among the Turks and had unusual opportunities for studying their life. Moreover, knowing the Turkish language, he has been able to coördinate his observations by studying literature in the original. In this book he discusses both the Turk's strength and his weakness, and has some observations to make upon the Ottoman capacity for reform and progress. He attempts to answer the question: "Who is the Turk, and what shall we do with him?"

A series of impressions of Algeria, made during a visit in the early part of last year, forms the subject of Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford's "About Algeria."<sup>2</sup> An informing and interesting picture is given of the work of the French in their first North African colony, and there are a number of interesting illustrations and a map. It is amazing how much of civilization the Republic has brought into Algeria. Civilization with a French tone to it.

For those who make journeys from stay-at-home-land, there comes a delightful new book of travel which gives much detail of the history, legends, manners, and customs of foreign lands. It is told in the intimate and personal form of letters to a sympathetic friend—letters from Belgium, Germany, France, England, Scotland, and Spain. The book is illustrated with fine reproductions of photographs of the scenes in the various countries traveled over. To those who are interested in Welsh folk-lore, the chapter entitled "A Corner of Wales" will be of great interest. The charm of mystery envelops this book, for the author signs herself simply—"Deine Liebende Princessin."

<sup>1</sup> "Turkey and Its People." By Sir Edwin Pears. George H. Doran Co. 409 pp. \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> "About Algeria." By C. Thomas-Stanford. John Lane Co. 302 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> "Traveler's Tales." By the Princess. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 296 pp., ill.

The English title for the charming book of the Japanese artist, Yoshio Markino, "My Idealized John Bullesses," was changed in the American edition to "Miss John Bull."<sup>4</sup> The English title best describes the content of the book. It is a vivacious and humorous account of the impression made upon the artist's mind by the English women and girls he has known during his life in London. The sketches are impressionistic, quick flashes of shrewd observation and reflection expressed in quaint "Japanese schoolboy English." The book is generously illustrated by Mr. Markino with pen-and-ink sketches and several beautiful full-page color studies of "John Bullesses." The childish happiness in the trivial things of life, that is not lost to the grave maturity of the Eastern mind, touches the book with brilliant illumination.

## IN LIGHTER VEIN

Only when joy has entered into our lives do we become truly rational beings, writes Louise Collier Wilcox in a helpful essay entitled "The Road to Joy."<sup>5</sup> This is a sermon, a joy-philosophy, which is intended to help us minimize the suffering and the pain attendant upon life. It is a treasure for our days of sorrow and discouragement.

Some one has described mirth as a mansion we may all enter at will. Mr. Charles Johnston opens the door for us in his admirable collection of gaiety, humor, and wit entitled, "Why The World Laughs." He shows, what we have long suspected, that no one race has been able to enjoy a monopoly in humor and that our best jokes are as old as time itself. He has made selections from the humor of all ages and all races beginning with that of the Chinese philosopher Chwang, who was a disciple of Lao-Tse. The summary of a Mongolian musical comedy is one of the most amusing things in this book. Egyptian, Greek, and Ottoman humor follow after that of the Chinese. The broad burlesque of Aristophanes is touched with a light hand, as is that of Boccaccio and Rabelais, but Don Quixote and his blood-brothers of humor come out boldly. Ranged by their side we have the "pawky humor of Scotland," of the ancient Hibernians and the American "before and after Columbus." To Mr. Johnston, humor leads to genuine joy of the heart, to humane sympathy in which all fancied race superiority is forgotten.

Professor Brander Matthews has gathered together, as he writes in the preface of his book, "Vistas of New York," a "dozen little sketches and stories, snapshots, and flashlights of the shifting aspects of our great and sprawling metropolis." Some of the stories were written many years ago, others are of comparatively recent composition, but all have a basis in actual facts of the time they came into being. Two stories—"In the Small Hours" and "Her Letter to His Second Wife," are absorbing of interest and remarkable alike for their plots and diction. Others are in a reminiscent vein, events seen through a mist of quiet contemplation.

<sup>4</sup> "Miss John Bull." By Yoshio Markino. Houghton Mifflin. 166 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> "The Road to Joy." By Louise Collier Wilcox. Harper Brothers. 41 pp. 50 cents.

<sup>6</sup> "Why The World Laughs." By Charles Johnston. Harper Brothers. 388 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup> "Vistas of New York." By Brander Matthews. Harper Brothers. 242 pp. \$1.25.

## POETRY

Here and there among the sturdy crops of books that follow one another year after year in the publisher's garden shoot up slim flower stalks of poetry. They beckon to us, nodding their heads of blue and crimson and gold, and fortunate indeed are those who can find the leisure to gather these flowers of poesy, to enjoy them and to realize that they come more frequently each year and grow each year on the whole more perfect of form and color. We shall have great poets some time; meanwhile, let us appreciate the lesser ones.

Mr. Galsworthy, the reformer, the propagandist, but withal the artist sensitive to beauty of every kind, has written many verses. Some of them he offers us in a volume entitled "Moods, Songs and Doggerels."<sup>1</sup> These rhymes have the Galsworthy spontaneity; several are very human, tender and whimsical, others breathe a manliness, a sort of sublimated courage that lies at the heart of all the author's work. The songs included in the book have a touch of Cavalier music; they lilt and swing and set us marching. Some of the verses are the merest trifles, but they are all worth while, for they are the overflow of a life that is rich and abundant.

The verse of Mr. James Stephen's book, "The Hill of Vision,"<sup>2</sup> bears a certain resemblance to the poetry of William Blake. There is the same feeling of inspiration and prophecy, the same abrupt metrical forms together with (to Mr. Stephen's credit) more music. The lighter selections are not comparable to those in serious vein, such as Chopin's "Funeral March" and "Treason," which are profound of conception and rich in poetic beauty. Along with the poetic gift possessed by this author is an appreciation of the grotesque in sudden contrasts of line and of idea. The ridiculous and the sublime twang together across the strings of his meters. For instance, in a poem entitled "Mac Dhoul," the hero has crept by way of some side entrance into heaven. Mac Dhoul's God is not a wise God, but he is mighty of hand. He flings Mac Dhoul out of heaven for his impertinence—"Through the hot planets—Twisting head and heels, a chuckle in the void. With tattered breeks and only half a shirt." Farther on in this same poem the author speaks of angels with an inimitable turn of phrase as—"That serious, solemn-footed, weighty crowd, Of angels or say resurrected drapers." Then follows a line in grotesque contrast with the one directly preceding it—"Each with a thin flame swinging round his head." The humor in some of these verses is of a precious and rare kind; the book is wholly delightful and original.

"The Human Fantasy,"<sup>3</sup> by John Hall Wheelock, is a love story told in verse. The incidents are concerned with the love-making of a girl,—"a light, little bird," ignorant of the inner chambers of life,—and a boy who is thoroughly awake to its graver responsibilities and its inevitable sacrifices. The verse is remarkable for its sincerity and lack of self-consciousness. The story is a reflection of the

hopes and the dreams of youth cast upon the troubled waters of life in a great city. The Grecian reiteration comes at the end—that all we love are "but symbols sent of some truth afar." The verses, "Hymn to the City" and the triumphant "Chorus Resurgent" are deserving of much praise.

"The Tragedy of Etarre,"<sup>4</sup> by Rhys Carpenter, is the familiar story of Pelleas and Etarre re-told in lofty blank verse with interludes of rhymed songs. This work is true poesy, There is much beauty of imagery and phrase and a delicate assonance that is particularly pleasing. The sense of our powerlessness in the hands of Fate dominates the parting scene between Pelleas and Etarre. The three handmaidens of destiny spin on and we pass to our ordered ends. Etarre, like Guinevere, realizes the highest love too late, but, out of the broken shards of life, she builds again her "vision of adventured days" and begs memory to draw her spirit toward the hills of peace.

Beatrice Irwin announces her new book of verse "The Pagan Trinity,"<sup>5</sup> as "Color, form and sound woven into aunty." Color predominates in her poems, however, as she has a highly evolved sense-perception of words as regards their color-value. There are songs of nature, of art, of human mystery sung with ancient fervor but cast in modern forms. Several short tributes to the sculptured figures of Auguste Rodin are remarkable for their penetration into the mysticism and the symbolism of the expressions of the genius of that great artist. "The Song of the Elements" and "Aeroplane" are among the best of these opalesque poems. Many of those included in this volume have been recited by Miss Irwin in the Hudson Theater, New York City.

## SOCIOLOGY

A picturesque and useful contribution to the literature on the psychology of youth comes in Mr. J. Adams Puffer's little study of "The Boy and His Gang."<sup>6</sup> Every normal boy belongs to a gang in which either good or evil tendencies predominate. It may be that there is a real explanation of the failure of certain of our educational methods to be found in the fact that parents and teachers have not recognized or understood those powerful factors in a boy's life. Sixty-six boys who are members of gangs, says Mr. Puffer, are responsible for this book. "They told me the stories of their gang life, and I wrote them out." The book consists of studies, with concrete illustrations, of the gang, its general nature, its organization, its actors, its psychology, its tribal instincts, its special virtues, and in its relation to social work and to school. There are some interesting illustrations from photographs. Mr. Bradford, who is Director of the Beacon Vocation Bureau in Boston, is well fitted to discuss this topic. He has taught in all grades of the public schools, is a student of psychology, and has for years been probation officer in the Boston Probation Court.

<sup>1</sup> Moods, Songs and Doggerels. Scribner's. 111 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> The Hill of Vision. By James Stephen. Macmillan. 131 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> The Human Fantasy. By John Hall Wheelock. Sherman French & Co. 141 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>4</sup> The Tragedy of Etarre. By Rhys Carpenter. Sturgis & Walton Co. 138 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>5</sup> The Pagan Trinity. By Beatrice Irwin. John Lane Co. \$1.25.

<sup>6</sup> The Boy and His Gang. By J. Adams Puffer. Houghton Mifflin. 188 pp., ill. \$1.

There are numerous works, learned and doctrinaire, on the theories and philosophical concepts of anarchism. There are few, if any, volumes reciting the history of the doings of anarchists from the days of

**Philosophic  
Anarchism**

Bakunin, founder of the sect, down to the present. To supply this need, Mr. Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, English translator, critic and writer on economics and politics, has just brought out a volume which he entitles "The Anarchists: Their Faith and Their Record."<sup>1</sup> The so-called Propaganda by Deed, which the enemies of society, as at present constituted, have carried on for so many years by means of bomb, dagger and revolver, is set forth and explained by Mr. Vizetelly by means of full accounts of the assassinations of President Carnot of France, President McKinley of the United States, King Humbert of Italy, and the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. The author, also, as contributory to the main story, refers frequently to the political and economic situation in the country that produced the assassin at the time of the deed. While Michael Alexandrovitch Bakunin was the first anarchist as such, Mr. Vizetelly convinces us, by historic analysis, that the first militant anarchists, in English history at any rate, were Wat Tyler and his contemporary, the mad priest, John Ball. Mr. Vizetelly concludes with a dismissal of the anarchistic theories in the following somewhat ponderous way: "The best that can be said for the anarchistic creed is that it represents a perverted form of individualism, and indicates a revolution against both governmental oppression and authoritarian socialism."

A frank, but dignified and scholarly, discussion of "Obscene Literature and Constitutional Law"

**Freedom of  
Speech**

has been written by Theodore Schroeder, legal counselor of the Medical Legal Society of New York, and compiler of a "free press anthology." Mr. Schroeder subtitles his volume "A Forensic Defense of the Freedom of the Press." His volume is mainly a collection of essays contributed to magazines during the past few years. Freely and simply, yet with admirable integrity of purpose, Mr. Schroeder sets forth the results of his researches on the subject of so-called obscenity from the standpoint of law. He advocates the utmost liberty of speech for the press in treating matters of sex, and points out the dangers that exist in the irresponsible power vested in often imperfectly worded statutes on the subject of what may or may not be said or written on some of the fundamental verities of life. It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Schroeder in his demand for absolutely unlimited freedom in this matter in order to recognize his sincerity, the essential restraint and cleanliness of his style, and his serious efforts to make known his convictions. His work has been privately printed.

A useful handbook on Russia, containing fresh statistical and other data about economic and political facts, is "The Russian Year Book."<sup>2</sup> The issue for 1912, being the second appearance, has been compiled and edited by Howard P. Kennard, author of "The Russian Peasant." The work has been compiled from official sources.

**Russian  
Statistics**

<sup>1</sup>The Anarchists: Their Faith and Their Record. By Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. John Lane Co. 308 pp., por., \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup>The Russian Year Book, 1912. Compiled and edited by Howard P. Kennard. Macmillan. 428 pp. \$5.

A new and revised edition of Charles Ferguson's "Religion of Democracy," published twelve years ago, and since translated into almost all the civilized languages of the globe, has been brought out by

**Democracy**

Kennerley. Mr. Ferguson, who has "boxed the compass of intellectual variety," having been lawyer, physician, preacher, and journalist, believes in democracy and its mission. Of this mission he says: "Civilizations are destroyed by great ideas apprehended, but not lived up to." The present edition is very attractively bound.

A few months ago, some rather exaggerated importance was attached, by discussion in the newspapers, to the appearance, in Paris,

**Infanta Eulalia's  
Essays**

of a book of essays by the Infanta Eulalia of Spain. This princess, who is an aunt of the reigning King Alfonso, being a woman of independent thought and unusually broad, liberal education, has always evinced a tendency to break away from oppressive royal traditions, and to think broadly for herself along philosophical and social lines. She was one of the guests of the United States at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Her book, which has recently been translated from the original French into English, under the title "The Thread of Life,"<sup>3</sup> consists of a series of chapters on happiness, friendship, divorce, morality, independence of women, socialism, tradition, domestic servants, and other widely differing subjects of economic and social concern.

**STANDARD WORKS OF REFERENCE**

The eighth volume of the "Cambridge History of English Literature," edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, brings us through the age of Dryden.

**Dryden's  
Times**

Mr. Henry B. Wheatley has contributed an excellent Dryden bibliography, based on his unique collections and his researches into the subject. It is difficult in a short space to attempt to give even an idea of the great amount of literary history contained in one of the volumes of this series which attempt for the first time to tell the story of literature on a scale worthy of the greatness of the theme. The chapter on Samuel Butler and that on "Ecclesiastical and Political Satire," also those on the Restoration Drama and John Locke and "The Progress of Science" might be mentioned as being of particular value. In the chapter entitled "Memoirs and Letter Writers," an interesting comparison of the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn is given. The material devoted to George Fox and the rise of the Quaker movement in England throws new light on that rather misunderstood sect. A complete bibliography is given in an appendix. The book is printed with wide margins and clear, large type.

We noticed, in our March number, the first volumes of that excellent series of books specially

**A Library of  
Modern  
Knowledge**

written on important modern topics, which comes under the general title of the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, being brought out by the Holt concern. Other issues of this excellent series maintaining the high standard already set include "Architecture," which the author, W. R. Lethaby,

<sup>3</sup>The Thread of Life. By Comtesse de Avila (H. R. H. Eulalia, Infanta of Spain). Duffield. 285 pp., por. \$1.25



modestly calls an introduction to the history and theory of the art of building: "Anthropology," by R. R. Marett, an instructor at Oxford; "The History of England," being a study in the political evolution of the British people, by Dr. A. F. Pollard, professor of English History in the University of London; "The Problems of Philosophy," by Bertrand Russell, lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge; "The School," by Dr. J. J. Findlay, professor of Education in Manchester University, England, subtitled as an Introduction to the Study of Education; "Rome," by W. Warde Fowler, whose "Life of Julius Caesar" is so well known; "Peoples and Problems of India," by Sir T. W. Holderness; "Canada," by H. E. Bradley, author of "The Making of Canada"; and "Landmarks in French Literature," by G. L. Strachey, of Trinity College, Cambridge. It will be remembered, as we noted when referring to these volumes before, that the books are all of approximately uniform size (about 250 pages), each volume is com-

plete in itself and sold separately from the others, and at the uniform price of fifty cents per volume. The series is under the general editorship of Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, of Oxford, J. Arthur Thompson, of Aberdeen, and Professor W. T. Brewster, of Columbia University.

Two thorough and elaborate medical treatises come to us from the Rebman Company. One:

**Surgery and Ophthalmology** "Surgical Operations: A Handbook for Students and Practitioners," by Professor Friedrich Pels-Leusden, Chief Surgeon to the University Surgical Clinic at the Royal Charity Hospital at Berlin, with an English translation by Dr. Faxon E. Gardner (726 pages, illustrated). The other is "A Textbook of Ophthalmology," by Dr. Paul Roemer, professor of Ophthalmology at Greifswald, translated by Matthias L. Foster, a member of the American Ophthalmological Society. This being volume I., 275 pages, with illustrations, many in color.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO CURRENT POLITICS

ELSEWHERE in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS some attempt is made to gather the expressions of the month's magazines on matters of current interest in the field of national politics. Passing to the publications of a less ephemeral nature, we find a shelf-ful of new books, some of which have been published with the conscious purpose, apparently, of ministering to the needs of the "first voter" or other interested citizen in this campaign year, while others serve as useful reference and textbooks at all times, and still others depict the leading personalities in the race for Presidential nominations.

Most of the new books, like the current magazine articles, are distinctly "progressive" in tone (using the word in its recently acquired political sense). Even if they do not directly advocate the particular reforms connoted by this word in American politics, they assume the reasonableness of such reforms and admit the existence of conditions that call for reforms.

An apparent exception is President Nicholas Murray Butler's little volume of addresses, entitled "Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?"<sup>1</sup> President Butler, as he made clear in his speech as chairman of the Republican State Convention at Rochester, approves neither of the initiative, the referendum, the recall, the direct primary, nor any other innovation in our political machinery. It would be unfair to say that he does not believe in progress, but it is his conviction that "human progress can only be gained and maintained by each individual raising his own standard of intelligence and of conduct." Dr. Butler maintains that through the faith in representative institutions, once delivered to the saints, must come our political salvation. To his mind, the "progressives" of to-day are trying to destroy representative government. All progressives would do well to read Dr. Butler's criticisms and arguments. His book sets forth very ably the position of that small but influential group of leaders in our body politic who

maintain that what was good enough for the fathers is good enough for us.

After receiving Dr. Butler's admonition, the progressive who wishes to inform himself in detail of the movements of the hour will get enlightenment from "The New Democracy," by Walter E. Weyl; "The Referendum in America," by Ellis P. Oberholtzer; "Short Ballot Principles," by Richard S. Childs; "City Government by Commission," by Clinton Rogers Woodruff; "Commission Government in American Cities," by Ernest S. Bradford; "The Wisconsin Idea," by Charles McCarthy; "Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy," by Frederic C. Howe, and various other timely works whose titles and publishers are listed on page 640.

If one were to try to make a serious study of this transition period in American politics he could hardly do better than to begin with the biographies of American political leaders of various types who have devoted themselves to the mastery of our party machinery. As a representative of the convention system in its full power, the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna had a career that is well worthy of our attention. Mr. Hanna, it will be remembered, had long been a successful business man before his name had been much heard in politics beyond the boundaries of Ohio. It was in bringing about the nomination of McKinley in 1896, to which Mr. Hanna devoted himself with unstinted energy and surpassing intelligence, that the country first came to know him as a political manager of consummate ability. From that time to the day of his death, in 1903, Marcus A. Hanna was ranked by common consent as a past master in the arts of political management and party organization. He has had no successor, and there is no American living to-day from whose life so much can be learned regarding the science of vote-getting.

<sup>1</sup> "Surgical Operations: A Handbook for Students and Practitioners." By Prof. Friedrich Pels-Leusden. Translated by Dr. Faxon E. Gardner. New York: Rebman Company. 726 pp., ill. \$7.

<sup>2</sup> "Textbook of Ophthalmology. Vol. I. By Dr. Paul Roemer. Translated by Dr. Matthias L. Foster. New York: Rebman Company. 275 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>1</sup> "Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?" By Nicholas Murray Butler. Scribner's. 159 pp. 75 cents.

The appearance of a complete and authentic biography of Senator Hanna,<sup>1</sup> from the pen of Herbert Croly, is especially timely at the outset of a Presidential campaign which many men of both the great parties expect to be the last to be conducted under the rules of the old régime. Mr. Croly disarms unfriendly critics at the outset by his candid appeal to the fairness of readers who may be predisposed against Senator Hanna and may find it difficult to emancipate themselves from lingering prejudice. Mr. Croly is right in his conclusion that Mr. Hanna's career was formed under the same influences as the careers of hundreds of other men in the Middle West who combined business with politics. "He was the same kind of a man as the rest of them; but he was more of a man." He was himself, as Mr. Croly clearly shows, the product of his times. To denounce him, as he was repeatedly denounced while living, as "the embodiment of a greedy, brutalized, and remorseless plutocracy," helps not at all to the understanding of the man himself, or of the things that he accomplished. The economic system that he believed in was the outgrowth of pioneer conditions in the Middle West which he accepted along with other incidents of his environment. In the same way he accepted the political conditions of his day and generation and made the most of them. That he was very far from forgetting or minimizing human rights as contrasted with the claims of privilege, was clearly shown in the latter years of his life when he rendered signal service, through the National Civic Federation, in promoting the better adjustment of the relations between capital and labor. After the death of President McKinley Mr. Hanna's attitude toward President Roosevelt was a matter of much comment and was frequently misrepresented. In the present volume the complete story of the relations between Roosevelt and Hanna is told for the first time. Some of the letters that passed between the two are of the greatest interest even at the present time.

In sharp contrast with Hanna, the Warwick of the past generation in our politics, stands Woodrow Wilson, one of the leaders of the advance guard in the progressive movement. The story of his life, by William Bayard Hale,<sup>2</sup> is a creditable attempt to picture an attractive personality which, until two years ago, was unthought of as a political figure, and but slightly known outside of academic circles. Yet Mr. Wilson's background, as his biographer shows, is quite in keeping with most of what is demanded by the discriminating American public of its candidates for high office. If Mr. Wilson is really the wild radical that he is painted by the New York newspapers, it must be admitted that his preparation for the part has been an unusually labored one. For more than thirty years he has been a thoughtful student of politics in the broadest sense. Many years ago he made a contribution to our political literature which was at once accepted by such an authority as Ambassador Bryce as both profound and original. His lectures on politics at Princeton were among the most popular ever given at that college, and he has long been recognized as one of the ablest historians

of American institutions. All this and much more is related by Mr. Hale in a simple and convincing way, and his book is quite in consonance with the dignity and character of its subject.

"Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey Made Over,"<sup>3</sup> by Hester E. Hosford, is more frankly a campaign document, since a large proportion of its space is devoted to telling what Governor Wilson has accomplished in office, and what may be expected of him in case fate should decree that his official residence be transferred from Trenton to the White House. Many quotations from Governor Wilson's speeches during various crises of the past two years are embodied in the narrative, and a fairly clear idea is given of the administrative difficulties, as well as triumphs, which he has met. Miss Hosford tells a very interesting story, and if this volume is an earnest of what may be expected in the way of campaign books when the women take a more active part in politics, we have no reason to regret the advance of the suffrage cause.

There are, of course, numerous biographies of Theodore Roosevelt. The most recent of these,—"From Rough Rider to President,"—was noticed in the April number of this REVIEW. "The Man Roosevelt," by Francis E. Leupp, is a readable and well-informed book, and "A Cartoon History of Roosevelt's Career," by Albert Shaw (Review of Reviews Company), gives a panoramic view, as it were, of the former President's progress in public life.

Senator La Follette's "Personal Narrative of Political Experiences," which has been running in the *American Magazine*, now appears in book form. It is instructive as a disclosure of the difficulties that had to be overcome in the "making-over" of Wisconsin.

Politicians of our Eastern seaboard, and especially the editors of most of the metropolitan papers, have too long put off the duty of acquainting themselves with the real principles and animus of the progressive movement in American politics. Certain Middle Western primaries would not have given so severe a jolt to reactionary party leaders in the Eastern States if said leaders had possessed a fair working knowledge of what had actually been taking place in Wisconsin and other Middle Western States during the past decade. To those who really wish to know what progressive politics means to the Middle West and can safely stand the strain of this new knowledge, we commend Mr. Charles McCarthy's book, "The Wisconsin Idea,"<sup>4</sup> as the most complete summary yet published of the legislative achievements in Senator La Follette's State. While many of the reforms here outlined were initiated and stoutly supported by Mr. La Follette while he was Governor of the State, others of them, and in the latter group some of the most important, have been brought about since Mr. La Follette's election to the Senate, and without the direct assistance of his personal or official support. From whatever point of view one may view it, the record is a remarkable one. Not many years ago it was customary to speak

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Alonzo Hanna, *His Life and Work*. By Herbert Croly. Macmillan. 495 pp., ill.

<sup>2</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *The Story of His Life*. By William Bayard Hale. Doubleday, Page & Co. 233 pp.

<sup>3</sup> Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey Made Over. By Hester E. Hosford. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 152 pp., ill. \$1.00.

<sup>4</sup> The Wisconsin Idea. By Charles McCarthy. Macmillan. 323 pp. \$1.50.

of Massachusetts as the most advanced State in the Union, and in many points this was doubtless a true characterization. But Wisconsin has now superseded Massachusetts in this position of leadership, and there is a group of Western States which is nearly, if not quite, abreast of Wisconsin. As legislative librarian in the State for over ten years, Mr. McCarthy has been constantly in touch with Wisconsin's legislation and writes from full and intimate knowledge. An introduction to the work is furnished by Theodore Roosevelt.

An optimistic view of the immigration problem is presented by Prof. J. W. Jenks and Mr. W. J. Lauck,<sup>1</sup> both of whom were associated with the United States Immigration Commission from its beginning four years ago. The lack of trustworthy statistical material showing the effects of immi-

gration is doubtless responsible for much worthless writing upon the subject, since writers base their discussions largely upon conjecture or the personal observation of individuals, and often, it is to be feared, upon prejudice. The commission has, however, during the last four years, gathered such material more completely than had ever been possible before, and Professor Jenks and Mr. Lauck have undertaken to put into shape for the public the gist of the information collected in the forty-two volumes published by the commission. The authors do not assume to advocate any particular policy in dealing with the problem, but undertake simply to interpret the facts collected by the commission. They ask that persons who are inclined to differ from the judgments expressed in this volume examine carefully the data in an unprejudiced spirit before condemning the conclusions.

## BOOKS OF CURRENT INTEREST

### PERSONALITIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS

A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences. By Robert M. La Follette. Doubleday, Page.  
The Man Roosevelt. By Francis E. Leupp. Appleton.  
From Rough Rider to President. By Max Kullnick. A. C. McClurg.  
A Cartoon History of Roosevelt's Career. By Albert Shaw. Review of Reviews Co.  
Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen. By Jacob Riis. Macmillan.  
Woodrow Wilson: The Story of His Life. By William Bayard Hale. Doubleday, Page.  
Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey Made Over. By Hester E. Hosford. Putnams.  
Marcus Alonzo Hanna: His Life and Work. By Herbert Croly. Macmillan.

### ADDRESSES OF PUBLIC MEN

Political Issues and Outlooks. By William H. Taft. Doubleday, Page.  
Presidential Addresses and State Papers, Vols. I & II. By William H. Taft. Doubleday, Page.  
Presidential Addresses and State Papers of Theodore Roosevelt. Homeward Bound Edition. Review of Reviews Co.

### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Why Should We Change Our Form of Government? By Nicholas Murray Butler. Chas. Scribner's Sons.  
Short Ballot Principles. By Richard S. Childs. Houghton, Mifflin.  
City Government by Commission. By Clinton Rogers Woodruff. Appletons.

<sup>1</sup>The Immigration Problem. By Professor J. W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck. Funk & Wagnalls. 496 pp. \$1.75.

Commission Government in American Cities. By Ernest S. Bradford. Macmillan.  
Political Theory and Party Organization. By Simeon D. Fess. Ginn & Co.  
Woman's Part in Government. By William H. Allen. Dodd, Mead & Co.  
Corruption in American Politics and Life. By Robert C. Brooks. Dodd, Mead & Co.  
A New Nationalism. By Theodore Roosevelt. Doubleday, Page.  
American Socialism of the Present Day. By Jessie Wallace Hughan. John Lane Co.  
Why I Am a Socialist. By Charles Edward Russell. Doran & Co.  
Conditions of Progress in Democratic Government. By Charles E. Hughes. Yale Univ. Press.  
The New Democracy. By Walter E. Weyl. Macmillan.  
The Wisconsin Idea. By Charles McCarthy. Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. Macmillan.  
Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe. Chas. Scribner's Sons.  
The Referendum in America. By Ellis P. Oberholtzer. Chas. Scribner's Sons.  
National Municipal League Series: The Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Appletons.  
The Regulation of Municipal Utilities: A Symposium. Edited by Clyde L. King. Appletons.  
The Modern Woman's Rights Movement. By Kaethe Schirmacher. Macmillan.  
The Control of Trusts. By John B. Clark. Macmillan.  
Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. Introduction by Robert M. La Follette. B. W. Huebsch.  
The Criminal and the Community. By James Devon. John Lane Co.  
Social Reform in the Constitution. By Frank Goodnough. Macmillan.



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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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**DR. JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, INSTALLED AS PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY LAST MONTH**

(The most imposing and noteworthy academic occurrence of the spring was the inauguration into office on May 11 as the fourteenth President of Princeton University of Dr. John Grier Hibben, a graduate of the class of '82, who was elected President on January 11. The ceremony took place on the steps of Nassau Hall, where Washington was thanked for his services to his country, and which was the seat of the American Government for five months in 1783. The oath of office was administered to Dr. Hibben by Justice Mahlon Pitney, Princeton '79, recently appointed to the Supreme Court. Surrounding him were President Taft, Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court, and representatives of 152 educational institutions, as well as 3000 of the alumni of Princeton, the entire faculty, and the undergraduate body)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 6

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Some Surviving  
Democratic  
Customs*

A great many Democrats will be surprised by some of the information contained in an article published by us in this number of the REVIEW, on the unit rule and the two-thirds rule. Professor Potts shows them that the unit rule began eighty years ago in a convention that was not made up of regularly apportioned delegates, and that the reasons for it long ago ceased. He also shows how the two-thirds rule has worked in Democratic conventions in the past, and what results it may have in the Baltimore convention of the present month. It does not accord with that simple principle of majority control that prevails throughout our institutions; and its survival has never been defended upon any convincing grounds. The rule that the Presidential nominee of the Democratic convention must have a two-thirds majority does not, of course, have any validity except as each new convention adopts it for its own reasons. The real reason, however, why the two-thirds rule has persisted has not been clearly enough set forth; and we may venture to make some suggestions that will at least throw light upon the matter.

*A Party of  
Groups and  
Sections*

The chief trouble with the Democratic party lies in the fact that it is not homogeneous. It is made up of elements that are never thoroughly blended. This condition almost invariably leads to wide differences of view about leaders, and is naturally productive of numerous active or receptive candidates for the Presidency. The strongest candidate seldom goes into a Democratic convention with a clear majority in sight. If he were sure of his bare majority, his supporters would promptly do away with the two-thirds rule. Obviously, the weaker candidates prefer numerous ballots. Their only chance lies in blocking the nomination of the leading candidate. If the

Democratic party were more homogeneous, its foremost leaders would have a stronger hold upon the entire party. It is likely enough that in the future the Democratic party may become better knit together.

*The Four  
Chief  
Factors*

In the past the party has had as its largest factor the Solid South, which has been Democratic for sectional reasons rather than for reasons of agreement upon questions of national policy. Its next largest factor has been that of the social radicals, led by Bryan and Hearst, which has been especially strong in the West and among working men in the large towns and cities. The third great element in the Democratic party has been Tammany Hall, which is not a political body in the sense of having public objects and convictions upon questions of national policy, but which exists for the private interests of its members. This society is in control of the Democratic machinery of New York City, and in that way controls by far the larger part of the Democratic votes of the entire State of New York. Then comes the conservative old-line Democracy of the East, which worships the memory of Samuel J. Tilden and Grover Cleveland, and which has few convictions in common with the Hearst-Bryan element. These are the four great factors in the Democratic party, besides which there are many smaller groups, mostly fluctuating, like the tariff-reform league.

*A Round Dozen  
Democratic  
Candidates*

Such a condition is naturally productive of a good many candidates. Thus, in the Baltimore convention, which meets June 25, there will probably be not fewer than twelve. Four of these have been very actively supported and are prominent in the race. Four others will be presented in a formal way



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GOVERNOR JUDSON HARMON OF OHIO

by the delegations from their own States. Four others are prominent behind the scenes and in party councils as candidates, but have not been openly or actively presented. The first four, as everybody knows, are Speaker Champ Clark, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, and the Hon. Oscar Underwood of Alabama, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. As the convention approaches, the calmer and more impartial minds in the Democratic party have perceived that all four of these men have borne the tests of the preliminary canvass surprisingly well. They have all carried themselves with dignity and sense, and have all made the impression of being sincere and able public men. The next four avowed candidates are Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut, Governor Marshall of Indiana, and Governor Burke of North Dakota. These candidates have not tried to obtain delegates from other States than their own, but their

names have been kept before the public so that they will be familiar to all the members of the convention. The four important candidates not actively urged are William J. Bryan, Mayor Gaynor of New York, William R. Hearst, and John W. Kern, United States Senator from Indiana.

These twelve candidates cannot be assigned in any exact way to the different elements that make up the Democratic party. Governor Harmon of Ohio was earliest in the field. He had been a member of President Cleveland's cabinet. He was elected Governor in 1908, Ohio giving its Presidential vote to the Republican ticket while decisively approving the Democratic candidate for Governor. He had cordially supported Mr. Bryan in the campaign of that year, and his victory pointed to him as the probable Presidential nominee in 1912. This probability was much increased by his second sweeping victory, when in 1910 he ran for another term. It seems to be the general opinion that his administration of State affairs has been strong and capable, and that it has confirmed the judgment of those who had believed him of Presidential size. He is regarded, however, as a Conservative rather than a Progressive, and is now strongly opposed by Mr. Bryan and his friends. He is said to have been favored by Wall Street, though upon what evidence we do not know.



RIGHT IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER!  
(From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus))



Upon his record he deserves well of the party, and he seems to have kept the full confidence of the people of Ohio.

*The Candidacy  
of Governor  
Wilson*

When the retiring president of Princeton University was elected Governor of New Jersey, he became at once a national figure in the political world, as he had long been in that of education and of the scholarly discussion of political science and American history. At first Governor Wilson was regarded as an intellectual conservative, and a natural opponent of the Bryan-Hearst element. But a desperate fight with the Democratic machine in New Jersey gave Woodrow Wilson a rapid but complete course of instruction in actual American politics. He made many inquiries, visited the Western States, and frankly withdrew his former criticisms of certain devices and methods intended to make democratic government work directly and honestly. Governor Wilson could not compromise himself with corrupt machines, so he became a practical Progressive, because there seemed no other possible position for any man to take who was at once honest and intelligent as respects the political conditions under which we have been living. Governor Wilson soon replaced Governor Harmon as the leading



GOVERNOR WILSON OF NEW JERSEY



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GOVERNOR WILSON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE  
TUBERCULOSIS PREVENTORIUM AT FARMING-  
DALE, N. J., ON APRIL 25

(Marcus M. Marks, president of the institution, stands  
at the right)

candidate. He was a younger man, almost unequalled as a ready and magnetic public speaker, and a representative of the highest culture and best ideals. It looked for a time as if Woodrow Wilson would almost certainly be nominated; and that his opponent would be President Taft. Under those circumstances it was also probable not only that Governor Wilson would be elected, but that as against Taft he would carry every State in the Union, North, South, East, and West,—with the exception of Utah and the possible exception of Vermont. But this brilliant climax in the Wilson boom came too early. It aroused intense jealousy among the other Democratic candidates, and a desperate hostility on the part of the great business interests which did not want a progressive (especially a stubborn one) elected President..

*Champ Clark's  
Boom Came  
Next* The Hearst newspapers, with their wide circulation and great influence, turned their batteries upon Governor Wilson and proclaimed Speaker Champ Clark as the real and genuine Radical, and the one candidate whom all Democrats ought to support (unless, in the end, they might prefer to turn to Mr. Hearst himself). The attacks upon Wilson were equally bitter in the great newspapers controlled by so-called "big business" and



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HON. CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

which were supporting Taft. Whereupon the Champ Clark boom grew apace and left Wilson's almost as far behind as Wilson's in turn had left Harmon's. In the primary elections in widely separated States, from Massachusetts to California, the Democratic voters, under primary laws giving them a fair chance to show their preference, came out strongly for Champ Clark. The Missouri man is a sturdy and picturesque character. He has been in Congress for about twenty years. He does not make enemies. He is honest and patriotic. He has long been a familiar lecturer on the Chautauqua platform circuit, and his name is well known. But while he has owed his success in the primaries very largely to the Hearst newspapers, and to certain personal qualities of his own, it remains for us to make the real reason for his unexpected triumph a little more plain and clear.

Let it be remembered, then, that the first and only chance the Democratic party as a whole has had, since the Spanish War, to do anything very important upon the national plane came

to it as a result of the Congressional elections of 1910. The new Democratic Congress was called into extra session early in 1911. In accordance with previous understanding, Champ Clark was at once selected Speaker. This Congress has commended itself to the country by its efficiency and harmony, and particularly by its series of tariff revision bills. Taft and the Republicans in 1908 had promised to revise the tariff, and had shamelessly broken their word. The country was disgusted, and rightly so. It showed its temper by giving the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the new Congress. The Democrats passed a series of bills revising the worst schedules of the tariff, and with the help of the progressive Republicans of the Senate these bills were carried successfully through both Houses. They had the unquestioned support of the public opinion of the country in both parties.

President Taft vetoed these bills on pretexts that were wholly unconvincing. The fact of it is that the Ohio Wool Growers' Association, and kindred interests, had strongly asserted that if Taft did not veto the Wool bill they would see that he did not get the Republican delegates from Ohio to the national convention of 1912. The President had, indeed, been elected upon the distinct and solemn pledge of his party, emphasized and made personal by himself in 1908, to revise the tariff. And it was certainly a serious matter, under these circumstances, for a President to veto a tariff-revision bill that had passed both houses of Congress by large majorities, and that was overwhelmingly indorsed by the people of the country. There was a feeling that a Democratic Congress that could thus respond to public demands, and revise the tariff in a



WILSON IN A "POCKET"  
(In the Presidential race, the governor appears to be blocked by his competitors)  
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus)

sensible way without making any fuss about it, must have in it some strong men of Presidential caliber. Since this body of Congressmen had made Champ Clark its Speaker, the country naturally felt that he embodied, in some sense, the most important of recent Democratic achievements.

*Taft's Vetoes  
Created  
Clark's Boom*

Taft could have had the tariff fairly well revised in 1909, in keeping with Republican promises, if he had shown force and conviction and had stood firmly with those elements in the party that had given him his nomination and election. But he turned squarely away from the best conscience and leadership in his own party, and made himself the chief sponsor for a new tariff that kept the rates as high as ever. This is the chief reason why the country went so strongly against him in 1910. It was the universal opinion, on the day after election in November, 1910, that a Democrat would be the next President. Fate, however, has always been more kind to Mr. Taft than to other men; and it gave him, most unexpectedly, one more chance. Republicans and Democrats were united in 1911 upon a patriotic scheme of tariff revision, schedule by schedule. Mr. Taft used the veto power to obstruct a reform that he ought to have welcomed. It was never intended by the makers of the Constitution that a President should use the veto power against fiscal and revenue legislation agreed upon by Congress with substantial majorities in both Houses.



DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL BUBBLES  
From the News-Tribune (Duluth)



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HON. OSCAR UNDERWOOD

(The forceful Democratic floor leader of the House)

Grover Cleveland was profoundly disappointed with the final shape in which the Wilson tariff bill came to him, because special interests had weakened some of its best features. He could not sign it, but he allowed it to become a law. Mr. Cleveland was right in refusing to exercise the veto power. Mr. Cleveland, indeed, was tempted to veto a tariff bill in the interest of reform. Mr. Taft vetoed the tariff measures of 1911, and thereby obstructed reform. He took the wrong course in 1909, and again he took the wrong course in 1911. It is natural that the successful work of the Democratic Congress should result in the enlargement of some man's fame. Speaker Clark, as the figure-head of the Democratic House, naturally gets the benefit. His prominence as a Presidential candidate is chiefly due to the tariff situation that we have thus tried to elucidate.

Underwood as  
an Efficient  
Statesman

But Speaker Champ Clark is not the only Democrat to derive enhanced prestige from the work of this Congress. By radical changes in the rules of the House, the Speaker is deprived of the arbitrary power that was vested in his predecessors. Much of this power is now exercised by the Democratic members as a



GOVERNOR FOSS  
of Massachusetts



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GOVERNOR BURKE  
of North Dakota



GOVERNOR BALDWIN  
of Connecticut

THREE DEMOCRATIC "FAVORITE SONS" WHOSE NAMES WILL BE PRESENTED AT THE  
BALTIMORE CONVENTION

whole, meeting from time to time in caucus. The tariff-reform program has been in the hands of the Ways and Means Committee and directed by its able chairman, Oscar Underwood of Alabama. With the help of sub-committees, Mr. Underwood has framed bills revising a number of the tariff schedules. These bills have one by one been submitted to the Democratic caucus of the House, and endorsed as party measures. With party harmony thus insured, and with a 2-to-1 majority over the Republicans, it has been easy for the Democrats to limit debate and

pass their bills. For the actual working out of this program Mr. Underwood, more than anyone else, is entitled to credit. He has shown great qualities as a floor leader and parliamentarian, and he is recognized as possessing masterly ability in the field of tariff and taxation laws. He is regarded as in a general way a conservative, and he has been brought forward by the Democrats of his own State as a Presidential candidate. He has also beaten Woodrow Wilson in the neighboring States of Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. The Underwood movement is said to have had some support from certain financial interests in Wall Street, but it would not seem wise to attach much importance to a statement of this kind when intended as a slur. For it is true that Harmon, Wilson, and Clark have also been even more strongly accused of the same offense,



SOME FAVORITE "SUNFLOWERS" FOR THE  
BALTIMORE SHOW  
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

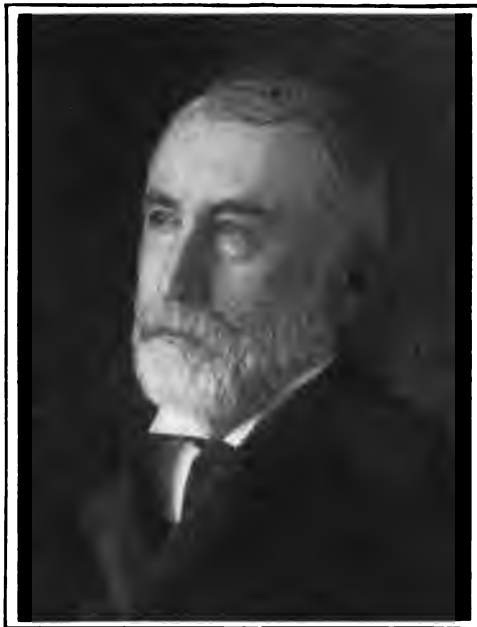
Four Less  
Prominent  
Candidates

Next we have to consider the four Governors whose names will be presented as "favorite sons" of their States. Governor Foss has long been active as a tariff reformer, and is a business man of wide experience. He makes a good Massachusetts Governor. Governor Baldwin of Connecticut has long been the dean of the Yale Law School, and represents the best element of the old-line Eastern Democracy. Governor Marshall of Indiana is a man of originality and force, whose personal equation

is not at all known to the country at large. Governor Burke of North Dakota is understood to be progressive and courageous, a man of native strength of mind and will. But he is not yet widely enough known to be regarded as a national figure.

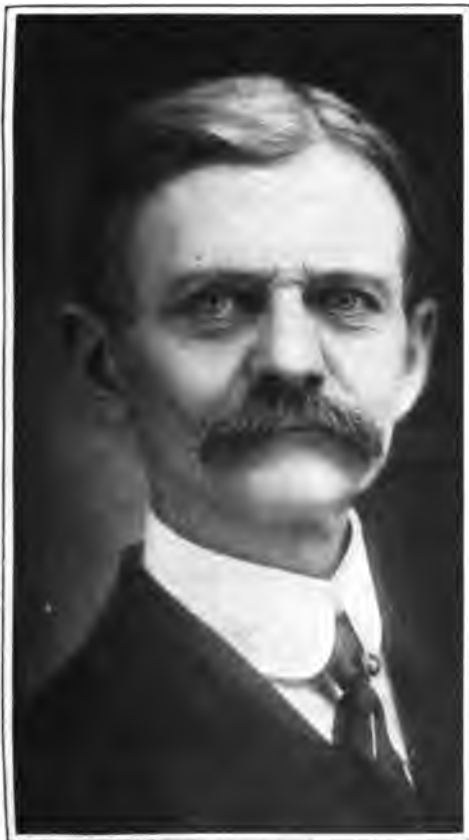
*Will Gaynor  
Be Brought  
Forward?*

The ninety delegates from the State of New York are said to be under the control of Charles F. Murphy, the head of Tammany Hall. This of course is true only within certain bounds and limits. The delegation is instructed to act as a unit, however; and although it contains a number of men of independent judgment, it is undoubtedly true that a majority of the delegation will support the views and decisions of the Tammany leader. It is said to be quite possible that this New York delegation may favor the nomination of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York City. If it had not been for the Mayor's slow convalescence after the dastardly attempt upon his life in the summer of 1910, he would almost certainly have been



MAYOR GAYNOR, OF NEW YORK

(Who would be a strong candidate for the nomination at Baltimore with New York's ninety delegates behind him)



GOVERNOR MARSHALL, OF INDIANA

(A prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination)

nominated and elected Governor instead of Dix. And under those circumstances it is equally probable that he would have been a very strong candidate for the Presidency. Judge Gaynor is a man of originality and power, with strong convictions and a rare gift of terse expression. If the New York delegation should decide to present his name there is a chance that he might be nominated.



HERE'S A SITUATION!

While the two principals pop at each other on the Field of Honor, the Beautiful Maiden (Miss Nomination) faints away into the arms of the sympathetic doctor  
From the *Press* (New York)



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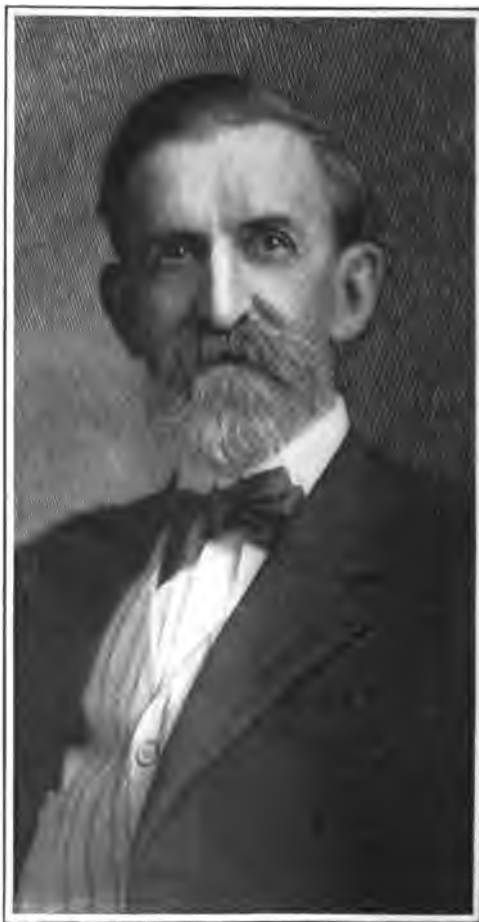
HON. WILLIAM R. HEARST

*Hearst, Kern  
and Bryan*

While Speaker Champ Clark will undoubtedly have a strong lead over the other candidates on the first ballot, it is by no means certain that he can gain a majority,—much less a two-thirds vote,—in the convention. In case of his failure, Mr. Hearst is supposed to be the residuary legatee. But Mr. Hearst is not as yet an active or direct candidate. It has been said in political circles at Washington that the real “dark horse,” whom Mr. Bryan and his friends are intending to bring forward, is John W. Kern, now Senator from Indiana, who ran on the ticket with Bryan in 1908. Mr. Kern is better fitted for the Presidency than some men who are much more widely known and acclaimed. But he seems never to have acquired the art or habit of publicity. There is nothing dramatic about him. Finally, there is always Mr. Bryan himself. If he is not his own candidate this year, he is undoubtedly the favorite of a great number of his fellow Democrats. In the case of a deadlocked convention with many fruitless ballots, it is quite conceivable that Mr. Bryan might be nominated.

*The Basis of  
Democratic  
Hopes*

A few months ago the prospect was that Mr. Taft would be nominated by the Republicans and overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. It was perfectly well known that the Republican party was strongly progressive in its sentiments and not in favor of Mr. Taft's renomination. But, under the old system, a President can almost inevitably force his control upon the convention if he is not too conscientious to use the whole power of his office for his own personal ends. The federal machinery was used to secure Taft delegates from those Southern States where there is no Republican party except as it exists for the sake of holding postmasterships and other federal offices. It was believed that the alliances made by the Taft federal machine with the State machines controlled by a few men in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and other great States, would give the President his renomination. The Demo-



SENATOR JOHN W. KERN OF INDIANA  
(Who is spoken of as a Democratic “dark horse”)

crats were reckoning upon this, and were exerting themselves in all sorts of indirect ways to make sure of Taft's success at Chicago. They were certain that they could beat him upon the record he had made. The Republicans, on their part, were in a deeply embarrassing position. There seemed nothing to do but nominate Taft, accept deserved defeat in November, and rely upon future Democratic blunders to give Republicanism a fresh start for 1916.

**Unexpected  
Republican  
Vigor**

But the Democrats were counting their chickens too early. They underestimated the vitality that was inherent in the great mass of the Republican party. The party had been victorious as long as it had moved with the forward trend that had been characterized under the leadership of McKinley and Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt as President had been entirely ready for the revision of the Dingley tariff, but he saw that such things had to come when conditions were ripe for them. He had ascertained by the most careful inquiry throughout the whole country that the tariff could not be revised until after the election of 1908. He was equally convinced that the tariff could be very materially reduced after that election. If he had yielded to the universal demand of the party, and had been reelected in 1908, he would have voiced the demand for real tariff revision, and a Republican Con-



HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,—A RECENT SITTING



"CAMPAIGNING FOR HARMON"  
(Mr. Bryan on the stump against Harmon in Ohio)  
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

gress would have coöperated with him in reducing the duties all along the line. Nobody could know in advance that Mr. Taft was wholly lacking in qualities of leadership, and also that he was without firm convictions upon great public questions. While, then, it would have been quite logical to renominate Mr. Taft in 1912,—in order that the mistakes of his administration might be condemned at the polls by means of Democratic victories in every State of the Union,—there were several millions of Republicans who had never been in sympathy with those mistakes, and did not propose to share in the punishment if they could help it. They wanted to get what was in fact their own party out of the hands of the machines and politicians, and set it back in its true and progressive course,—the course of McKinley and Roosevelt,—right now in 1912, instead of waiting to get the new start in 1916.

**Taft's Fight  
Against His  
Own Party**

Mr. Taft, with what seems to have been a hopeless lack of ability to understand things as they really are, announced that he would "fight" for his nomination. Since there was





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PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT AS HE APPEARED  
LAST MONTH AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW  
HEAD OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

nobody else to fight against, this could only mean that he would fight against his own party, from which the nomination would have to come. He has made the fight; he has done it at the expense of the dignity of the Presidency; and he has failed. Never before in the history of the country has the President virtually abandoned the work of his great office in order to obtain a second term. A wholly mistaken notion of how to attain this one object of his ambition has been at the root of every fundamental error of judgment in matters of public policy that Mr. Taft has made. Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt were all renominated while in the Presidency, but their successes came to them by means the exact opposite of those adopted by Taft. It is plain that the Republican party was determined to get back into vital, open, and sincere relation to the questions and issues of the present time. To do this, the party had to find some way by which it could act with authority. It adopted the direct-primary system and the plan of Presidential prefer-

ence voting, in order to rescue itself from little groups of bosses and so-called "leaders" who controlled the political machinery and lubricated it with money contributed by large corporations.

*The Party's  
Drafting of  
a Leader*

The time that remained was very short, however, and it was necessary, not only to protest against the methods that were being used to force Taft's renomination, but also to find a candidate around whom the members of the party could rally and whose name could be put upon the voting papers in the primary elections. Senator La Follette did not prove to be a strong enough leader for the emergency. Mr. Roosevelt, against his own wishes and intentions, was persuaded to take the lead. He was wholly out of politics, and the great combination controlling the party machinery boasted everywhere that Roosevelt had been shorn of all prestige and influence. His series of brilliant victories, therefore, has been all the more remarkable for that very reason. They have been the victories of a principle even more than of a man. It has not in the least been a mere personal squabble between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. Thousands of people are supporting Roosevelt who would personally have preferred



"I AM BEING HIT BELOW THE BELT"  
From the Times (Washington)

Taft, if only Taft had made it possible for them to stand with him. The people who are now bent upon nominating Roosevelt are the ones who nominated Taft four years ago and who had expected to find him deserving of a second term.

*Principles,  
Not  
Individuals*

They have not turned away from Taft merely because they want Roosevelt, but because Taft has become completely identified with methods and principles that are repugnant to them. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, has identified himself with the principles of progress and of government for the general welfare. There has been a pitiable attempt on the part of men who should have used their intellectual powers more sincerely, to divert the issue and to attack Roosevelt by a merely technical criticism of certain remarks of his upon judicial decisions. Everyone with moderate sense and judgment knows that there is great need in this country of reform in the administration of justice. No one is trying to break down the judiciary. How to improve its work must be a matter of discussion. Mr. Roosevelt has been participating in that necessary process of analysis and debate. If his particular suggestions are not the best, they will be nowhere adopted; and he himself would not wish to have them put into effect. Meanwhile, however, this very discussion that he has helped to create is, in a hundred ways,—and in more than a hundred different localities,—already working toward improvement in the personnel and the methods of our courts.

*The One  
Republican  
Course*

It is plain, then, that there were two courses open to the Republican party this year, and very small chance for compromise. One course was to renominate Taft, stand by the methods of his campaign managers, submit to the control of the State bosses and machines, glorify



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER,  
SENATOR DIXON

the President and his record in a platform written by Mr. Barnes of Albany, bluff the affair through until November, and lose every State in the Union to the Democrats on Election Day. For under these circumstances it is quite safe to predict that Mr. Taft could not have gained a single electoral vote (unless by Mormon favor he could have carried Utah). The other course was not an agreeable one to conspicuous party leaders, because it meant the smashing of machines, the reorganization of the party, and the dispossession of many politicians who thought themselves firmly intrenched.

*The Other  
Alternative*

The second course would let the party have its own way, and frankly exhibit its progressive convictions. This meant the repudiation of

Taft's tariff record, and of his kaleidoscopic attitudes and policies in the matter of dealing with trusts and corporations. And it meant a change in the spirit of government and administration even more than a reversal of policies. It is not easy for a party to go before the country and say: "We have been in power and have made a sad mess of things, but we propose to do differently, and we ask, therefore, to be given another chance." Yet this is not quite the situation as it shapes itself. A closer analysis shows that there have been two elements struggling for the use of the Republican party's name and emblem. Mr. Taft was supposed to belong to the progressive element; but as soon as he was elected he turned about and went over to the reactionaries. Since then, the two elements have become much more sharply divided. The progressives have declined to make any entangling alliances or compromises with the other wing. Taft, on his part, assumed openly to read out of the party all of the progressive leaders, though many of them had been far more conspicuous Republicans than he had ever been. He has compelled a fight, and he will be eliminated.

*The New Situation*

For a long time past this magazine has been informing its readers that the Republican party, in the rank and file, was strongly in sympathy with the progressive element. The progressive Republican leaders in the Senate have been even more actively identified with tariff reform than have the Democratic Senators. If the Taft element should now capture the Chicago convention, and the Democrats should fail to make a strong nomination at Baltimore, there would certainly be a progressive ticket in the field by the first of August. As matters now stand, it does not seem probable that there will be any ticket in the field that would have to assume responsibility for the record of the Taft administration. Even if Mr. Roosevelt—for any reason not now foreseen—should fail to receive the nomination, there could be no compromise dictated by Mr. Taft. In fact, those more conservative Senators and party leaders who have been regarded as most strongly supporting the administration, have not been its ardent friends behind the scenes. They have never believed that Mr. Taft could be elected again, and for some weeks past they have whispered that he could not be nominated. They also are aware that if Mr. Roosevelt should not himself be nominated, the choice would have to devolve upon some one of as clear a progres-

sive record as Senator La Follette or Senator Cummins. With respect to the great pending questions of tariff revision and the regulation of trusts, Senator Cummins of Iowa is to-day the foremost Republican leader in either House of Congress, and his position is frankly opposed, in the main, to that of President Taft. If Mr. Roosevelt should not be nominated at Chicago, the logic of the fight carried on within the Republican party for the past three years would give the nomination to a leader like Senator Cummins.

*The Reactionless Roosevelt Sweep*

But a contingency of that kind does not seem probable. Mr. Roosevelt's great sweep of the primaries, all the way from New England to the Pacific Coast, has made it clear that the Republican party intends to ask the country to put him in the White House for one more term. It is not necessary to recapitulate this movement in detail. Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California were the most typical of the great Republican States that could have been selected to show Republican sentiment in the East, in the Middle West, and in the Far West. These great States, in open and honest primary elections, were carried overwhelmingly for Mr. Roosevelt. In Minnesota, which the Taft people had claimed to the last, the Roosevelt victory was equally decisive. Michigan would have gone against Taft in like manner, if he had consented to allow the new primary law to be put into effect this year. Indiana was strongly against Taft;



ANOTHER RISING FLOOD  
From the Journal (Portland, Ore.)

but, under the old convention system that prevailed, the machine kept control. Massachusetts and Maryland were regarded as invincible Taft strongholds. The progressive movement in the old Bay State was started by several young men at a moment, some weeks ago, when there seemed little opportunity to make headway this year. But in both Massachusetts and Maryland the Taft strength was shattered. Mr. Taft had thought that frantic solicitation in his own State of Ohio,—on an appeal to State pride rather than to the merit of questions at issue,—might save the situation for him. But Taft had in any case made Ohio a Democratic State; and no results, one way or the other, at the primaries on May 21, could have saved his lost cause. For, at an earlier stage in the campaign, he and his friends had admitted that if Roosevelt should gain a clear majority of the delegates from Republican States it would be ruinous to force Taft's nomination by means of the "roped and tied" delegations from those Southern States in which there is no actual Republican party. And Roosevelt had gained his plurality of delegates from Republican States before Ohio expressed its choice.

*Pennsylvania Aroused*  
Nobody can understand what has been happening in the Republican party who has not studied the situation in a great typical State like Pennsylvania. If it were merely that Roosevelt had beaten Taft in the Republican primaries it might mean much to some men



MOVING DAY  
From the Press (New York)



THE WHIRLWIND CAMPAIGN OF EXPLANATION IN OHIO  
From Ohio State Journal (Columbus)

and little to others. But the thing that has come to pass is the overthrow of machine rule in the State, and a change as profound as that which was achieved in Philadelphia last year by the election of Mayor Blankenburg and the overthrow of the municipal ring. The State convention met at Harrisburg on May 1, and adopted a platform that is one of the most ringing and trenchant documents in all the political history of the United States. This platform is a trumpet call for government by the people and for the overthrow of conditions brought about by an alliance between machine politics and special privilege. Let it be remembered that this document is not the personal fulmination of some unsupported reformer, but the deliberate expression of the Republican party of Pennsylvania in the most truly representative gathering that it has ever held. If the things that Western progressive leaders stand for are radical, then this Pennsylvania platform is the most radical of all current Republican creeds. There is nothing that Mr. Taft has stood for in his recent campaigning, and in his larger policies, that this Pennsylvania platform does not denounce.

*A Militant  
Creed and  
Program*

Being in the most complete control, the Pennsylvania progressives have arranged to elect State legislators and Congressmen holding to the principles of their platform, and they mean



HENRY C. WASSON

New chairman of the Republican State Committee

CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN G. PORTER

Chairman of the State Convention

## TWO LEADERS OF THE TRIUMPHANT PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANISM IN PENNSYLVANIA

without delay to reform the laws and institutions of their State. These men are in earnest, and they will not compromise. The things that they have declared in their platform are in essence and in spirit the things that the great body of Republicans in the United States have come to believe. A Republican party, dominated by such sentiments, could no more be led to-day by a man like William Howard Taft than the Republican party of 1860 could have been led by a man of the temperament of James Buchanan or a man of the convictions of Mr. Vallandigham. The men who made the Pennsylvania platform, and who propose to give effect to its demands, hold in the most obnoxious form all of the views that Mr. Taft so scornfully denounced in his carefully prepared speech delivered in New York on Lincoln's Birthday of the present year. "Such extremists," he said, "are not progressives; they are political emotionalists or neurotics." He also said that "they would hurry us into a condition which would find no parallel except in the French Revolution." Mr. Taft, on the other hand, seems to have had just as little vision of real conditions as they had in Marie Antoinette's circle. His platform talk shows hardly more contact with the real trends of thought and conviction in

this country than the privileged class in France had with the forces that were about to destroy forever the iniquities of the old régime. It is precisely because the progressive Republicans have intense conviction, and are determined to overthrow governmental and political abuses, that there can be no compromise this year. Even the judicial recall has been embodied in the Pennsylvania platform,—although that is important in the end it wishes to gain rather than in its quality as a specific remedy.

*Mr. Bourne  
and His  
Constituency*

Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon must find this brilliant Pennsylvania platform a rather comforting piece of literature. When Senator Bourne was making his speeches on direct government and the rule of the people (speeches that have now been circulated in pamphlet form by the millions), he was regarded as a preacher of strange and subversive doctrines. But Pennsylvania, the greatest Republican State in the Union, has decided that it would rather have Senator Bourne's kind of government by the people than a government of political bosses, favored contractors, and corporation influences. It is a curious incident that,—at the very moment of nation-wide acceptance of most of his



MR. E. A. VAN VALKENBURG, EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA "NORTH AMERICAN"

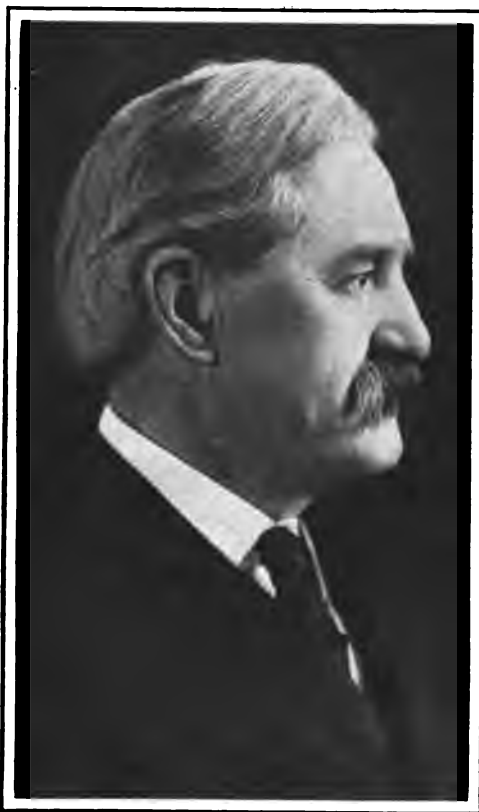
The foremost apostle of reform and progress in Pennsylvania, and regarded as the chief author of the great Harrisburg platform.

views, and of his own enlarged position and influence in the Senate,—Mr. Bourne's Republican fellow citizens in Oregon should not have nominated him in the recent primary for another term. He had left it to them, and had made no speeches or canvass. He had merely sent a statement offering his further services if the people so desired. He has accepted the outcome with good temper, and has lost none of his faith in primary elections and direct popular action. Mr. Bourne is a good deal more of the philosopher and statesman than of the scheming politician. It is hard for a legislator who is working incessantly at his duties in Washington to keep

his political fences in repair in a State on the Pacific Coast. If the people of Oregon have somewhat failed in discernment and generosity, Senator Bourne is still a young man and Oregon will have ample opportunity to make amends in future.

*Cummins on the Iron and Steel Tariff*

The position of Senator Cummins and his friends on the tariff question is not changed or obscured in the face of a Presidential campaign. Senator Cummins announced last month that he would do everything in his power to induce the Senate to act upon the tariff bills that have come over from the other House



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

SENATOR CUMMINS, OF IOWA

before the session adjourns. This would seem to mean that Congress will not adjourn for the conventions, and that the session will run far into the summer. Mr. Cummins made an elaborate speech last month in favor of a radical revision of the metals schedule of the tariff, and declared that the American makers of iron and steel products were taking a hundred million dollars a year more from the public than was needed to maintain present wages and pay a reasonable profit upon the capital invested in the business. Senator Cummins further demanded an immediate treatment of the sugar schedule, the woolen schedule, and the cotton schedule. He denounced executive usurpation and the growth of methods by which the President attempts to dictate legislation and to coerce Congress. Certainly Mr. Cummins had adopted none of the blandishments that might be regarded as tactful in a compromise candidate for the Republican nomination. His argument for a revision of the metals schedule included a broad review of the whole tariff issue, and will stand as one of the ablest and frankest of recent speeches on that subject.

*Back to the  
Promises  
of 1908*

Mr. Cummins is a man of courtesy, but he is not a weathervane or a compromiser. The position he now takes upon the tariff is exactly the position that the Republican party took in its national platform of 1908, and that Mr. Taft subsequently abandoned. Mr. Cummins merely proposes that the entire Republican party should get back on the main track, from which he and his friends have never departed. Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, who has lately been acting as spokesman for the Democrats of the Senate Finance Committee, declared last month that it was the intention of the Democrats of the Senate to do everything in their power to secure action upon every tariff bill that came over from the other House before agreeing to an adjournment. It seems to be the plan of the Democrats in the Senate first to vote for the Underwood bills without change, then to accept such modifications as can be agreed upon with the progressive Republicans. It is natural to believe that a good deal of the work of Congress will be affected by the results of the party conventions.

*An Appeal  
in the  
Tobacco Case*

Late in April, Senator Cummins won a remarkable triumph against the Taft administration in the passage through the Senate, without a roll call, of his bill which allows the independent tobacco companies to appeal from the reorganization plan that had been worked out for the Tobacco Trust with the help of the Department of Justice. This is a subject to which we have made several previous references. The independent companies hold that the dissolution of the Tobacco Trust has been made a mockery and a sham through the sort of readjustment arranged by the trust's attorneys with the help of the Department of Justice and the concurrence of United States Circuit Judges in New York. Not only are a number of independent tobacco companies authorized to appeal to the Supreme Court, but also the State of Wisconsin and the chief law officers of four or five other States, together with a number of Boards of Trade,—all of these parties having demanded such right. It will be remembered that the tremendous movement in certain business circles for the renomination of Mr. Taft seemed to bear direct relation to the enormous advantages accruing to the Standard Oil owners and the Tobacco Trust owners from the lenient treatment they had received in rearranging their corporate forms to meet the views of the Department of Justice.



More Money  
for  
Old Soldiers

The Sherwood pension bill, as greatly amended and modified in the Senate, passed the House on May 10 and was signed by President Taft on the following day. For several years past the government has been paying out approximately \$160,000,000 annually for military pensions. The new bill will add about 20 per cent. to this amount, according to accepted estimates, although the addition may prove to be more. Several months ago it was reported upon high authority that President Taft did not believe in the Sherwood bill, and intended to veto it. We will not criticize his action or asperse his motives. We may, however, quote from the editorial comment of the New York *Evening Post*, a newspaper that has been the strongest Taft supporter among all the Taft papers of New York, except the *Times*. Says the *Post*:

President Taft's signing of the pension bill can be explained only as a yielding to strong political appeals. His advisers and campaign managers have no doubt pointed out to him the damaging use that would have been made of a veto in the critical Ohio primaries. . . . This fine opportunity to do a great national service was before President Taft, but he has been dissuaded from attempting to render it. That he would have flung himself into the breach, had it not been for the exigent political situation, there is good reason for believing. He has been preaching economy and working for it, yet he consents to sign away \$25,000,000 a year in needless gratuities. No one has a clearer understanding than he of the principle at stake. He knows perfectly that this huge pension fund, secretly distributed, has become the sinews of war for politicians, and that no more threatening scheme has ever been devised, not merely to bind new burdens upon the taxpayers, but to eat away political purity. Yet political motives and the pleadings of his supporters have been able to sway him from doing the right thing.

It will be seen that the *Evening Post* does not give Taft the smallest credit for any sympathy with the Pension bill itself. It flatly accuses him of sacrificing his public duty for his own private ends. At least the managers of the Pension bill are to be congratulated upon the shrewdness with which they chose the moment for putting it into Taft's hands. Let us be more generous than the *Evening Post*, and try to believe that Mr. Taft has changed his views and likes the new pension legislation. In that case he may expect to have another pension bill to sign next winter; for in the near future the dollar-a-day measure for all survivors is likely to pass Congress. At least it should always be remembered that pension money goes directly back to the people. An undue burden, however, is put upon the South, which pays much more than it gets.



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#### HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, OF OHIO

(General Sherwood, who framed the original measure which formed the basis of the Pension bill that passed both Houses of Congress last month and was signed by the President, is a Democrat and Chairman of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions. He is himself a veteran of the Civil War. Enlisting as a private from Ohio, he served with distinction throughout the war, and was mustered out as a brigadier-general of volunteers late in 1865. He was twice elected Secretary of State of Ohio, three times elected a judge, and is now serving his fourth term in Congress. General Sherwood is seventy-six years old, and is the oldest member of the House of Representatives.)

Senators to  
be Elected  
Directly

At length the amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the popular election of Senators has been adopted by both Houses of Congress and sent forth upon its round of the State Legislatures. It will have to be ratified by three-fourths of these in order to become effective. The only cause of recent delay at Washington has been due to Southern objections raised against the possible future federal control of elections. All of the States are, in fact, fully convinced that direct rather than secondary election of Senators is desirable. It was on May 14 that the Democratic house accepted the Senate measure, receding from its former attitude toward the Bristow amendment. Two days later, Mr. Barnes of Albany,—who has now been accepted by his wing of the party as its chief



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SENATOR BRISTOW, OF KANSAS

source of wisdom upon constitutional law and the principles of government,—denounced the popular election of Senators and all other items of the progressive program at a banquet given in his honor by his loyal and admiring followers in New York. The warnings of Barnes and Taft, however, against these innovations seem to be falling upon the deaf ears of a nation bent upon rushing to its own destruction. For instance, although Barnes was duly reported in the Boston morning papers of the 17th, the Massachusetts House on that very same day, by a unanimous *viva voce* vote, ratified the amendment, in accordance with which Senators Lodge and Crane will have to submit to the direct action of the people when they seek new terms. It will take two years, however, for the amendment to find a sufficient number of Legislatures in session to become a part of the Constitution of the United States. The Lorimer case, which is still pending, with the hundreds of printed pages of testimony and report that have already appeared, furnishes an excellent concrete example of the reasons why it would be well to elect Senators by direct vote. Almost half of the States, realizing the great need of such a reform, have already ingenious ways by which to make the action of the Legislature nominal and to give the people the

real choice. There are some things that are worked out in our institutions through the process of experience.

*Long-  
Continued  
Floods*

The high water in the Mississippi and its tributaries which in April had brought ruin and distress to cities, villages and farms for hundreds of miles in the lower valley, receded for only a brief interval, to be followed in May by even more destructive floods caused by heavy rains. The fatalities, which had been numbered by scores, quickly mounted into hundreds. In Louisiana there were picturesque fights with the river at several points. New Orleans itself was in grave danger at one time, and at Baton Rouge, the State capital, Governor Sanders headed a party of dike-builders made up partly of University students and partly of convicts, who filled sacks with sand and by raising the dikes in this manner saved the town. All the facilities of the government were taxed to provide food and shelter for the destitute survivors. Congress appropriated more than a million dollars for relief measures, and private benevolence nobly supplemented this fund; but the destitution and suffering were appalling. Efforts to estimate the property loss were given up as futile. Since the San Francisco fire, in 1902, the country has suffered no calamity approaching these floods in magnitude. It was not until the middle of May that the lower Mississippi began to resume its normal stage of water and even then the upper stretches were threateningly high.

*The Floods  
and the  
Crops*

One effect of the Mississippi floods that has perhaps not been properly estimated in the North is the setback that has been given to the planting of the cotton crop. In Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, the cotton should all have been in by May 10, but on that date thousands of acres were still under water and the acreage of completed planting was far below normal. Experts name 12,000,000 bales as the required supply of cotton for the coming year (last year's crop was 16,000,000 bales), and it must be admitted that reports from the cotton districts last month indicated a serious shrinkage in acreage. Corn-planting in the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley was retarded almost as much as cotton-planting in the lower portion. Indeed, weather conditions this spring have been abnormal throughout the country.

*A National  
Chamber  
of Commerce*

In April the National Chamber of Commerce of the United States was organized at Washington by 600 delegates from various local commercial organizations who had been called together by Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Secretary Nagel's plea for the formation of such a body was based on the national government's need of assistance in dealing with the economic problems that are continually coming before it under the modern methods of governmental supervision and regulation of business affairs. In foreign countries, notably Great Britain, where politico-economic relations have long been more clearly articulated than in America, such organizations have become well established as recognized adjuncts of the governmental departments. In fact, the British Board of Trade is itself an integral part of the government. Heretofore in this country there has been no national organization representing trade or industry as a whole; hence the often-deplored lack of coöperation between the government at Washington and the great business interests of the country, notably in the matter of tariff revision. The government now announces its desire to welcome assistance from the business interests in promoting the common welfare of the country. There seems no reason why an association of this character, representing the boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and like organizations in every State of the Union should not be able to render valuable service in this direction.

*Pay the  
School  
Teachers!*

In one of its chief functions,—that of keeping the country accurately informed about the public schools and what they are doing,—the United States Bureau of Education has made marked progress of late. While statistics of school attendance are still deficient in some respects, the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Claxton, is able to report with a fair degree of assurance as to the average amount of schooling received by American children during school life—that is, from five to eighteen years of age. It seems that each child attends school for five years of ten months each. This is far below the ideal set up by the compulsory education laws in many of our States, but if competent instruction could be assured in all schools the five years would mean a great deal in the child's development. Unfortunately, the average pay of teachers in many States is much too low, as Dr. Claxton points out, to obtain the services of men and



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DR. P. P. CLAXTON  
(United States Commissioner of Education)

women of sufficient native ability, training, and experience to guarantee good work. In eleven States the average annual salary of teachers is less than \$400, in eight it is less than \$300, and in two it is less than \$250, while the average for all teachers, including those in the big cities and in the high schools, is less than \$500. In these days almost any self-respecting cook or housemaid would spurn such recompense. Less than one-half of the teachers in the country at large have had adequate preparation for their duties. It is not surprising that very few teachers remain in the work long enough to gain much experience. In several States from 20 to 30 per cent. of the teachers every year are beginners. The country is indebted to Commissioner Claxton for his service in directing attention to these unpleasant facts. What the situation calls for is a nation-wide campaign to raise teachers' salaries. Meanwhile the new Children's Bureau, under the direction of Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of Chicago, may be expected to make an intelligent and helpful study of American childhood. The federal government, through the Bureau of Education and the Children's Bureau, is concerning itself, more directly than ever before, with the conditions surrounding child life in this country.



MRS. H. L. ELMENDORF  
(President of the American Library Association)

*Librarians  
in  
Conference*

Following the recent examples of the Conference of Charities and Correction and the National Education Association, another important national body, the American Library Association, has chosen a woman as its president. The annual meeting of the association, to be held at Ottawa, Canada, from June 26 to July 2, will be under the capable guidance of Mrs. H. L. Elmendorf, of the Buffalo Public Library. The program of the Ottawa conference will be concerned very largely with the relation of the library to individuals. The calling of librarianship is now rightly dignified as a profession. The requirements for entrance to it are exacting and the men

and women who fill its ranks are as truly educators as are the teachers in our public and private schools. The meeting at Ottawa, over which Mrs. Elmendorf will preside, will be addressed by President Vincent, of the University of Minnesota, and by other distinguished educationists.

*Good  
Roads*

The American Association for Highway Improvement deserves a large membership and substantial support. This organization advocates the "correlation of all road construction" throughout the country. Every State in the Union is a good mission field for the society's propaganda. All road improvement, as well as the building of new roads, should be worked out on some general plan. The important roads of one county should connect with those of the neighboring counties, and eventually there should be evolved an interstate system of highways. The railroads are providing "good-roads trains" to further this movement, which is headed by Director Logan W. Page, of the United States Office of Public Roads.



MISS JULIA C. LATHROP  
(Chief of the new Children's Bureau at Washington)

*The Titanic Investigation* The American investigation into the causes of the disaster to the *Titanic* and the responsibility therefor began upon the arrival, at New York, of the liner *Carpathia* with the survivors. The Senate appointed a sub-committee of its regular committee of Commerce, consisting of Senators Smith of Michigan, Chairman; Perkins of California; Bourne of Oregon; Burton of Ohio; Fletcher of Florida; Simmons of North Carolina; and Newlands of Nevada, to conduct an inquiry, the purpose of which was "to get all the facts bearing upon this unfortunate catastrophe that it is possible to obtain." A few days later the British Ministry also appointed a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Lord Mersey, one of the most eminent living British jurists, and a number of experts, including Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Attorney General, to conduct an investigation under the authority



LORD MERSEY, PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

(An eminent British legal authority; a member of the South African Committee of 1896-97; of the Royal Commission for the Revision of Martial Law Sentences in 1902; a Judge of the King's Bench; and President of the Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice)



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SENATOR WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH OF MICHIGAN,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN TITANIC INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

(Senator Smith, who is generally referred to in the British press as "the American who told Mr. Bruce Ismay he could not return to England," aroused some resentment by his energetic and prompt action in detaining the president of the White Star Line and his associates on American soil pending the investigation. Later a better feeling grew up between the committee and the White Star officials, and upon his departure, on May 2, for England, Mr. Ismay expressed himself as having no criticism to make of his treatment by the American committee.)

and direction of the Board of Trade. Senator Smith, chairman of the American committee, took the chief part in drawing out testimony from the officials of the White Star line, the surviving officers, seamen and passengers of the *Titanic*, and officers and passengers of other vessels which were in the neighborhood of the great liner when she sunk. He displayed a good deal of courage and persistence in the face of all sorts of pressure to desist from certain questions. Hearings were



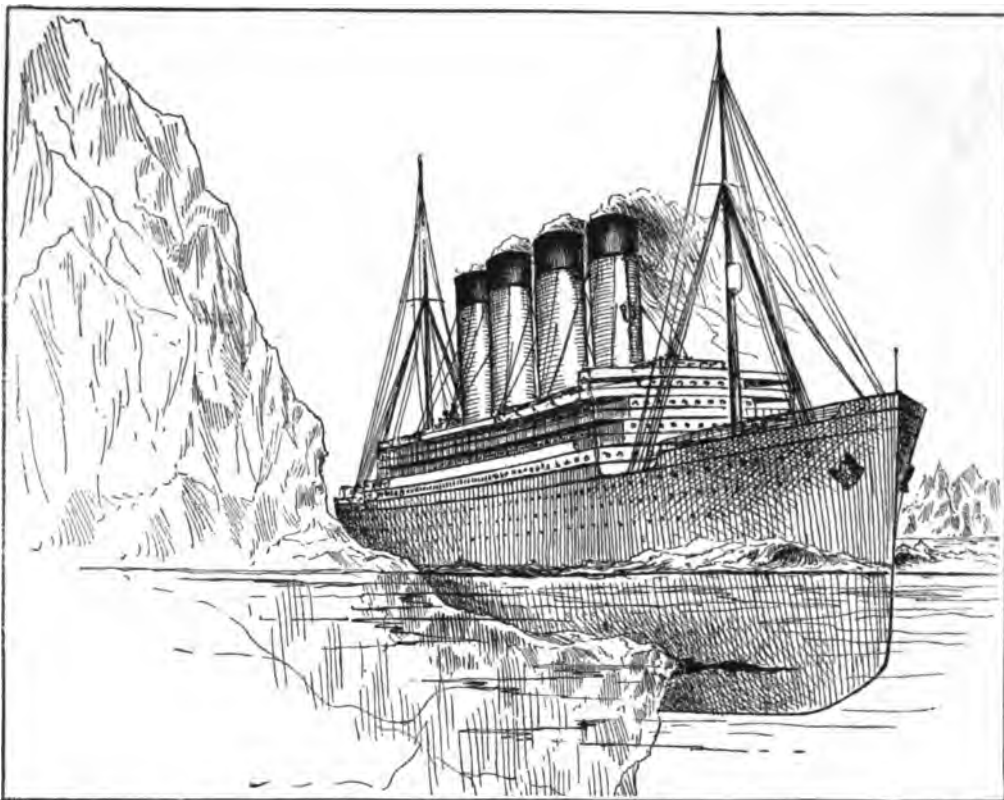
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MR. ISMAY, HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE AND MR. FRANKLIN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WHITE STAR LINE, LEAVING THE INVESTIGATION ROOM IN NEW YORK

held in New York the day after the arrival of the *Carpathia*, on April 18, and later on, in Washington. Mr. J. Bruce Ismay, chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Mercantile Marine Company, which owns the White Star line, was summoned to appear before the committee, and his was the first important testimony. There was some discussion of the right of the Senate to summon foreign subjects as witnesses. Being in United States territory, however, there could be no question of the jurisdiction of the Senate in this matter. It should be said, further, to the entire credit of Mr. Ismay and his fellow officers, as well as the officials of other lines, that they gave no indication of any intention or desire to refuse to cooperate to the fullest extent with the object of the investigation.

Despite certain discrepancies naturally to be expected under the circumstances, which included nearly 3000 people on such an immense vessel, the general testimony, with a remarkable approach to unanimity, agreed on these main facts for which it was sought to place the responsibility. The *Titanic*, with life-boat provision for saving only one in three of its passengers, proceeded at full speed through an iceberg region in which, according to three definite warnings, icebergs had been seen within ten hours. Contributing causes to the disaster, about which there was almost unanimous agreement, were a crew too few in number and insufficiently trained; a poorly paid wireless telegraph service, in operation for only part of the time; the failure to test thoroughly before starting the bulkhead doors and general electric equipment of the steamer; the lack of proper "glasses" for the lookout; and the obstinate belief of the officers, crew and many of the passengers in the unsinkability of the ship. This is an awful indictment, an incredible one, were not every detail of it attested to by scores of responsible witnesses.

*What Happened to the Titanic*

It may be useful, at this point, to restate briefly what the daily press has taken columns, even pages, to describe—the bare facts in the case. The position of the *Titanic* when she hit the berg, as given in her calls for assistance by wireless, was latitude 41° 46' North; longitude 50° 14' West. This was about sixteen miles south of the regular westbound summer steamship route. The early reports that the *Titanic* was using the shorter, northern or winter route were erroneous. At this point in the ocean, some 1600 miles almost due west of New York, at a little before midnight on April 14, she collided with an iceberg which had come down in the Labrador current and was on its way southward. According to an expert nautical engineer, writing in the *Scientific American*, what actually happened (as far as the testimony can be relied upon and interpreted) was that a "massive, projecting, under-water shelf of the iceberg with which she collided tore open several compartments of the *Titanic*. The rent extended from near the bow to amidships and was similar to what would have happened had an immense can-opener gouged her side." The energy of the blow, according to this same writer, was 1,100,000 foot tons, equal to that of the combined broadsides of the battleships *Delaware* and *North Dakota*.



From the *Scientific American*

THIS, ACCORDING TO THE EXPERTS, IS WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED TO THE TITANIC

*The Survivors  
and the  
Dead*

As soon as the blow was struck, the water began to flow in rapidly, and, according to the testimony of one of the steerage passengers, soon after midnight it had risen to a foot in depth in the third-class quarters. It was not until an hour or more after the collision that the wireless call for help was sent to Cape Race and the life-boats began to be lowered. Shortly after all the boats had left, most of them not full to more than one-third of their complement, the ship sank, bow first, disappearing at 2.20 o'clock in the morning. Those of the passengers, officers and crew who were in the boats, as well as some others who jumped from the sinking ship and by the help of life preservers afterward succeeded in reaching the boats, were rescued in the morning by the Cunard liner *Carpathia* which had responded to the wireless call for help. Altogether 705 souls were rescued out of a total of more than 2300 on board, making a total death list of 1600. As soon as all hope of all other rescues had been abandoned, the White Star line chartered two vessels, the cable ship *Mackay-Bennett* and the *Minia*, and sent them to the scene of the disaster to search for the

bodies. When these ships returned to Halifax they brought the remains of 200 passengers and crew. Among these were the bodies of Col. John Jacob Astor, Isidor Straus and Charles M. Hays, of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. It is now estimated that the financial loss of the accident exceeded \$15,000,000. This included the value of the ship itself and the money and other personal property that went down with the vessel. A number of suits for damages under the British Workmen's Compensation Act have already been instituted, two of which were not only not opposed, but anticipated, the company having lodged the amount sued for with the court beforehand.

*The  
Ultimate  
Causes*

The two main questions in which not only the investigating committee were interested, but which vitally concern the traveling public of the world, are: (1) Who is to blame for this appalling disaster? (2) What precautions can and should be adopted in the future against a repetition? It does not seem possible to prove criminal negligence. Rather, it is already evident that the disaster was due to



three causes: the faulty system of regulation of ocean travel for which the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany must, to a degree, be held responsible; the ever-increasing competition of most of the larger steamship lines to provide larger and faster vessels in which, of late years, the luxuries and elegances of travel have crowded out the appliances for safety, and the craze for speed and luxury demanded by the public and supplied by the steamships in response to the demand. Admiral F. E. Chadwick, in a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, the day after the tragedy, summed up the situation when he said:

The *Titanic* was lost by unwise navigation, by running at full speed, though so amply forewarned, into the dangerous situation, which might easily have been avoided. This is the fundamental, sad, and one important fact. It accounts for every-

Less  
Speed,  
More Boats

When she struck the iceberg the *Titanic* was going at the rate of 21 knots (24½ miles) an hour, despite the warnings already given by passing ships of the presence of icebergs, and also despite the fact that the standing instructions of the White Star line to its captains are that they are to "run no risks"; that "the safety of lives of passengers is the ruling principle"; and that "it is the earnest desire of the management to ensure a reputation for safety." These were the rules, but how often an appalling disaster has shown how easily custom establishes many unwritten laws that override printed instructions! As one editorial writer has pithily put it, "not a single life on the *Titanic* was saved by the tennis court." Despite the great and expensive precautions taken to render the ship unsinkable,—which the passengers to their destruction devoutly believed to be true—the great amount of space taken up for luxurious appointments resulted in an insufficient number of lifeboats, and the "unsinkable" ship now lies two miles below the surface of the Atlantic.

Results  
of  
the Inquiry

As a result of the inquiry Senator Smith proposes to recommend some radical new legislation for ocean passenger traffic. His ideas, as summarized in an interview in a New York newspaper, show plainly how useful his inquiry has been, and how undeserved have been the criticisms as to the sense and reason for his questions. He would have ocean liners hereafter equipped with double bottoms and

and out with modern lifeboats, fully

equipped and supplied with food, sufficient in number to take care of every soul on board. There should be also, he thinks, searchlights, binoculars for the men on watch, and shorter hours of service for them. He also demands regular lifeboat drills with permanent crew stations; constant day and night wireless service, under competent control of the captain, with adequate remuneration for the operators; some warning signal to the ship's passengers of an accident; and some plan to give passengers instructions concerning lifebelts and the proper procedure in entering lifeboats. Finally, he would compel all steamers to take the summer route in the iceberg season, and demand some hard and fast regulation as to the speed of a vessel in fog and when in the neighborhood of icebergs.

As to  
Wireless  
Control

Together with the tribute to the immense value of wireless telegraphy as demonstrated in bringing the *Carpathia* to the rescue of the unfortunates in the lifeboats of the *Titanic*, there has come to the public mind a feeling that the great invention of Marconi has not yet been made as efficient as it might be. A more complete and stringent national government control of wireless operators and a better, more practical working arrangement between wireless apparatus on ships and those on shore stations seem to be highly desirable.

Reforms  
Already  
Introduced

Immediately after the disaster and before the completion of the American investigation, Mr. J. Bruce Ismay, in his capacity as President of the White Star Line, announced that a number of reforms would at once be instituted on the ships of his line, including the carrying of sufficient lifeboats for every person on board. Similar action was taken by other steamship lines. On May 1 a sweeping regulation was put into effect by the Government Steamship Inspection Service changing the regulations as to the number of lifeboats to be carried by sea-going vessels. Formerly the number of lifeboats required by law was based on tonnage; hereafter it will be regulated by "the number of passengers, officers and crew licensed to be carried." Furthermore, immediately after the first report of the accident to the *Titanic*, various steamship lines conferred with the United States Hydrographic Office, and all captains were instructed to take hereafter a new southern route intended to bring them many miles south of the icebergs, although adding 200 miles to the west-bound course.



PRESIDENT TAFT, THE CHIEF PLOTTER, AND AMBASSADOR BRYCE, HIS ACCOMPLICE, IN THEIR FAMOUS 'ACT OF THIMBLERIGGING GUILLESS, GREEN JOHN CANUCK, POOR CHAP!  
From the *Herald* (Montreal)

*Canada and the  
Reciprocity  
"Plot"*

An outburst of anger and excitement in both Canada and Great Britain followed on the publication, on April 25 by President Taft, of his letter to Colonel Roosevelt about Canadian reciprocity. In this letter, dated Washington, January 10, 1911, and marked "confidential," there occurred this paragraph.

The amount of Canadian products we would take would produce a current of business between Western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York with their bank credits and everything else, and it would increase greatly the demand of Canada for our manufactures. I see this is an argument against reciprocity made in Canada, and I think it is a good one.

When, last summer, Speaker Clark made his much criticized references to the possibility of annexing Canada, a wave of alarm, apprehension and anger swept the Dominion. Mr. Borden made the most of it in his fight against the Laurier government. Sir Wilfrid, on the other hand, and the advocates of reciprocity in the United States, ridiculed the idea that the proposed agreement was intended to do anything other than advance the interests

of both countries equally. Meanwhile the Canadians continued angry and distrustful, and, at the election, in September last, they swept Borden into office by a landslide. Since then the anti-American feeling in Canada has been subsiding, and the apparently fair attitude of President Taft has gone far to reassure our neighbors to the North. In a number of speeches, Premier Borden has emphasized Canadian-American good will, and the sentiment in favor of reciprocity, particularly in the West of the Dominion, as we have already pointed out in these pages, has been growing. Mr. Taft's frank statement to Mr. Roosevelt however, that he regarded the Borden argument as a "good one" and that reciprocity would make Canada "an adjunct to the United States" is regarded by Canadians generally as likely, not only to postpone reciprocity indefinitely, but to halt the progress of friendliness between the two countries for some time. The press of the Dominion and of Great Britain is apparently quite agreed on this point.

*Some  
Canadian  
Views*

Canadian opinion is voiced by Mr. George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, who said in an interview given out last month:

The veiled meaning in the President's phrase, "the parting of the ways," has been illuminated beyond all doubt. There can hereafter be no cavil as to the purpose underlying the reciprocity proposal or the reasons therefor. Canada was to become only an adjunct of the United States, her business was to go to Chicago and New York, with



THE GREATEST CURIOUSITY IN THE CANADIAN POLITICAL MUSEUM  
From the *Star* (Montreal)



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SEÑOR MANUEL CALERO

(The new Mexican Ambassador who says the better classes in his country support President Madero)

her bank credits and everything else; her manufacturing was to be done by that country, and all this for the best of economic and political reasons. The majority of Canadians either knew or suspected this last September. Now the empire and the wide world know it certainly. By this latest full revelation President Taft has added to the obligations Canadians are under to him for his partial revelation last year. Reciprocity with the United States was dead before; now it is forever buried. The imputation and attack upon our nationhood and our imperial connection will never be forgotten by Canadians.

The press of England permitted itself to become very much worked up over the incident, and in the House of Commons there were even interpellations regarding what was characterized as Ambassador Bryce's "treasonable act" in supporting Mr. Taft's reciprocity proposals. The Ambassador's recall was dis-

cussed. Sir Edward Grey, however, in reply to these questions, declared that the conduct of Mr. Bryce (who is now on a leave of absence in New Zealand) was perfectly satisfactory to the British government; that he had acted in a perfectly constitutional manner in helping Messrs. Fielding and Patterson in working out the reciprocity pact. To have done otherwise, (we quote the *Montreal Star* editorially), "would have been an outrageous interference with Canadian autonomy." Meanwhile Speaker Clark's friends are viewing the matter with complacency. They regard it as a vindication. The *Montreal Herald*, however, sees a characteristic of American national politics in the incident. It observes:

Champ Clark in a speech declared that if we wanted Canada we would go and take it. Now President Taft publishes a letter of his own, in which he told of his plans for making Canada a mere "adjunct to the United States." And these two skilful diplomats are serious candidates for the Presidential nominations of the two great parties! Who can wonder that American public affairs constitute a standing joke for European observers!

The *Star* is a supporter of Borden, while the *Herald* favored Laurier. Yet, as we show in the cartoons which we produce on the preceding page, they are quite agreed as to the Taft letter.

*The New  
Disorders in  
Mexico*

The attempt is being made by the partisans of Orozco and Zapata, the Mexican chieftains in revolt against the government of President Madero, to enlist the sympathies of the people of the United States. These leaders and their agents are claiming that the new movement is a struggle for human rights, and that Americans ought to aid and further it with the same moral coöperation they gave to the uprising which finally overthrew the régime of Díaz and brought Madero into power as constitutional president. But in reality the situation is now entirely different. By no stretch of the imagination can the Mexican insurgents at the present time be considered as deserving of the recognition or the sympathy of intelligent Americans. The insurgents, it is true, have fought a number of battles against the government forces and have won a few. They have, moreover, raised a great cloud of discontent and controversy through which it is not easy to see clearly what is actually going on in the mountain fastnesses of Chihuahua and Morelos, as well as in the government departments at Mexico City.

*Journalistic Humility* It is quite true, as the insurgents bitterly complain, that many of the rosy promises made by the followers of Madero have not yet been realized. Nor can there be any doubt of the correctness of the views of the *Mañana*, one of the most influential of the independent newspapers of the capital when, taking advantage of the freedom of the press established by the present régime, it says:

Not counting a few hundred visionaries, who verily believe that a nation like ours can be fit for democracy, a nation with seventy-five per cent. of unambitious illiterates, of twenty per cent. of ambitious, mischievous indifferents, and, at most, five per cent. of relatively well-meaning persons, we all hold the unconfessed, but nevertheless intimate and firmly fixed conviction, that we form an undisciplined, ignorant and hot-headed people, which, taken as a whole, is only able to march in good order under the clever and not half enough appreciated guidance of a General Diaz, who, although not exempt from human frailties and imperfections, better than any one else understood his people, giving us the treatment we really deserve, and having at the same time the good sense to let us think that we might deserve better things and might aspire to them later on.

Nevertheless, to Americans the attempt to thrust a reform President from office before he has had a fair opportunity to carry out his program, simply because a number of brigands like Zapata and Orozco have got the revolutionary habit, appears in the same light as the opera bouffe revolutions of some of the pseudo-civilized republics further south.

*The Better Classes Favor Madero* The Madero government, as we have pointed out more than once in these pages, has already made a creditable beginning in its reform program. It is slowly but surely working out its agrarian policies and reorganizing the finances of the country. The retiring Mexican ambassador at Washington, Señor Crespo y Martinez, referred to the situation in his country last month in these words:

The conditions are not at all like those of a year ago. Then there was a popular and general demand for a change in the government, for a more liberal representation. The new government has started out well to bring about the desired changes, and I am assured that the more substantial classes favor giving President Madero and his advisers a fair trial.

The new ambassador, Señor Manuel Calero, reaffirmed these views, adding:

There is no anti-American sentiment in Mexico. Americans have taken too much stock in the reports forwarded to American newspapers. In

fact there is no anti-foreign sentiment of any kind. The Spaniards, Germans, English and other nationalities which are numerous in Mexico remained quietly in the country and suffered only the hardship incidental to a country in revolution. It is regrettable that only the Americans left, and in many cases sacrificed their business interests, because they heard a voice from the United States which said that Mexico was unsafe. President Taft's message, which contained nothing which was not substantially correct, was misunderstood by many Americans who attempted to read between the lines and became alarmed.

General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff, in a recent interview in Washington, gave these discouraging words to the sensation mongers:

No additional troops have been ordered to the border, no munitions of war are being feverishly collected, because with the exception of "one man's toe shot off" all is quiet on the Rio Grande.

The reference is to the soldier on leave who, while lying on the river bank, was wounded by a shot from the Mexican side. "We do not consciously intend to go to war for one toe," says General Wood.

*Failure of the Loan Treaties* Reviewing his recent tour through Caribbean America, Secretary Knox declared, last month, that the friendly efforts of the United States to aid the republics he visited are always opposed by two hostile forces. One is the misrepresentation of our attitude and purposes in the countries themselves and the other the influence of certain small coteries of interested persons in the United States who selfishly oppose reforms that would put an end to political abuses in the republics. Mr. Knox has always defended the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy" of our State Department, which, it is claimed by its advocates, has been the instrument of completely regenerating certain backward countries through the reorganization of their finances and the stimulation of their trade. With this in view, the Secretary has been untiring in his efforts to bring about the adoption of the long-pending loan treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras. Both these conventions aimed to effect the financial rehabilitation of these republics. Honduras and Nicaragua are involved in a European-owned debt far beyond their ability to pay. The loan conventions proposed to give the sanction of the United States to loan contracts whereby American bankers were to liquidate the European indebtedness of Nicaragua and Honduras and supply each government with funds enabling it to make a fresh start. Opposition, however, developed to the guarantee feature and after extended



Photograph by the Trans-Atlantic Co., New York

**TOM MANN, THE MILITANT BRITISH LABOR LEADER,  
WHO HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO SIX MONTHS'  
IMPRISONMENT FOR "INCITING SOLDIERS  
TO MUTINY"**

debate in the Senate Committee, the conventions failed, the vote being a tie.

*The Bust of  
France on Lake  
Champlain*

Both France and Germany paid graceful compliments to the American people last month. On May 3 a French delegation presented to the joint New York and Vermont Tercentenary Commission a bronze bust typifying France (the work of the sculptor Rodin), which is to grace the base of the memorial lighthouse erected at Crown Point in the honor of Champlain, the French explorer. In making the presentation, M. Gabriel Hanotaux, statesman and member of the French Academy, declared that the bust would bear continual testimony to the quality of French taste.

It will depict to you France such as we Frenchmen conceive it, such as we love it. See this countenance, smiling and at the same time grave, these delicate and pure features, these full cheeks indicating health, this firm look expressing resolution and sincerity. It is France as she wishes to be and as she is.

A very happy description of the France that Frenchmen and lovers of France see in history. The official message from France was brought by M. Jules Jusserand, the Ambas-

sador, who felicitously referred to Franco-American relations. M. Jusserand, who prides himself on being the personal friend of the American people, is fond of pointing out the fact that although we once did have a little tiff with France, the French Republic is the only European nation with which we ever had an alliance. France and America, the two most powerful and populous republics in the world, should be friends because they have so many problems in common. "Like ocean vessels, they should always be ready to heed the call for assistance or advice. They are engaged in the greatest experiment in government the world has ever seen, the most difficult because the people who govern themselves, while most happy, are faced with the greatest of difficulties in working out governmental forms." Late in May a division of the German fleet, consisting of three cruisers, set sail from Kiel, to return the visit, made last June, by the United States Atlantic fleet to Germany.

*The  
Tom Mann  
Sentence*

A development in the labor situation in England, which may have very far-reaching results, was the arrest, last month, of Tom Mann, the most militant of the English labor leaders, and his sentence to serve six months in jail for "inciting troops to mutiny." Mann's offense was addressing the regular troops called for duty in the recent coal strike, and urging them to refuse to shoot strikers and their sympathizers. Mann conducted his own defense in a masterly manner. He admitted his guilt, but claimed justification because of the conditions existing at the time of the strike. He had never intended, he stated, to incite soldiers to disobey lawful commands, but, he contended,

The commands of the officers to the soldiers must be lawful, and an order to shoot, and shoot to kill, brother Englishmen, would be a violation of the rights guaranteed to all citizens. I ask no mercy from this Court, but I claim the rights any man or citizen working for reforms should be granted. All I have tried to do in my work has been to benefit the working class and to reform crying evils.

He denounced the action of the government in lending the aid of the troops to "break the strike." In appealing to the soldiers not to fire, he called attention to the fact that in many cases they would be shooting their own relatives. While the sentence is regarded as technically legal, there seems to be a general concurrence among British journals that the

law ought to be revised so as to "meet modern conditions of education, government and constitutional liberty."

*Von Bieberstein Goes to London*

The recall of Count Wolff-Metternich, for several years German Ambassador at London, and the appointment of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein to that post, is an indication that a radical change has been determined upon in the conduct of British-German relations, at least from the German standpoint. Baron von Bieberstein has a reputation higher than that of any other living German diplomat. Since 1897 he has been at Constantinople, and it has been due to his alert, courageous, and intelligent diplomacy that Germany's influence at the Turkish capital is now so great. He has been spoken of as the successor of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg in the imperial chancellorship. The London mission, however, is regarded at the present moment as of even more importance than the post of Chancellor, and it demands the best man that Germany can supply. The Kaiser is known to have been disappointed with the way Count Wolff-Metternich conducted the "conversations" with the British Foreign Secretary during the Moroccan episode last summer. Baron von Bieberstein has, among his pet hobbies, the ambition to replace French influence by German, as he did the British at Constantinople. The near future in Anglo-German diplomatic relations should be more than usually interesting and significant.

*The Revolt at Fez*

The absorption of North Africa by France and Italy goes on, slowly and with many apparently serious interruptions, but none the less surely. No sooner did the negotiations between France and Spain seem to be on the fair road to settlement than trouble broke out in Morocco in the form of a mutiny amongst the Moorish troops. Last month, without any warning,—which looks like complicity on the part of the Sultan Mulai Hafid—the troops in Fez mutinied, killed their officers, and then rushed through the town slaughtering every foreigner they could find. Many deeds of heroism are recorded, but, taken by surprise, the French residents could make no real resistance. Punishment was sharp and severe, since adequate French forces were in the neighborhood. The mutiny has, however, spread a feeling of unrest throughout the country and even into the Spanish sphere of influence. The French Government has appointed a strong military Resident General



BARON MARSCHALL VON BIBERSTEIN, GERMANY'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND

(Baron von Bieberstein is regarded as Germany's ablest diplomat. He was for ten years in Constantinople and scored many triumphs there for his country)

in the person of General Lyautey and order has been restored. A prominent French military authority, however, is quoted as expressing the belief that twelve years will be required to subdue Morocco.

*A New Phase in the Turkish War*

Last month the Italian Government determined upon a new phase of the war. Its fleet seized a number of islands in the Eastern Mediterranean, including, after some fighting, the classic Rhodes. These islands afford excellent bases for operations against European Turkey, being no great distance from the Dardanelles. Following on this incursion into European waters an Italian fleet shelled the entrance to the Dardanelles on the opening day (April 18) of the newly elected Turkish Parliament. Little damage seems to have been done, as is generally the case in these encounters between warships and forts. The Italians sent 342 projectiles of heavy caliber against the Turkish batteries, at a distance of 10,000 meters, with very little damage. On some of these projectiles, collected after the bombardment, were inscribed "1910, Tripoli," showing that preparations for the Tripolitan venture had been



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

FREDERICK VIII, LATE KING OF DENMARK, WALKING  
IN THE STREETS OF COPENHAGEN

going on the year before. But the attack forced the Turks to mine and block the Dardanelles. This was possibly the aim of the Italian Government. Italy seems to have believed that so serious an inconvenience to international, and especially to British and Russian trade, would force the great powers to put pressure on the Turkish Government to bring hostilities to an end. But the Italian plan failed. No concerted action was taken against Turkey, nor does it seem likely that there will be any such action.

*Why the War  
Does Not  
Stop*

Although all Europe—including Italy and Turkey—desires the war to stop, there seems no way out of the *impasse*, but rather every danger of increasing complications. The reasons why neither combatant can stop just now are simple, but not generally understood. As for Italy, quite apart from her desire to prevent any other power occupying Tripoli, the results of the war at home have so far surpassed expectations that it is worth considerable expenditure to complete the internal welding of the Italian people. Before the war there was an ever growing Socialist opposition to the government. Now there is none. All are ardently and cohesively patriotic. Baron San Giusto, one of the party of Italian engineers who attended the

International Congress of Navigation held at Philadelphia, last month, has stated in public that "all parties in Italy, without exception, the Clericals, the Liberals, the Constitutionals and the Socialists, are one in respect to the war, and there is no North or South. Ferri, one of the chiefs of the Socialists, has agreed with the other leaders that this is no question of party." The war has even brought the Quirinal and the Vatican much nearer together. These achievements the Italian Government regards as benefits which it naturally does not wish to relinquish.

*As to the  
Annexation  
of Tripoli*

The great stumbling-block is undoubtedly the premature annexation proclamation. Undoubtedly it was forced on the government by internal requirements, but it seems to have been a mistake. It infuriated Moslem sentiment of every shade. It would probably have been much better to prefer the substance to the form, and to have settled down to some such tenure (more or less illogical, but perfectly practical) as Great Britain has in Egypt. But it is characteristic of a Latin race—as Taine puts it—that it always wants to occupy a "sharply defined and termino-



ANYTHING TO ATTRACT ATTENTION

EUROPA (to Italy, who has temporarily discarded the barrel-organ in favor of the bombardment): "If you go on like that, young man, you'll get yourself disliked."

ITALY: "Well, that's better than not being noticed at all."  
From PUNCH (London)





Photographs by the American Press Association, New York

## THE NEW KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK

(Queen Alexandrine, who was formerly Princess of Mecklenburg)

(Christian Charles Frederick Albert Alexander, who will reign as Christian X)

logically defensible position." The annexation proclamation was an error in political tactics. The Arabs and Turks, who might have been kept apart, are united, and the proper method for Italy remains one of patience. Turkey cannot accept any solution which touches the prestige of the Caliphate, especially as regards the Arabs, since to do so would be to jeopardize the whole structure of new Turkey. And so the end seems as yet far off.

*Death of  
Frederick  
of Denmark*

The Danes are among the most democratic peoples of Europe. So orderly and methodical, moreover, are the operations of constitutional government in the little peninsular kingdom on Germany's northern front that the death of King Frederick VIII, last month, and the accession of his son, who will reign as Christian X, occasioned no more governmental or popular agitation or excitement than the change of presidents in a republic—considerably less it may be truthfully said than a presidential campaign in the United States. Six years ago King Frederick succeeded his father, who had reigned almost half a century and who was known as the "father-in-law of Europe," from the fact that the Danish royal family, for a generation, has been related

closely to almost all the courts of Europe. In a sketch of King Christian IX, which appeared in this magazine for March, 1906, Mr. Edwin Björkman wrote of his successor, the monarch who passed away on May 14 in Hamburg while returning with his queen from a trip to Nice:

Of the new King, the chief things that can be said are that his tact and his warm interest in his people are universally known. Together with his more modern views on the relationship between monarch and nation they will undoubtedly serve to make him an efficient leader of his people on the path to ever-increasing prosperity and self-realization in art and literature, as well as in public-spirited citizenship.

This prediction has been verified to the letter. The late King was noted for his culture. He was at one time Chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, and at the time of his accession Grand Master of the Danish Free Masons. He was well known as a promoter of all sorts of philanthropic objects. He was also much interested in the army, into which he introduced many reforms. He was a model constitutional monarch. The recent Premier of one of Denmark's radical cabinets said of him:

He never interferes. He understands the cravings of the new times. His treatment of the

Socialists is everything that can be expected from a king whose friends and surroundings are opposed to democratic progress. He even reads our Socialist papers. He has to smuggle them into his own palace. But he enjoys a good article.

Frederick, who had a fixed place in the hearts of the Danish people when he came to the throne, was a fine specimen of manhood, physically, mentally and morally, and universally popular among his people. He was more progressive than his father. Under him, Denmark has prospered greatly.

*The New King.  
Death of  
Strindberg*

King Frederick was a brother of the Queen Mother Alexandra of England, of King George of Greece, and of the widowed Dowager Empress of Russia. It was his second son, Karl, who, in November, 1905, was elected King of Norway after that kingdom's separation from Sweden, and who now reigns as Haakon VII. He was also uncle of the Czar of Russia and of King George of Great Britain. His wife was Princess Louise, daughter of Karl XV of Sweden and Norway. The new King, Christian, who was proclaimed on May 15, is in his forty-second year. He is known as the tallest Prince in Europe. He is an amiable, domestic man, very fond of sport and athletics. He has a knowledge of statecraft and a popularity among the people almost as deep-seated as that of his father's. His wife was Princess Alexandrine, of Mecklenburg. Another eminent Scandinavian passed away on the same day as King Frederick. August Strindberg, the Swedish playwright, novelist and leader of Scandinavian thought, died in Stockholm after a lingering illness. In these pages for February we commented editorially upon the celebrations throughout the world of Strindberg's sixty-third birthday. He was more than the foremost living writer of the Scandinavian north; he was a potent force in the social and intellectual progress of his time. A summary of the main facts of Strindberg's life appeared in our Leading Article Department in April.

*Yuan Shih-  
kai's First  
Message*

In his first presidential message, delivered orally at the opening of the Advisory Council (which is virtually a provisional senate) at Peking, on April 29, Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed the desire of the new China to "understand and treat

foreigners with friendship and candor." He emphasized further the necessity for reorganizing the financial system of the country. Foreign capital is still essential to China, he said. Negotiations, further, "have been in progress for some time with the great Powers of the world for an increase of the customs duties, the abolition of the transit taxes, and the reduction of the export taxes, which means a great increase in the revenue of the government." For more than a year financial representatives of six powers (United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan), supported by their Foreign Offices, have been negotiating with the republican government for a loan. It is believed that at least \$300,000,000 will be needed to defray the current obligations of the government, and those that will very soon become due. The powers above mentioned have been demanding the right to supervise the application of the loan and the right to appoint from their national officials to advise in such application. Premier Tang Shao-Yi declined to submit to these conditions, which, he said, "would mean degrading servitude."

*Making  
Haste  
Slowly*

Meanwhile, despite the peaceful proclamation of the republic and the gratifying progress made by Yuan Shih-kai in carrying out the reform program, China is still in what Dr. Dillon, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, calls "a seething whirlpool of currents running in all directions." There is much disorder among the troops who have been long unpaid. Count Okuma, the venerable Japanese "Elder Statesman," in an article appearing in a German magazine (the *Friedens-Warte*), is very pessimistic as to the immediate future in China. Her greatest danger, he thinks, lies in the attitude of foreign powers. With the spirit already shown by the Republican leaders, however, almost any reform can be worked out if the rest of the world will do nothing more than abstain from interference. Yuan Shih-kai's presidential message, already referred to, made an excellent impression on the representatives of the foreign governments at the Chinese capital, most of whom are agreed that the new régime realizes the dangers of trying to modernize the country too rapidly.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 17 to May 16, 1912)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 17.—The Senate orders an investigation into the causes which led to the wreck of the *Titanic*.

April 18.—The Senate discusses the bill regulating immigration. . . . The House considers the Post Office appropriation bill.

April 19.—The Senate passes the Dillingham Immigration bill, making ability to read and write a condition of entrance into this country. . . . The House adjourns in respect to those who lost their lives on the *Titanic*.

April 20.—The Senate urges the negotiation of treaties with the maritime powers to secure the safety of persons on the sea. . . . The House passes a measure requiring publicity of contributions and expenditures in the interest of candidates for President and Vice-President.

April 22.—The Senate passes the bill granting an appeal to the independent tobacco companies from the decree of the Circuit Court approving the dissolution of the Tobacco Trust.

April 25.—The House broadens the powers of the Committee on Banking and Currency for the purpose of the investigation into the alleged Money Trust.

April 29.—In the Senate, an inquiry is ordered into the campaign contributions and disbursements of 1904 and 1908.

April 30.—The House authorizes the appointment of a joint committee to report a general parcel-post bill at the next session.

May 2.—The House passes the Post Office appropriation bill (\$260,000,000), including authorization for the establishment of an experimental rural parcel post.

May 6.—The Senate passes the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation bill.

May 7.—The Senate agrees to the conference report on the substitute Pension bill, which will add more than \$25,000,000 annually to the pension roll; a measure is passed which is designed to carry into effect the provisions of the international wireless treaty recently signed at Berlin.

May 9.—The Senate passes the River and Harbor appropriation bill with amendments (\$34,000,000).

May 10.—The House passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, abolishing the Commerce Court and making many vital changes in the departments; the conference report on the substitute Pension bill is agreed to.

May 13.—The House accepts the Senate's amendments to the measure providing for the direct election of United States Senators.

May 14.—The House, by vote of 244 to 31, passes the Clayton bill prohibiting the issuing of injunctions without notice.

May 16.—The Senate passes the Agricultural appropriation bill, adding \$2,000,000 to the House estimates. . . . The House debates the Panama Canal bill, opposition developing against preferential treatment of American-owned ships.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

## SPECIAL MASTER AND COUNSEL IN THE GOVERNMENT'S SUIT TO DISSOLVE THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

(From left to right are: B. A. Reed, Henry B. Colton, assistant counsel for the Government; Henry P. Brown, Special Master appointed by the U. S. Circuit Court to take testimony; Jacob M. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of War, who appears for the Government, and R. V. Lindabury, chief counsel for the Steel Corporation. This photograph was taken on the steps of the New York Custom House after the session held on Tuesday morning, May 7.)

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

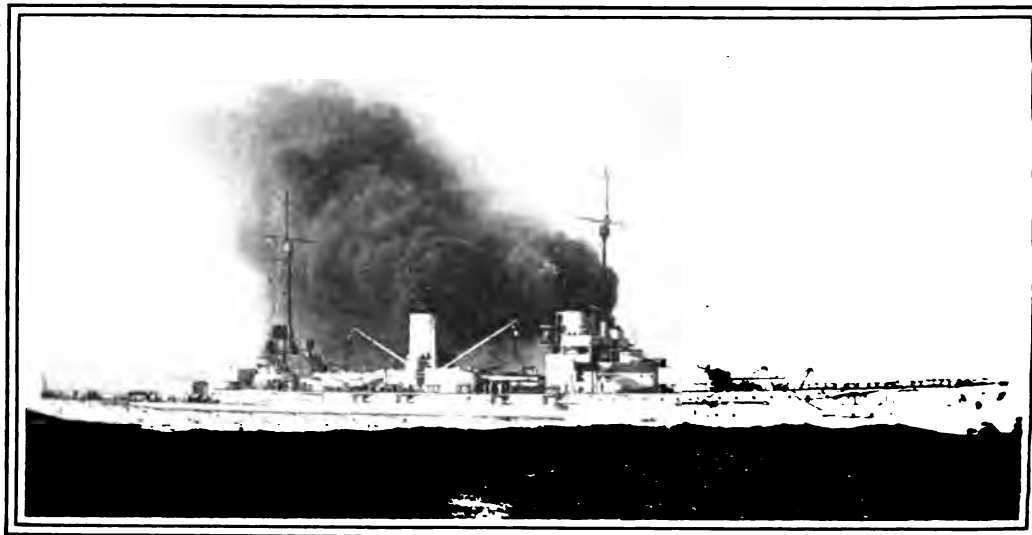
April 17.—The Connecticut Republican State Convention instructs four delegates-at-large for Mr. Taft. . . . The Alabama delegates to the Democratic National Convention are instructed for Mr. Underwood. . . . The President appoints Julia Lathrop as chief of the new Children's Bureau.

April 19.—In the Nebraska primaries, Mr. Roosevelt receives the Republican preference for President by 35,545, to approximately 11,800 each for President Taft and Senator La Follette; Champ Clark wins the Democratic contest; Governor Aldrich (Rep.) is renominated; United States Senator Norris Brown (Rep.) is defeated for renomination by Congressman Norris. . . . In the Oregon primaries, Colonel Roosevelt receives 25,400 votes, Senator La Follette 20,200, and President Taft 18,220; Woodrow Wilson receives the Democratic endorsement; Jonathan Bourne loses his seat in the United States Senate, Ben Selling winning the Republican nomination and Harry Lane the Democratic. . . . A Congressional inquiry into the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic* is begun by Senators Smith and Newlands at New York.

April 23.—In the New Hampshire Presidential primary, delegates pledged to President Taft are elected in two-thirds of the districts.

April 24.—Ten delegates to the national convention are selected by the Rhode Island Republican convention and instructed for Mr. Taft. . . . The four Iowa delegates-at-large are instructed for President Taft by the State convention.

April 25.—The Missouri State convention is controlled by the Roosevelt forces, and the eight national delegates-at-large are instructed to vote for Colonel Roosevelt.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

#### THE GERMAN CRUISER "MOLTKE," NOW ON A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

April 27.—The Congressional inquiry into the "money trust" is begun by the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

April 29.—By direction of President Taft, suit is brought against the International Harvester Company in the District Court of Minnesota.

April 30.—President Taft wins the Massachusetts Presidential preference primary by 3500 votes more than Colonel Roosevelt receives. . . . The Florida Democratic Presidential primary is carried by Congressman Underwood.

May 1.—Colonel Roosevelt, because President Taft won the Presidential preference primary in Massachusetts, requests the eight delegates-at-large, instructed for him, to vote for Mr. Taft. . . . Congressman Underwood carries the Georgia Presidential primary, defeating Woodrow Wilson by more than 8000 votes. . . . The Pennsylvania State Convention, controlled by the Roosevelt leaders, adopts a progressive platform and instructs twelve national delegates-at-large for Colonel Roosevelt.

May 2.—The conferees of the Senate and House agree on a general Pension bill adding \$25,000,000 annually to the pension budget.

May 4.—The Roosevelt forces win a majority of the precinct conventions held throughout Texas.

May 6.—Colonel Roosevelt carries the Maryland Presidential preference primary by 20,124 to 26,000 for President Taft; Speaker Clark is the Democratic choice. . . . The Nevada Republican State Convention instructs its six delegates to the national convention to vote for Mr. Taft.

May 8.—The Kansas Republican State Convention instructs the four delegates-at-large for Mr. Roosevelt. . . . It is testified before the House Committee investigating the charges against Judge Archibald that he was a party to a transaction with the Erie Railroad while a case involving that road was pending before him.

May 13.—The Wyoming Republican convention instructs its six national delegates for Mr. Taft.

. . . The Senate Committee on Judiciary agrees to report favorably a resolution limiting the Presidential term to one period of six years.

May 14.—The California Presidential primaries are carried by Colonel Roosevelt by 60,000 majority over President Taft; Champ Clark defeats Woodrow Wilson in the Democratic contest.

May 16.—The Minnesota Republican convention instructs the State's twenty-four delegates to vote for Theodore Roosevelt in the national convention. . . . The West Virginia and Washington Republican conventions name Roosevelt delegates-at-large. . . . The South Carolina Democratic convention endorses Woodrow Wilson for President. . . . The Maryland Democratic convention endorses Champ Clark. . . . The twenty-six Iowa delegates to the Democratic National Convention are instructed for Champ Clark.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

April 17.—Culiacan, the capital of Sinaloa, and Sierra Mojada, in Coahuila province, are captured by the Mexican revolutionists.

April 20.—It is reported from Calcutta that 3000 Tibetans were killed at Lhasa by Chinese troops.

April 21.—A new Hungarian ministry is formed, with George Lukacs as Premier.

April 23.—The Irish National Convention, at Dublin, unanimously endorses the British Government's Home Rule bill. . . . The Mexican Congress passes a bill increasing the army to 60,000 men.

April 25.—The British House of Commons passes the Welsh disestablishment bill on its first reading. . . . The German Government's proposals to increase the army and navy are defeated in the Reichstag by a combination of Radicals, Socialists, and National Liberals.

April 27.—Civil war is renewed in Paraguay.

April 29.—Yuan Shih-kai delivers his first Presidential message at the opening of the Chinese Advisory Council.

April 30.—The Venezuelan cabinet resigns after less than a year's existence. . . . The second reading of the Home Rule bill is moved by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons.

May 2.—The British commission under Lord Mersey begins its investigation of the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic*.

May 4.—Emilio Vasquez Gomez leaves United States soil for Juarez, Mexico, where he is proclaimed provisional president; he appoints Orozco, the insurgent leader, his minister of war.

May 6.—Premier Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, in the House of Commons, defend Ambassador Bryce from attacks made in connection with the reciprocity question between the United States and Canada.

May 9.—The Home Rule bill passes its second reading in the British House of Commons.

May 10.—The German Reichstag passes on its second reading the bill increasing the army by 40,000 men.

May 13.—The Paraguayan government forces defeat the revolutionists near Asuncion and take 500 prisoners. . . . The first trial by jury ever held in China is begun at Shanghai.

May 14.—The German Reichstag passes the navy-increase bill on its second reading.

May 15.—Christian X. is proclaimed King of Denmark on the death of his father, Frederick VIII.

May 16.—The Welsh Disestablishment bill passes its second reading in the House of Commons. . . . The Montreal elections result in a majority of about 45 for the Gouin government.



ARCHBISHOP BONZANO, PAPAL DELEGATE TO THE UNITED STATES

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 17.—Mexico's reply to the United States Government's note of warning is a refusal to recognize that government's right to interfere in Mexican affairs. . . . It is announced at Peking that six outlaws who murdered Bert Hicks, of Oshkosh, Wis., have been executed.

April 18.—A fleet of Italian warships bombards two Turkish forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles.

April 18-19.—A mutiny among Moorish soldiers in Fez, before it is put down by the French troops, results in the slaughter of more than fifty French soldiers and nearly a hundred Jews.

April 19.—Russia agrees to recognize Italian sovereignty in Tripoli in return for support to Russia's Balkan policies.

April 20.—The American consul at Chihuahua, Mexico, reports that two Americans have been detained there by the revolutionists for more than a month.

April 23.—It is reported at Constantinople that Turkey has accepted the offer of mediation by the powers, in the hostilities with Italy, conditional on the maintenance of the sovereignty of Turkey in Tripoli, with economic concessions to Italy; the Turkish island of Stampalia, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, is seized by Italy.

April 25.—The British Government recognizes the right of the United States to inquire into the loss of a foreign vessel if Americans have lost their lives.

April 26.—The United States transport *Buford* is ordered to Mexican Pacific ports to protect American citizens. . . . A treaty of friendship,

commerce, and navigation is signed between Cuba and Peru.

April 27.—Following the joint protest of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, China cancels the contract for a loan of \$50,000,000 from a Belgian syndicate.

May 1.—The Turkish Council of Ministers decides to reopen the Dardanelles.

May 4.—Italian troops land on the island of Rhodes and capture it with but little resistance from the Turks. . . . P. May is appointed Belgian minister to the United States.

May 9.—Count Wolff-Metternich resigns as German ambassador to Great Britain.

May 14.—The Chinese Legislative Council rejects the loan agreement proposed by the six powers, declining to agree to foreign supervision of expenditures. . . . More than one hundred American refugees board the United States transport *Buford* at points on the Pacific coast of Mexico.

May 16.—The conference at London regarding the international loan to China is suspended owing to Russia's insistence on special safeguards for her own interests. . . . An Italian destroyer seizes the Turkish island of Lipso, near Smyrna.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 17.—Secretary Knox returns to Washington from his tour among the Caribbean republics. . . . Mayor Gaynor of New York starts a relief fund for sufferers from the sinking of the *Titanic*.

April 18.—The steamer *Carpalthia* arrives at New York with 495 of the passengers and 210 of the crew of the wrecked steamer *Titanic*. . . . More



THE SOUTH CAROLINA MONUMENT TO THE WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY, UNVEILED AT COLUMBIA ON APRIL 11

than one hundred Siberian coal miners are killed in a clash with Russian soldiers.

April 19.—A memorial service for those who lost their lives on the *Titanic* is held in St. Paul's Cathedral.

April 20.—It is announced that hereafter steamers of the International Mercantile Marine will carry lifeboats and rafts sufficient for all passengers and crew. . . . The mill strike at Lowell, Mass., ends in a partial victory for the employees.

April 20-21.—Cyclones in Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Georgia cause the death of nearly one hundred persons.

April 21.—Memorial services for the *Titanic* dead are held in many churches throughout the British Empire and the United States.

April 22.—The locomotive engineers of the Eastern railroads accept the offer of mediation of their demands, made by Commissioner of Labor Neill and Judge Knapp of the Commerce Court.

April 23.—The railroads accept the offer of mediation made by Commissioner Neill and Judge Knapp.

April 24.—The steamer *Olympic* is unable to sail from Southampton because of the objection of firemen and oilers to its life-boat equipment. . . . Many persons are killed in a conflict between textile strikers and Portuguese troops near Oporto.

April 26.—Wheat prices in Chicago advance to a new high level for the year.

April 28.—The bazaar section of Damascus, Syria, is destroyed by fire, the damage amounting to \$10,000,000.

April 29.—A proposal to construct a French trans-African railroad from Tangier to Juba, on the Indian Ocean, is made public in Paris.

April 30.—The cable ship *Mackay-Bennett* brings into Halifax 190 bodies picked up from the sea near the place where the *Titanic* foundered.

May 2.—The Italian battleship *Re Umberto* runs on the rocks off Tripoli and sinks. . . . A Turkish tugboat is blown to pieces by a mine in the Dardanelles.

May 3.—Fifty-nine unidentified bodies of *Titanic* victims recovered by the *Mackay-Bennett* are buried at Halifax.

May 4.—More than 15,000 persons participate in a woman-suffrage parade in New York City.

May 6.—The will of John Jacob Astor, made public at New York, leaves the bulk of his estate of more than \$100,000,000 to his twenty-year-old son, William Vincent Astor. . . . The cable ship *Minia* arrives at Halifax with the bodies of fifteen *Titanic* victims.

May 7.—The ninth International Red Cross Conference is opened at Washington, representatives of thirty-two countries being present. . . . The New Hampshire Supreme Court upholds the bequest of \$2,000,000 made by Mrs. Eddy to the Christian Science Church in Boston.

May 11.—Dr. John Grier Hibben is formally installed as president of Princeton University (see frontispiece).

May 14.—A convention of anthracite miners meets at Wilkes-Barre to consider the tentative agreement reached between their representatives and the operators.

#### OBITUARY

April 17.—William Francis Harry, formerly postmaster of Philadelphia and a prominent Democrat, 62. . . . Dr. Paul Freer, dean of the College of Medicine in the University of the Philippines.

April 18.—George F. Huff, a prominent Pennsylvania capitalist and former Representative, 69. . . . Col. Isaac F. Mack, for forty years editor of the *Sandusky Register* and a prominent member of the Grand Army of the Republic, 68.

April 20.—Robert Cameron Rogers, author of the poem "The Rosary," 50. . . . Lieut.-Col. Frank Bridgman, the oldest retired army officer in the United States, 91.

April 21.—Abraham ("Bram") Stoker, the English author and theatrical manager, 54. . . .

**Dr. Yung Wing**, of Hartford, a prominent Chinese diplomat and reformer, 84.

**April 22.**—Stilson Hutchins, formerly a prominent newspaper proprietor in St. Louis and Washington, 74. . . . Horace J. Stevens, compiler and publisher of the "Copper Handbook," 46.

**April 24.**—Justin McCarthy, the Irish historian and novelist, and former member of Parliament 82.

**April 25.**—Rev. Dr. George William Knox, professor of theology and history of religion at the Union Theological Seminary, 59. . . . Chester Holcombe, for many years secretary of the United States legation at Peking, 68.

**April 27.**—Dr. Daniel Kimball Pearsons, the philanthropist and friend of small colleges, 92. . . . Rear-Adm. Ebenezer Scudder Prime, U. S. N., retired, 65.

**May 1.**—Thomas C. Dawson, resident diplomatic officer of the State Department, and an authority on Latin American relations, 46. . . . James Rawle, president of the James G. Brill Car Company of Philadelphia, 70. . . . Beryl Faber, the English actress.

**May 2.**—Nathaniel N. Cox, a former member of Congress from Tennessee, 76. . . . Miss Mary Adams Currier, for many years professor of elocution at Wellesley College, 80. . . . Ignatz Oestreicher, an expert in photographic chemistry, 74.

**May 3.**—Emil L. Boas, American resident director of the Hamburg-American Steamship Com-



EMIL BOAS, LATE RESIDENT DIRECTOR (AT NEW YORK) OF THE HAMBURG-AMERICAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY



DR. D. K. PEARSONS

(The philanthropist and friend of small colleges, who died on April 27, at the age of ninety-two, having given away a fortune of \$5,000,000.)

pany, 58. . . . Capt. George A. Gordon, the well-known New England genealogist, 84.

**May 4.**—Rt. Rev. Charles William Stubbs, Bishop of Truro (England), 67. . . . Stephen B. Griswold, formerly librarian in the State Law Library at Albany, N. Y., 76.

**May 6.**—Capt. Bradley S. Osbon, well known in the naval service of the United States and many other countries, 85. . . . Miss Julia Harris May, prominent in teaching, writing, and club circles in Maine, 79. . . . J. P. Mabee, chairman of the Railways Commission of Canada.

**May 10.**—Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, a prominent theologian, educator, and author, 74.

**May 11.**—D. Cady Eaton, professor emeritus of the Yale Art School, 75.

**May 13.**—Agnes Deans Cameron, the well-known author and lecturer, 49.

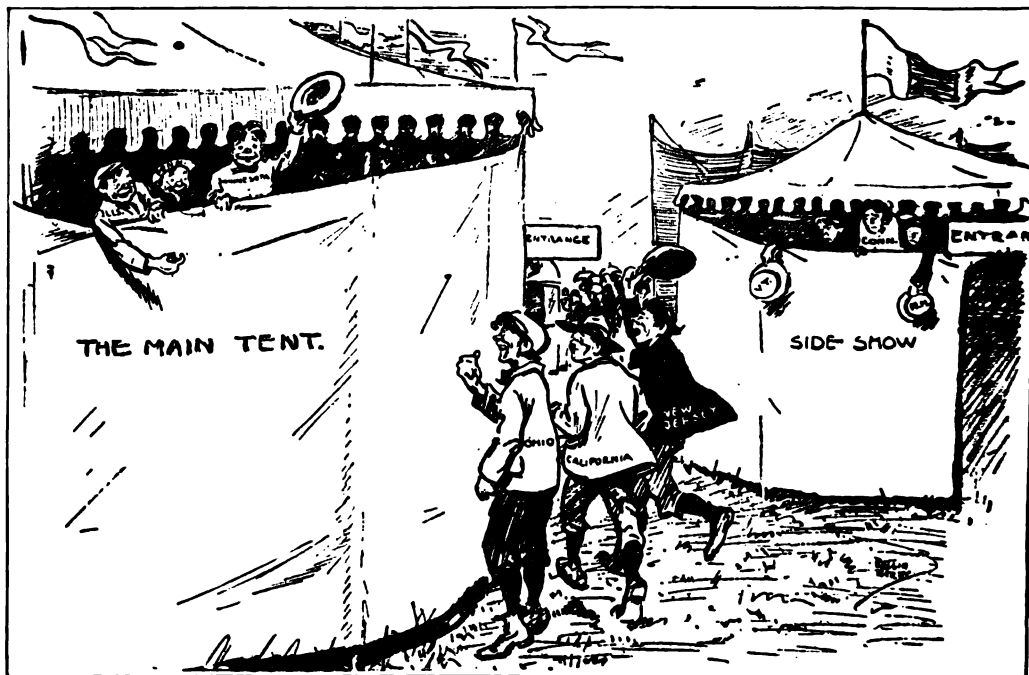
**May 14.**—Frederick VIII., King of Denmark, 68. . . . Auguste Strindberg, the noted Swedish novelist and dramatist, 63. . . . Brig.-Gen. Joseph W. Duncan, U. S. A., 59.

**May 15.**—Clifford S. Walton, an authority on commercial and maritime laws of the United States and Latin America, 51. . . . James Henry Haynie, formerly French correspondent of American newspapers, 71.

**May 16.**—Louis Henri Ayme, United States Consul-General at Lisbon, Portugal, 57.



# POLITICAL AND OTHER CARTOONS



FOLLOWING THE BIG CROWD INTO THE ROOSEVELT TENT  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

ON the Republican side of the great political circus, there has been considerable doubt as to which was the "main tent" and which the "side show." The crowd already in, or swarming into, the Colonel's tent (including Illinois, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Maryland, California and other States) would seem to decide the issue.



TAIT: "SAY, THEODORE, YOU DON'T NEED AS MUCH COVERING AS I DO"  
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



"MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND"  
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



**THE SOUTHERN BREAD-AND-BUTTER DELEGATES:** "ON WHICH SIDE DOES OUR DUTY LIE?"  
From the *Herald* (New York)

How the Southern delegates will finally line up at the Republican National Convention seems to be a matter of some uncertainty, which is true, of course, of a number of other delegations also, whether pledged or, as in the case of Massachusetts, "presented."



**WON'T STAY PUT**  
(The eight Massachusetts delegates which Roosevelt turned over to Taft do not seem to like the idea of being given away) From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



**AFRAID OF THE HUGHES DARK HORSE**  
**THE LITTLE CANDIDATES:** "M-mister, that's a s-s-strong cage, ain't it?"  
From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)



**THE FALLEN BOOM**  
Can all the postmasters and revenue men  
Put Humpty-Dumpty together again?  
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



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#### UNCLE TRUSTY:

"William, I am reluctantly coming to the conclusion that you and Theodore are a couple of boneheads! Why can't you fish without disturbing the whole neighborhood? See how quiet Charlie is—he may get a bite any minute. Look at me—I'm landing suckers hand over fist! Why should the sylvan quiet of Ohio be busted by loud, discordant and raucous noises? Cut it out!"

From the *American* (New York)



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THEODORE AND WILL, THREE YEARS AGO AND AT PRESENT

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



MESSRS. TAFT AND ROOSEVELT EXHIBITING THEIR EQUIPMENT FOR THE PRESIDENCY

(A European view of the speaking campaign of the President and the ex-President) From *Der Muskele* (Vienna)

Never before has there been such a campaign for the Presidential nomination as this one, with its strenuous speaking tours, its personalities and its "issues," including what Mr. Job Hedges, in the New York campaign of 1910, cleverly ridiculed as "this king business."



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"ALL HAIL"

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)





THOSE TROUBLESOME TIMES IN THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT  
From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)

The Agricultural Department has enjoyed precious little peace in the last few years, with Dr. Wiley, benzoate of soda, the Everglades land scandal, and now the nauseating meat inspection investigation.



ANYTHING FOR ME?  
(Yes—but not much. Congress has just made a small appropriation for an experimental parcels post)  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



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GETTING EVEN WITH THE COP  
From the *American* (New York)



**TOLL OF THE SEA**

(Dedicated to the memory of the brave men who went down in the *Titanic*, April 15th)

Tears for the dead, who shall not come again  
Homeward to any shore on any tide!  
Tears for the dead! but through that bitter rain  
Breaks, like an April sun, the smile of pride.

What courage yielded place to others' need,  
Patient of discipline's supreme decree,  
Well may we guess who know that gallant breed  
Schooled in the ancient chivalry of the sea! O. S.  
From *Punch* (London)



**THE NEXT WORD IN SHIPBUILDING**  
From the *Gazette-Times* (Pittsburgh)



**THE REVOLUTION GETTING AFTER MADERO**

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



**BREAKING UP ANOTHER BACKYARD GAME**

Uncle Sam is going to put a stop to knocking fowls through the window.

From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



**SECRETARY KNOX IN CUBA**

(A Cuban view of the diplomatic methods employed by our State Department toward Central America)

From *La Política Comica* (Havana)



# HOMER DAVENPORT—CARTOONIST



Copyright by Pach Bros., New York

HOMER DAVENPORT

WITH the death of Homer Calvin Davenport last month, the work of one of America's foremost political cartoonists was brought to a sudden end. And powerful work it had been, especially in the field of politics and industrial reform. Few cartoonists had attained such great fame, or dealt stronger blows than Davenport. Although his work covered a wide range of subjects, it was his political cartoons for which he was best known. His original creations of the Trust figure—brutal and burly—and the dollar-marked suit of Senator Hanna, have been accepted as distinct additions to the symbolic stock-in-trade of his craft.

Davenport himself witnessed an illustration of the fame of some of his work. While waiting in Senator Hanna's ante-room for an interview one day, there came in an old colored preacher. As soon as the Senator showed himself, the preacher exclaimed: "Why, Marse Hanna, I knowed you right away. I would a-knowed you anywhere." "Why, how is that," said Mr. Hanna, "I've never met you." "Well, you see, Marse Hanna, I



DAVENPORT AND SOME OF HIS SUBJECTS—BY HIMSELF

(In the above group will be easily recognized caricatures of statesmen and politicians who were familiar figures in Davenport's political cartoons, among these being Speaker Reed, Ex-President Harrison, Representative Dingley and Senators Hanna, Platt, Quay, Aldrich and Spooner)

(From "Cartoons," by Homer C. Davenport)





"HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME"  
(A popular cartoon in the Roosevelt Campaign of 1904)  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

known you from your pictures in the papers—the ones Mr. Davenport draws." Davenport was sitting close by, so the Senator couldn't help but smile, although it is not on



MR. DAVENPORT'S IDEA OF A "TRUST"  
From the *Journal* (New York)

record that he relished the portrait of himself which Davenport had made familiar to millions of Americans all over the country.

Davenport's "Uncle Sam" was one of the best produced by any cartoonist. He usually pictured him as a dignified and serious gentleman, shrewd of face and spare in form, clad, of course, in the traditional tricolor, but, emerging as a rule only in great crises, scenting trouble on the international horizon perhaps, and reaching out for his old flintlock, or bowed with grief over some tragic event of national interest.

While much of Davenport's work was not without humor, his strongest and most characteristic work were his serious cartoons, which partook of the nature of the stern religious reformer for whom he was named. A good deal of this quality undoubtedly came to him through being brought into early association with the work of Nast, whose powerful cartoons in *Harper's Weekly* penetrated the Oregon backwoods where Davenport was born. These cartoons made such an



MR. DAVENPORT MEETS SENATOR HANNA

impression in the Davenport home that the mother set her heart on having her son become a great cartoonist.

Davenport began to draw very early in life, but never took any lessons in the art. In fact he got little or no schooling of any kind. This lack of technical training was at times apparent in his work, but it did not to any extent mar the satirical power of his political work. The chief qualities of his cartoons were simplicity and force. If the drawing sometimes seemed crude, the idea was always apparent and the effect strong.

Although his first efforts in newspaper work were neither brilliant nor successful, Davenport's subsequent rise to fame was rapid.

Like many another American farm boy, his earliest ambitions led him in the direction of the sawdust ring; but his circus career was brief and inglorious. His first newspaper job was on the Portland *Oregonian*, from which



GLADSTONE AS CARICATURED BY DAVENPORT AT  
HAWARDEN CASTLE

he separated suddenly—the story goes—because his drawing of a stove for an advertisement was far from satisfactory.

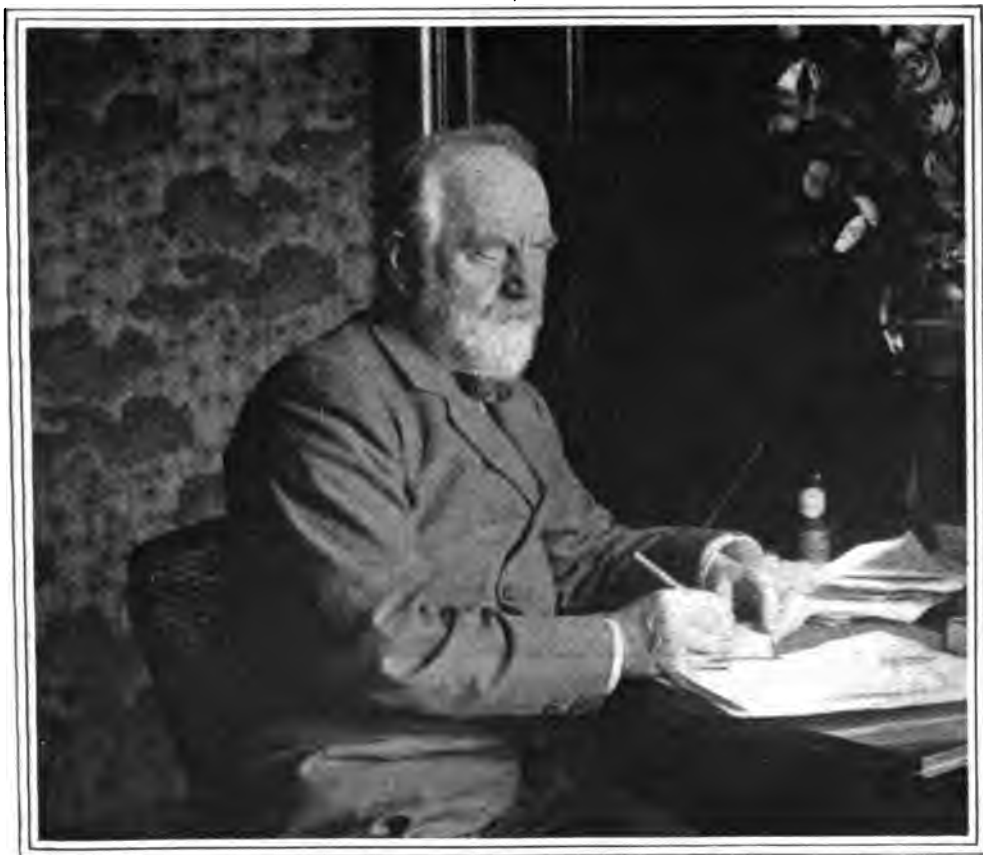
After drifting about somewhat, now on the San Francisco *Examiner*, then on the *Chronicle*, and doing other miscellaneous work, he was discovered by Mr. Hearst and brought to New York in 1895 to draw for the *Evening Journal* as one of the highest paid men in the profession. Here his powerful work attracted wide attention and he quickly achieved national fame. Mr. Davenport remained with the *Journal* during the silver-and-gold campaign of 1896, the Spanish War of 1898, and the second McKinley campaign of 1900. In all of these important periods he and his pencil were in the very forefront of the molders of public opinion. In the campaigns of 1904 and 1908 he was with the New York *Evening Mail*. It was in the Roosevelt campaign of 1904 that Davenport drew the famous "He's good enough for me" cartoon, of which millions of copies were circulated.

Davenport spent a good deal of time traveling in Europe, and on one of his trips he attended the Dreyfus trial, sketching the principal characters. He also visited England and caricatured some of the prominent statesmen there, including Gladstone, Sir

William Harcourt, Balfour, and others. Recently he had gone back to the Hearst forces, and was engaged on the New York *American*. His last cartoon, and the one which probably cost him his life, was on the *Titanic* disaster. He had gone down to the dock the night the *Carpathia* was due and there caught a cold, which turned into pneumonia and resulted in his death.

Born in the little town of Silverton, Oregon, in 1867, Davenport was forty-five years of age at the time of his death. Besides his cartoon work, he had also written several books, among which were "The Diary of a Country Boy," "The Bell of Silverton and Other Stories of Oregon," and "The Dollar or the Man." He occasionally lectured on the influence and work of the cartoonist. Davenport was very fond of country life and a great lover of animals. On his stock farm in New Jersey he raised fancy poultry and bred horses and other animals. In 1906, he visited Arabia and brought over, with the Sultan's especial permission, a string of twenty-seven Arabian horses, said to be the only genuine horses of this type in America. Had Mr. Davenport lived, he would undoubtedly have given us some brilliant work during the coming Presidential campaign. His death removed a potent force in American journalism, and a most picturesque and popular member of his craft.





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## WILLIAM T. STEAD

BY ALBERT SHAW

WHEN the pages of this REVIEW were closed for the press last month it was practically certain that William T. Stead was not one of the rescued survivors of the *Titanic*. There was a bare chance that a few passengers had been picked up by sailing vessels of the fishing fleet off the banks of Newfoundland, but this faint hope was, after a few days, shown to be futile. Some days before the great ship sailed, Mr. Stead, in the course of a letter to the editor of this magazine, had written as follows:

The general feeling of unrest which is surging over the world just now is profoundly disquieting many minds, although it is raising high hopes in others. Mrs. Besant, with whom I am lunching to-day, is very confident that the signs of the times foreshadow the second coming of the Divine incarnation; while in the other camp there is a general conviction that the end of all things is near at hand. It is a mighty interesting time to live in, although somewhat trying to one's nerves. We have got

enough coal in our house to last another ten days, and then we are done. If things settle down into something like decent order here, I think I shall start for New York on the *Titanic*, which sails, if it can get coal enough, on April 10. It will be her first voyage, and the sea trip will do me good, and I shall have a chance of seeing you all for a few days. I should not remain more than a week in America.

The great coal strike, with its profound social and political bearings, had engaged Mr. Stead's time and attention. No one grasped its significance more fully, and no one wrote about it with more complete knowledge or clearer understanding of its meaning than did he. His sympathies were strongly with the solution that was reached by act of Parliament. His interpretation of the meaning of that solution will be found in five pages from his pen that came to us in time for use in the May number of the REVIEW, and which



IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE LONDON "REVIEW OF REVIEWS"

we published under the title: "A World's Object Lesson from British Democracy." England had put into her laws and social institutions two new principles,—namely, the minimum living wage as a human right, and the settlement of industrial deadlocks by government action when the whole public welfare is involved.

It was characteristic of Mr. Stead that he should have gloried in a solution that to his mind meant much for the improvement of general conditions. For forty years as a journalist and reformer he had been working with pen and voice for the upbuilding of the British democracy. And he had toiled with a completeness of faith and a single-minded intensity of conviction that made him even more the prophet and the preacher of righteousness than the great journalist. Yet no man of his time had a better knowledge of the art and method of journalism, and in the use of the press as the organ of modern democratic opinion he was almost, if not quite, unequalled.

Mr. Stead had begun his journalistic career while still very young. His father was a Congregationalist minister in the north of England, and the family income was too small to give the promising son a university education. But his father was able to give him something far better, for he inspired his boy with great intellectual, moral, and social ideals. A more eager mentality than that of young Stead could not have been found in

the whole realm. His reading was well directed and voluminous, his memory was prodigious, and a certain amount of schooling sufficed to give some discipline and direction to his further work of self-education.

As a means of self-support, while still in his teens he entered a business establishment, but constantly wrote for the local press. This writing was so original and strong that it led to his appointment as editor of a daily paper called the *Northern Echo*, published at Darlington,

near Newcastle-on-Tyne, when he had scarcely more than entered upon his majority. This was in 1871, and his work at Darlington continued for nearly ten years. It was during this time that Mr. Gladstone aroused the conscience of England by his attacks upon Lord Beaconsfield's government for its complacent attitude toward Turkey in the matter of the Bulgarian atrocities. Great leaders in church and state rallied about Mr. Gladstone, and no one wrote on behalf of the persecuted Bulgarian Christians more earnestly and brilliantly than W. T. Stead. His work brought him recognition, and he was regarded as a man with a future. His association with the leaders in this work that supported Russia in her campaign against Turkey, and that brought Mr. Gladstone back into power, led to his removal to London.

In 1880 Mr. John Morley, now Lord Morley, became editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and Mr. Stead was invited to become his assistant editor. Mr. Morley, after two or three years, went into Parliament and gave up the editorship, Mr. Stead being appointed to succeed him. Whereupon great things happened in London journalism. Mr. Stead put amazing energy and fertility of resource into his editorial work, and surrounded himself with young men of talent and brilliancy who helped him make the paper the most alert and the most interesting in England, while also leading its contemporaries in intellectual and literary qualities. It was in

those days that Mr. Stead's sensational but well-informed work achieved the reconstruction of the British navy. The *Pall Mall Gazette* led in every field of moral, social, and political progress. It was the apostle of friendship rather than enmity between England and Russia. Its daring exposure of conditions under which young girls were forced into "white slavery" led to the enactment of better laws and to permanent social reforms, although Mr. Stead went to jail for three months on a technical charge resulting from methods used by his assistants to obtain evidence.

Meanwhile Mr. Stead had established interviewing as a feature of London journalism, and he was the most remarkable interviewer yet produced by the modern newspaper. His interest was so intense, his intelligence so alert, and his memory so remarkable, that he could transmute a conversation in which no notes were taken into an extended report of almost flawless accuracy. As an illustration of his methods at that time a personal incident may be related. The present writer, then a young Western editor, had been spending the greater part of the year 1888 in England, where his opportunities for observation and study had been due in large part to the friendship of Mr. Bryce—then in Parliament and now ambassador at Washington—and the late Sir Percy Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review*. Mr. Bryce and Mr. Bunting had repeatedly advised the young American that he must know Mr. Stead as the most active and potent personality in English journalism, even though, in their opinion, rather self-willed and prone at times to kick over the traces of the Liberal party, of which they were prominent members. An introduction to Mr. Stead led to an immediate invitation to spend the night with him in his suburban home at Wimbledon. The first impression made by the *Pall Mall* editor was that of an astonishing vitality and energy. Though like a whirlwind in getting the last forms of his afternoon paper to press, he was effective and methodical in spite of the rapidity of his mental and physical movements.

Arriving at Wimbledon in the autumn twilight, Mr. Stead sprang into a swing suspended from the branch of a great tree behind the house, and swung himself violently back and forth till he had somewhat satisfied his need of exercise and fresh air. After dinner he led the visitor into a narration of what had seemed novel and important to an American familiar with the problems of American cities in the



THE VETERAN JOURNALIST

new undertakings that were transforming Glasgow. A great deal had been going on in Glasgow with which the rest of the world has now for twenty years been catching up. But at that time nobody had studied it or written anything about it. And the American editor had spent a number of weeks in a very minute study of the great Scotch town.

Two or three days later a package of proofs came in the mail to the American's London lodgings. Mr. Stead had cast the conversation into the form of an interview on the social reforms of the municipality of Glasgow, which was so complete and accurate that only a few corrections were needed. It was so long that it was broken into two parts and appeared in successive numbers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Although editor-in-chief of the paper, Mr. Stead gave his own personal touch to any and every part. He could make brilliant copy more rapidly, perhaps, than anyone else, —certainly than anyone else in England. He would brook no interference from the owners of the paper, and on that account he gave up the editorship at the beginning of the year 1890. He had already formed the conception of the *Review of Reviews*, and brought it out at once as an illustrated monthly having its own opinions but also reviewing the world's more significant discussions and presenting a résumé of the more important steps in the making of contempo-

rary history. It was a successful periodical from the beginning, and Mr. Stead continued to edit it until his death. On the very day of the sinking of the *Titanic* his pen was busily engaged, and he was presumably writing an article to be mailed back for the next number of the *Review* on his arrival in New York.

It was upon Mr. Stead's suggestion, and with his help, that the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS was founded by its present editor in the following year,—namely, early in 1891. Although wholly independent of each other in editorship and control, and quite different in method and appearance, there has been close and unbroken coöperation between Mr. Stead's English *Review* and its American namesake. A great number of invaluable articles from his pen have appeared from time to time in this magazine, written especially to inform American readers about English or European personages and affairs.

Mr. Stead had never crossed the Atlantic until, in the autumn of 1893, he accepted an urgent invitation from his American colleague to come as his guest and see the great exposition at Chicago in its closing days. Mr. Stead at that time had been trying to start a daily newspaper in London, which he had been obliged to discontinue through lack of necessary financial support. This failure was a great disappointment to him, and the moment was one of fatigue and depression such as he had never experienced before. It is only when this is understood that the circumstances of his visit to Chicago can be fully appreciated. His fatigue was so great that he had given a promise not to speak in public during his entire visit.

But he had recently started in England a so-called "civic federation" movement, which had been productive of immediately useful results in a number of English cities and towns, where he had succeeded in bringing about a sort of informal union of all kinds of societies and forces that were working for the betterment of the community, so that their efforts might be mutually helpful. This idea had been taken up in the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS from Mr. Stead's English work, and the result had been the beginnings of similar organizations in a number of American towns. The plan had appealed strongly to many people in Chicago who were anxious to have the exposition year followed by a well-considered and permanent program for social and moral progress. Mr. Stead was recognized as the apostle of such movements, and when called upon to

expound his views he could not decline what seemed to him a call of duty and an opportunity for usefulness.

He spoke, not once, but many times. Chicago was to him a new and astounding phenomenon. In studying the conditions that needed reform, he was perhaps overimpressed, as a stranger must needs be, by novelty and contrast. He did not quite understand the wholesome forces that were dominant after all in American life; at any rate, he preferred to hold up to American communities a picture of their worst shortcomings. If he did not quite understand Chicago, it is true in like manner that Chicago did not quite understand him. He wrote a book, which he called "If Christ Came to Chicago." Many good and sensitive Americans felt that this scathing exposure of vice and crime lacked balance and proportion. Mr. Stead, of course, would not for a moment have denied that an American might have gone at that time to London or Liverpool and found conditions of misery, poverty, brutality, sin, and crime far worse than those existing in Chicago. Generally speaking, it seems better for the visitor to fight evil in his own country, where he is responsible, than to expose it in another country at the very moment of his first landing upon its shores.

But Mr. Stead did the thing that he saw fit to do. He was a genius, a moral enthusiast, and a law unto himself. He had made his exposure of vice in London ten years before, upon his own sensational plan, and he had shocked many good people, but had accomplished valuable results. The Chicago visit caused him to be misunderstood in America; and it certainly diminished for a number of years the influence which his valuable political and social articles might otherwise have gained. Yet the great National Civic Federation grew out of his suggestions.

From the psychological standpoint, and quite apart from moral considerations, the intensity of Mr. Stead's Chicago crusade was due to reaction from the failure of his daily paper, into which he had thrown himself for a number of weeks with an almost superhuman effort to achieve success by sheer brilliancy and personal power. He had started the paper on faith. He had informed the Lord that if He wished the daily paper to be a success He would have to see that it obtained either a divinely appointed financial backer, or else—and preferably—so large a public support that it would need no capital.

It was a splendid act of faith, and it ought to have succeeded. Mr. Stead's attitude toward the Lord in this matter was very much like that of Senator Jonathan Bourne's attitude toward the people of Oregon. Mr. Stead's paper more than swallowed up in a few days the profits of the successful *Review of Reviews*, and failed; although the people of London ought to have had vision enough and generosity enough to have tided it over and made it all that it might readily have become, a very great and brilliant success.

A prophet is sometimes without honor, for the moment. Yet great progressives are also optimists by nature, and they recover their faith both in the Lord and in their fellow men. Mr. Stead, during the Chicago episode in 1893, felt that he did not want to go back to England at all. It took some firm arguing to show him that London must remain the only possible center for his activities and his worldwide interests and influence. He could not have adapted himself in detail to the institutions of any country but his own, although so ready were his sympathies and so large was his grasp that he could comprehend the principles and the spirit of national life in all countries. He had begun with a great gospel of the mission of the English-speaking world. He was a tremendous Imperialist. It was his expression of the meaning of England, and the influence of Anglo-American ideas, that had created in Cecil Rhodes the ambition to paint with British red as much as possible of the map of Africa.

So strongly committed had Mr. Stead been to the ideals of British rule in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, that many of his friends could never understand why, in later years, he opposed so intensely the objects of the Jameson raid and the subsequent war, that resulted in the conquering and absorption of the two little Boer republics. Mr. Stead would have been delighted with a voluntary federation of the different political entities of South Africa under the egis of the British flag. But he felt that Mr. Chamberlain, as colonial minister, had dealt unfairly with the Boers, and that the war was the result of a conspiracy in which the business affairs of the Chartered South African Company had been discredibly involved. His passion for justice was greater than his zeal for the British Empire. By a singular coincidence, Mr. Chamberlain had sent Alfred Milner, now Lord Milner, to be governor-general and British representative in Cape Colony, and Milner had been one of Mr. Stead's editorial assistants in the early days of the *Pall Mall*



MR. STEAD ON VACATION AT HAYLING ISLAND

(Mr. Stead had a number of years ago acquired a summer home, which he called Holly Bush, on the south coast of England, at Hayling Island, where with his family he threw himself with great zest into out-of-door recreations, and where, also, he did much of his writing.)

*Gazette*. His attitude as a pro-Boer cost him many friendships and a considerable part of his popular support. Yet he hammered





A SNAPSHOT OF MR. STEAD IN CONSTANTINOPLE LAST AUTUMN

away with the same brilliancy and power that he had shown when opposing the Disraeli government and defending the Bulgarians in 1875. The enmities of that period are now forgotten, and the men whom he criticized have, in these last weeks, paid tribute to his sincerity and patriotism.

Mr. Stead's last visit to the United States was in 1907, when he participated in the meetings of the Peace Congress. Nobody in these recent years had been more active and zealous than he for the cause of international harmony. He had written constantly upon various phases of this great question, and had for a time published a special periodical which he called *War Against War*. He had felt strongly that the action of Italy in attempting to seize Tripoli had been wholly unjustified; and he had been the leader in the attempts of the peace societies to secure a reference of the questions at issue to the Hague Tribunal.

His interest in this matter had led to his being invited by the Turkish Government to come to Constantinople and aid in getting the Turkish cause presented for international arbitration. The last interview between Mr. Stead and the present writer was in Paris, one day last October, Mr. Stead leaving that same evening by the *Oriental Express* for the Turkish capital. His energy and enthusiasm were as great as they had been in the '80's, when he was working for the maintenance of the British navy and a good understanding

with Russia. His visit at Constantinople was intensely interesting. He was even invited to speak on international peace in the great mosque of San Sophia,—an opportunity which his sense of courtesy toward Mohammedan feelings led him to decline.

He had been for a number of years past an earnest worker for a good understanding between England and Germany, and he had been instrumental in bringing a large body of German editors to visit England. Yet he had never ceased to believe that until world conditions are much better than they are it would be necessary for England to maintain her naval supremacy. He was, moreover a firm believer in the wisdom of maintaining the navy of the United States as an agency of peace and a beneficent factor in the harmony and progress of the whole Western Hemisphere.

In private life Mr. Stead was always a man of the utmost simplicity. He was generous to everyone who seemed to be in distress, and his kindness was lavished in particular upon those who deserved it so little that nobody else would help them. For, as he always reasoned, deserving cases could usually find help and relief, while the really needy were the others. He was like an elder brother to his sons and daughters, and a delightful companion and loyal friend to those who had come into the circle of his life. He had always been a believer in extending to women every legal and political responsibility,

as well as every right, that had been granted to men.

His great interest in psychic research and "occultism," so called, is well known. Many of his friends had deplored his activities as a spiritualist, and doubtless in certain circles his influence was diminished by his editing, for some years, a periodical called *Borderland* and his publishing what he regarded as communications from the spirit world. As for those of us who have not given much study to these matters, and who are not influenced by the things which brought absolute conviction to Mr. Stead's mind, it is at least permissible to be tolerant and to admit that some of our fellow men may be gifted with natures more sensitive than ours and

more perfectly attuned to things not of this world.

Besides his incessant contributions to the daily press and to periodicals, Mr. Stead wrote a very large number of books and brochures. While most of these were journalistic in their method, they were of extraordinary influence and power and of lucid and brilliant style. Three of his four sons were trained by him in practical journalism and the business of publishing. The eldest of these, his namesake, died several years ago. The other two, Alfred and Henry, will continue to carry on the *Review of Reviews* and the business of Stead's Publishing House. Besides three sons, there survive Mrs. Stead and two daughters.

## BRITISH TRIBUTES TO MR. STEAD

IN the current number of the London *Review of Reviews* there appear many tributes to Mr. Stead from his former colleagues and other associates. A biographical sketch which was published in the London *Times* immediately after the news of the *Titanic* disaster, is well-informed and sympathetic. In his concluding comment on Mr. Stead's influence as a journalist the writer of this says:

The influence of W. T. Stead on daily journalism in England was great. He struck the personal note. He acclimatized the "interview." He developed the "crossheads." He extended the scope of the special article and the signed contribution. He introduced pictorial illustration. All these were the outward signs of the current of fresh vigor and greater vividness of presentment which were an expression of his personality. His taste was not impeccable; but he had at command a wealth of allusion, and he was a master of nervous vivid language. He had a most ingenious and fertile mind; he was a subtle dialectician; and his copiousness was prodigious. He was accessible to all comers, though a notice at the bottom of the stairs used to run, "As callers are many and time is short, the former are asked to economize the latter." His correspondence was enormous and he kept all his letters. He did not write shorthand—an idle feat in one possessed of an unusually retentive memory. He was beloved by all who worked with him, for he was always helpful and indulgent and his flow of good spirits was unfailing. His conversation was apt to be monologue, but he was a brilliant and most entertaining talker—full of vivacity, spontaneity, and picturesque phrasing. He was frankly egotistical; but he had a keen sense of fun, he enjoyed nothing more than a laugh at himself, and those who knew the man

at closest quarters liked him best. His generosity was unbounded, and his death will be mourned by a large number of persons of all sorts and conditions whom he had befriended, encouraged, and stimulated.

Of peculiar interest are the reminiscences of Lord Milner who was closely associated with Mr. Stead on the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the early eighties. Looking back over the thirty years that have elapsed Lord Milner affirms his belief that no newspaper in any



A RECENT PORTRAIT



MR. STEAD, WITH OLIVER CROMWELL'S PISTOL AND  
A STATUE OF GENERAL GORDON

country has ever exercised so much influence upon public affairs as the *Pall Mall* did during the first years of Mr. Stead's editorship. This, he says, was entirely due to the force of his personality. Speaking of the editorial conferences and discussions that took place in the *Pall Mall* office in those days Lord Milner says:

The real truth was that he loved to develop his ideas dialectically, in discussion with someone personally congenial to him, but whose habit of mind was as dissimilar as possible to his own. How well I remember these daily conflicts. They were among the most vivid experiences of my life. It is impossible to give any idea of the force, the copiousness, the dexterity, the intellectual nimbleness, the range of readily available knowledge, the aptness of illustration, with which he would defend even the most extravagant and paradoxical proposition. His instinct led him to provoke criticism, for it was only in reply to criticism that he could bring all his own forces into the field, and certainly no man less resented criticism or took a

more keen delight in argumentative encounter. He would go on debating, with the printers screaming for "copy," till he sometimes left himself less than half an hour to write or dictate a leading article; then he would dash it off at top-speed, and embody in it, with astonishing facility, the whole gist and essence of the preceding discussion.

It has been my good fortune in life to be brought into contact with an exceptional number of men of great and diverse ability. Among them all I cannot recall one who was anything like his equal in vitality. It is quite superfluous to dwell on his gifts as a writer; but his conversation was far more brilliant and stimulating than the best of his writing. I don't suppose any editor was ever so beloved by his staff, from the first lieutenant down to the office-boy. It was such fun to work with him. The tremendous "drive," the endless surprises, the red-hot pace at which everything was carried on, were rendered not only tolerable but delightful by his never-failing geniality and by that glorious gift of humor, not always apparent in his writing, which made him so fascinating a companion. His sympathy, his generosity, his kindness were lavished on all who came within his reach.

Lord Esher contributes a fund of recollections not only of his own relations with Mr. Stead, but of pithy remarks that were made at various times by other notable Englishmen concerning the great journalist's striking characteristics:

His influence upon public affairs was not spasmodic. It never relaxed. Although he ran up many blind alleys, he wonderfully sustained through life his onward march. It is a curious and humiliating reflection that such a man, so disinterested and so patriotic; could for forty years ardently promote everything that is noblest and best in the life of his country without receiving any public mark or recognition of his national and imperial work. He died poor and unrewarded. Yet he was rich in the esteem of many noble minds, and honored by the confidence of the greatest among his contemporaries. I once said to General Gordon, "You appear to me always walking with God." He replied, "Some of us do. Look at Stead."

Captain Fisher of the *Excellent* thirty years ago called him the missionary, fearless even when alone, believing in his God—the God of Truth—a man of big heart and great emotions; an exploder of "gas-bags," and the terror of liars.

Lord Fisher, since his death, has written of him, "Old Stead only feared God. He feared no one else. He told me, when I was at the Admiralty, to remember Nebuchadnezzar, but he never needed to be told. He was humble-minded from his mother's womb."

In the early days of their friendship Rhodes said to me, speaking of Stead, "He is the greatest patriot I know; England is his home, and every foot of ground over which the British flag flies is his native land."

No man in our time had talked with so many people, from the highest to the lowest. No man was ever more trusted by those with whom he talked, and no man was more deserving of confidence. He was highly tested, when his profession is considered, and his intimate knowledge of

secret things is appreciated. The test never failed. For some reason difficult to explain men and women spoke to him with unusual freedom from reserve. Yet even the secrets of his enemies were safe.

Said Earl Grey, speaking at the Press Fund dinner:

Although often profoundly differing from his views, I have always regarded with affection and esteem his chivalrous and Quixotic character, and have admired him, certainly during the early eighties, as the first of journalists. I remember how, in the early eighties, he forced by his articles entitled "The Truth of the Navy, by One Who Knows," Mr. Gladstone, the most powerful minister of our time, to spend most grudgingly an additional £6,000,000 on the strengthening of our navy. I remember how he forced the same reluctant minister to send out Gordon to Khartoum, and I never shall forget his heroic exertions to secure the expedition of a relief column to Gordon's assistance at a time when there was good reason to believe it would have been successful. I remember how he again practically single-handed literally forced upon the statute book the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Dr. E. J. Dil-

lon, whose lot it was to appear frequently in the rôle of antagonist to Mr. Stead, in the discussion of Russian politics, makes this generous comment:

All great abuses kindled a volcanic fire in the heart of Mr. Stead, and all great reform schemes electrified him. No sacrifice was too great to suppress the one or to further the other. And once he set out upon a chivalrous campaign of this kind, he idealized every thing and every person capable of advancing the cause.

Dr. Dillon, who knows his Russia as few living Englishmen know it, tells how the news of Mr. Stead's death was received in that part of the world:

His end, like his life, was grandiose, heroic. The tidings, at once mournful and soul-stirring, when flashed across the wires, evoked a heartfelt response from one end of Russia to the other. Members of all parties, of all classes, of all creeds and nationalities, commemorated Stead with gratitude and pride. "The prince of European journalists," one publicist calls him; "the soul of social reform" is the term applied to him by another, and "the genuine friend of Russia" by all. In the remotest towns his name is familiar. In parts of Finland it is a household word. It will live in the world's history.



A GARDEN PARTY AT CAMBRIDGE HOUSE, WIMBLEDON  
(Mr. Stead in argument with Herbert Burrows and another guest)

Mr. J. L. Garvin admirably sums up Mr. Stead's service to journalism in this paragraph:

It was in sheer vitality and vitalizing power that he excelled. As a living and energizing personal force, giving vivid being to the paper stuff that may so easily become waste, dead matter, and into which no man can put more than he can take out of himself, I doubt whether he ever had an equal in journalism. More than anyone else he realized that though it works with words, it is a matter of action, not merely a chorus to contemporary life expressing the comments of passive witnesses. Stead was splendidly the journalist as a man of action holding his own with men of action, from the top down

in all the other spheres. He was the only journalist who has been an international figure in his own right apart from any particular newspaper. He was not only a man of genius; he was possessed by ideas as only a man of strong genius can be. That was his hindrance in several ways, but it was that which made him.

Other of Mr. Stead's brilliant qualities as an editor are described by Mr. J. A. Spender, a friend of many years' standing:

He was a man of extraordinary precision and grasp of detail. Hardly ever have I known him wrong about a fact, and his power of reducing masses of detail to brief and lucid statements was unequalled. Give him the biggest Blue-Book, and he would have the heart out of it in half an hour



MR. AND MRS. W. T. STEAD  
(Taken during their honeymoon)

and a luminous summary, omitting nothing of any importance, going to press within an hour. His articles were like the hewing of a straight path through a tangled forest. There might be woods and bogs to right and left, but he troubled nothing about them, so long as his own path was clear. His talk made much more allowance than his writing for the complexity of things, and there was no better critic in London of other people's views. Pose a question, and he would talk it out from a dozen points of view with the keenest sense of its complications.

The following paragraph from Dr. Clifford's address at the memorial service held in Westminster Chapel aptly expresses what has been in many minds when seeking to epitomize the qualities and activities that went to make up this remarkable personality:

Many of us, perhaps most of us, think of William T. Stead as a journalist, brilliant, rapid,

unconventional, accomplished, his mind a fountain ever fresh and full of original ideas, his resources apparently exhaustless, and his energy without bounds. To me he was as a prophet who had come straight out of the Old Testament into our modern storm-swept life. I recognize his primacy among the editors of the eighties and nineties of the last century; but for him the press was a sword to cut down the foes of righteousness, a platform from which to hearten and inspire the armies of the Lord, a pulpit from which to preach his crusades, a desk at which he could expound his policy for making a new heaven and a new earth. He was a man with a mission, and journalism was the organ through which he wrought at it. *He wrote to get things done—done, and not merely talked about.*

In similar vein is the comment of H. W. Massingham, in the (*Nation*) London:

It is not difficult to predict the place which this vital and original personality will hold in the history of his time. He will live as the man who made of modern journalism in England a powerful personal force. He found it a thing of conventions and respectabilities, buried in anonymity, and fettered by party ties. The newspaper was a collective "organ of opinion." He made it the instrument of one intensely individual mind. Stead's main conception of an editor's duty was to be himself. He realized as no one before him had done, and as few who have come after him have dared to do, the power which a newspaper gave him to record himself with headlines and bold type, with recitative and chorus, on a pedestal of fact and news once in every four-and-twenty hours. His temperament was that of the great pamphleteers. In his boldness and versatility, in his faith in the constructive power of the pen, in many of his opinions, even in his championship of women, he resembled Defoe.

Sir Henry Lunn, who had been an intimate of Mr. Stead's for more than a quarter of a century, gives in the *British Weekly* an interesting account of Mr. Stead's relations to important developments in British politics. He gives an entertaining illustration of the way in which Mr. Stead accomplished his journalistic feats. On one occasion he wished to interview the King of the Belgians on the Congo question. Mr. Stead himself told the story as follows:

I wanted to see the King, and I asked a certain man if he could tell me how to do it. He said, "Do you know So-and-So? By approaching him you might manage an interview with So-and-So, who is in the Belgian Court." I wanted to get the thing done, so I went to the telegraph office and telegraphed, "His Majesty the King of the Belgians. I am coming to see your Majesty on the Congo question.—Stead, Editor *Pall Mall Gazette*." And within twenty-four hours I had an interview with the King in print in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.



THE PARTY WAS WILLING TO TAKE HIM IN 1908  
 THE G. O. P. ELEPHANT: "Come, Mr. President, I'll furnish you another free ride if you'll just get aboard"  
 From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

## ROOSEVELT AND THE THIRD TERM

**I**N 1900 Mr. Roosevelt was Governor of the State of New York, and early in that year he had announced that he would be a candidate for another term. His friends were confident that he would be reelected and would continue to make a good record as Governor. He had entered political life at an early age, and had been a sturdy and aggressive figure in the Republican party, and widely known throughout the whole country, for almost twenty years. He had fought for reforms in the State and city government of New York in the '80's, and he had served for years as chairman of the Civil Service board at Washington when civil-service reform was struggling to overthrow the spoils system that had been entrenched ever since the days of Jackson.

Mr. Roosevelt's friends were justified in believing that they could bring him forward as a strong Presidential candidate in the year 1904. He had never intrigued for any office or position. He had never refused to take up hard and unattractive tasks in government and politics. Mr. McKinley's renomination in 1900 was unopposed. There had been no self-seeking on Mr. McKinley's part, and no use of patronage or power to force himself upon his party for a second term. Conditions had arisen, growing out of the war with Spain, that made his renomination a logical party act. Furthermore, Mr. McKinley had shown himself an unselfish and patriotic

President, and had devoted himself quietly and faithfully to the duties of his office.

The great question in the Philadelphia convention had to do with the selection of a candidate for the second place. Contrary to all his plans and personal preferences, Mr. Roosevelt was drafted by the convention, and his sense of duty obliged him to accept. His enemies at once declared that his active political career was at an end. Exactly the same forces in politics that are against him now were at that time conspiring to keep him out of positions of real power. Before Mr. McKinley had served a year in his second term he was assassinated. Mr. Roosevelt left all the departments of the Government in the hands of Mr. McKinley's cabinet, cooperating with them harmoniously, and carrying the second McKinley term to its end with great dignity and with the highest kind of executive ability.

In any case, Mr. Roosevelt would have been the foremost candidate for the Presidency in 1904. But because the people had now tested him in the office it was not necessary that his claims should be pushed in any way upon the party or the country. Mr. Roosevelt fully realized that a man actually holding the office of President must give his whole time to the great executive duties that he has sworn to fulfill to the best of his ability. It is true that for a time certain political bosses, in league with selfish and monopolistic

business interests, tried to see if it might not be possible to organize the party machinery against President Roosevelt's nomination. But a single ray of publicity turned upon the movement was enough to destroy it. It cannot be too emphatically declared that President Roosevelt, in 1904, was renominated by the overwhelming demand of the Republican party, and not in the slightest degree by any improper use of the prestige or patronage of the Presidential office. If there had been a national, direct Presidential primary, it is not likely that any other candidate would have permitted the use of his name. Mr. Roosevelt was nominated unanimously and by acclamation.

The Democrats, dominated by the conservative interests of the East, nominated Judge Alton B. Parker. Mr. Roosevelt's popularity gave him an overwhelming victory. Not only had he diverted no part of his time and energy to the securing of the nomination, but he held steadily, and without an hour's interruption, to the work of his office during the entire period of the campaign, from June till November. In the latter part of the campaign, the supporters of Judge Parker brought forward the rather amusing argument that Mr. Roosevelt was dangerous because he had so earned the confidence of the people as to have become popular.

The argument, in its essence, was that Roosevelt ought to be defeated in 1904, because, if elected, he would serve the people so faithfully and well that they would almost certainly want to elect him again in 1908. Thus, if the people should be wise enough to elect somebody whom they really did not care much for, they would be the better able to resist the temptation of continuing to employ the services of a man who served them well. Undoubtedly there were some Republicans, also, who were a little worried by Mr. Roosevelt's popularity. They had their own ambitions, and wanted a clear field in 1908. Mr. Roosevelt ignored this rather silly discussion until Election Day came around, when the country was impressed by the unprecedented sweep of his great victory. Then, on the night of Election Day, November 8, he made the following announcement:

I am deeply sensible of the honor done me by the American people in thus expressing their confidence in what I have done and have tried to do. I appreciate to the full the solemn responsibility this confidence imposes upon me, and I shall do all that in my power lies not to forfeit it. On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and one-half years, and this three and one-half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits

the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form. Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

The supporters of Mr. Taft, in the President's effort to force his own renomination, have now everywhere declared that this announcement of Mr. Roosevelt's was in the nature of an explicit pledge that he would never, throughout the term of his natural life, allow himself to be brought forward for the Presidency. Mr. Roosevelt, upon his own part, declares that, while he had not expected or planned ever to become a candidate, his announcement of November 8, 1904, had sole reference to the year 1908. The extraordinary virulence of the attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt, both by the newspapers supporting Taft and by the President himself, in their charges that he is breaking a solemn pledge, would seem to call for some frank discussion in the interests of the truth.

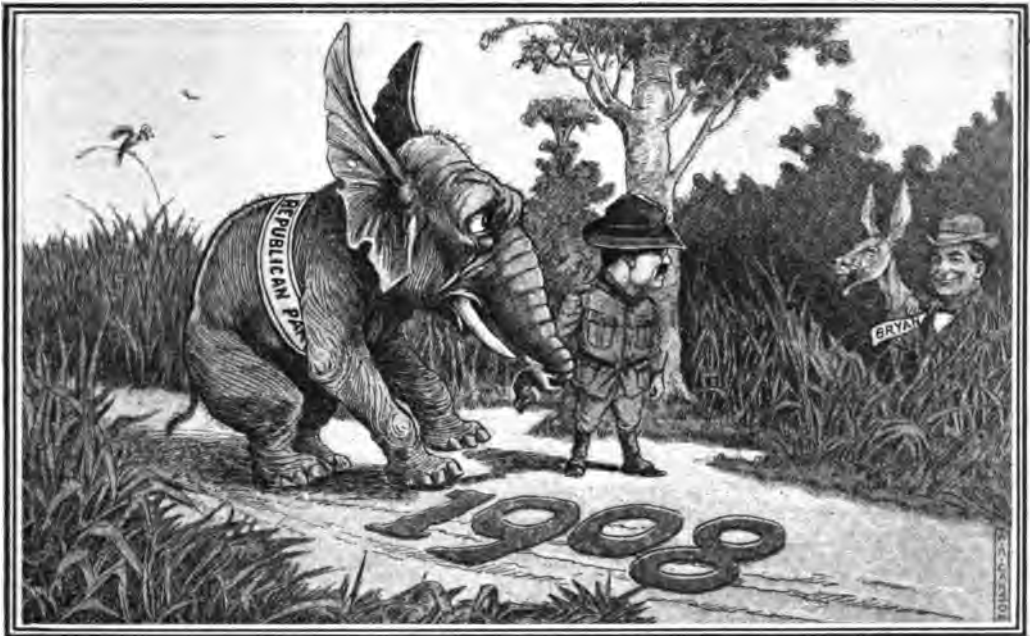
In the first place, Mr. Roosevelt would seem to have a superior right to tell us what he himself meant. In the second place, it is worth while to ask what was generally understood by his statement at the time when he made it. And in the third place, it is even more important to inquire into the reasons why such a statement should be made at all, and to get at the fundamental matters involved.

Let us begin with the third of these considerations. The Constitution tells clearly who are eligible for the Presidency. It leaves it to the people, acting in a certain way, to choose whomsoever they will from among those having legal qualifications. To say that there is any "binding tradition" as to the number of terms a President should have is palpably absurd. It has been a custom not to give the President more than two consecutive terms. It was this "custom" Mr. Roosevelt called a "wise" one in his statement of 1904.



THAT THIRD CUP  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)





WHAT MANY REPUBLICANS THOUGHT DURING ROOSEVELT'S SECOND TERM

THE ELEPHANT: "I don't like the looks of that fellow, Theodore. You'd better stay with me till I get past 1908."  
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

There is nothing binding about the custom, and the people have no reason to be afraid of themselves. They will never elect to the Presidency a man they do not want. And if they want a man there is no possible reason why they should not elect him. The chief reason against consecutive terms in the Presidential office is to be found in the growing power of the Presidency.

So great has this power become that the selfish and unscrupulous holder of the place may not only conspire to control the nominating machinery of his own party, but may also be a member of the conspiracy that aims to control the machinery of the opposing party, for the sake of putting up an even weaker and more objectionable candidate. Executive tyranny and government by bureaucracy have lately become a menace in this country. The remedy, however, does not lie chiefly in devices for preventing the people from continuing the services of a good President. The remedy lies in giving the people a chance to control nominations as well as elections.

There was no need of Mr. Roosevelt's announcement in 1904, for in no case would he have abused the powers of his office for the sake of obtaining a renomination. But he wished to make it clear, so that nobody could think otherwise, that he was proposing to give undivided and impartial attention to the

duties of his office. As this magazine stated the case at the time, "his decision under no circumstances to be a candidate again served notice upon all men and all interests that no thought of a political future could enter into his public actions during the four years and four months that would intervene between Election Day and his retirement on March 4, 1909." So much for the reasons underlying Mr. Roosevelt's decision.

Now, as regards the way in which the country received that decision, and the meaning attached to it by the press, it is worth while to turn back and search the files of the newspapers. In view of the current tone of alarm and warning in *Harper's Weekly*, for example, it is not unfair to remind Colonel Harvey that he published the following editorial comment in November, 1904:

President Roosevelt will be only fifty-four years old in 1912. Suppose the Republicans should be beaten in 1908, and four years later should implore him to lead them once more to victory, would he not deem it his duty to obey the summons, as Grant would have done in 1880, and as, we cannot but believe, Grover Cleveland would have done this year? We should bear in mind that the popular objection is not so much to a third term as to a third consecutive term. If the series be broken, the danger of federal patronage being used for the perpetuation of personal power is manifestly eliminated. It might, indeed, be well for the people that the occupant of the Chief Magistracy for the

second term should know at some future day—not less than four years after he left the White House—he might be invited to return thereto, provided he had earned the respect and confidence of his fellow countrymen.

The following statement in the New York *Herald* of November 10, 1904, sent from its Washington office, throws some light upon the political conditions existing at the time:

President Roosevelt made up his mind fully two weeks ago that if he were elected he would forswear another term. . . . He declined at the time to declare himself out of the race in 1908. This he did because he feared that such a declaration would be taken as an effort to make political capital in the campaign. . . . If the President had not eliminated himself last night there would have been indirect pressure brought by the various candidates for Presidential honors in 1908. That was the case after President McKinley was elected in 1900. His convictions were well known, but Senator Fairbanks and other ambitious men desired a formal declaration.

These men are considered available for the nomination in 1908: Elihu Root, of New York; William H. Taft, of Ohio; Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa; Senator Fairbanks, Senator Knox, and Senator Beveridge, of Indiana. Secretary Taft is regarded as the man with the brightest chances.

Expressions quoted below from the New York *World*, the New York *Sun*, and the New York *Times* would seem to indicate that they regarded the announcement as having a bearing upon the situation in 1908, rather than upon a remoter future:

*World*, November 9 (editorial):

If President Roosevelt will be satisfied with this splendid vote of confidence, the climax of his whole

career, the greatest personal triumph ever won by any President—if he will strive for four years for the place in history to which his earlier ideals would have bid him aspire—the popular mandate resisted and deplored by Democrats and independents may yet redound to the welfare and the true glory of the republic. His announcement that he will not be a candidate for reelection is a first firm and most sagacious step in the right direction.

*Sun*, November 9 (editorial):

Mr. Roosevelt may have coveted a second election and have regarded himself as eligible for a third term, believing, as he does, that the American people have no objection to continuing in office a deserving servant of proved fidelity.

To his everlasting honor be it said that last night, in the hour of his triumph, he deliberately renounced this not unreasonable theory. He will retire from office on the 4th of March, 1909, content with a single election by the people. It is solely to this end that his ambition has looked and his political energies have been devoted.

*Times*, November 9 (editorial, written before the news of the announcement):

We hope that the President will bear in mind that the great vote which has come to him from outside his party, being easily detachable, cannot be counted upon to stand by him for all policies or in all contingencies. If his party keeps on in its present path and the radical Democrats once more come into control of their party, he may find that his friends of 1904 will by no means be his friends in 1908. In spite of any resolve that he may form or express not to be the candidate of his party four years hence, it seems almost impossible that he should not be its candidate. Nothing but his irrevocable refusal to run can take him out of the field.

*Times*, November 10 (editorial):

The statement of Mr. Roosevelt, made the instant the result of the election was known, evidently the fruit of mature deliberation with reference to that result, may fairly be regarded as a declaration of independence from those influences, from that kind of party allegiance, which in the recent past has seemed to him requisite. Certainly it is not easy to see how any politician, however powerful, can present to him, in the next four years, any inducement to depart a hair's breadth from what he believes to be the very best line of conduct.

An editorial in the New York *Independent* of the ensuing week (November 17, 1904) is in keeping with what seems to have been the general understanding. This writer did not for a moment suppose that Mr. Roosevelt had been making an announcement intended to bear directly upon anything excepting the situation in 1908:

Mr. Roosevelt wisely declares that he will not seek a reelection. What is there for him after that?

[Editorial goes on to mention possible presidency of Harvard, possible service as United States Senator or member of the lower House.]

At the age of fifty he will yet have twenty-five years of active life before him. He may again, after a space, be chosen President; but the last



PLOWING FOR A THIRD TERM  
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

thing the country should expect of him is that he hide himself at Oyster Bay.

One finds in the *Philadelphia Press* the following interpretations, which were in full accord with general opinion at the time:

November 9 (editorial):

He is eligible even under the accepted unwritten law. He is only filling an unexpired term. This is his first election as President. It would not have been strange if he had aspired to a second. He might have remained silent. He chooses to speak and settle the question.

November 10 (special dispatch from Washington):

Mr. Roosevelt made another master stroke when he last night took himself absolutely out of the field of candidates for the nomination in 1908. His determination to make this announcement was formed without consultation with his advisers and was . . . his own free, uninfluenced action. . . . The President's announcement that he will not be a candidate or accept a nomination four years hence has inspired great expectations of an ideal administration during his second term.

The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* interpreted the statement in such clear and sensible phrases as these:

His early declaration leaves the way open, as it would not otherwise have been, for thoughtful plans for the party succession, while leaving the President himself free to carry through his second term with no other care than that of the greatest good to the whole country, which has so magnificently displayed its trust in him.

In editorials of November 9 and November 10, the *Boston Herald* gave its interpretation:

November 9:

The prompt announcement made by President Roosevelt that he will not be a candidate for the Presidency in 1908 simplifies the future political conditions by removing from the election arena the most potent personality in the Republican party.

November 10:

Apropos of President Roosevelt's prompt announcement that under no circumstances will he be a candidate for reelection, which would practically be for a third term, the *New York Times* finds it impossible to believe that he will not be.

Both *Leslie's Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly* were of opinion that in spite of his statement to the contrary, his services might be demanded by the party in 1908; and they evidently saw no inherent reason why such a demand should not be heeded. Witness the following remarks:

*Leslie's Weekly*, November 17 (editorial):

There is a strong probability that his sway over the minds and hearts of his own countrymen, and his influence in the rest of the world, will increase

in the term for which he has just been chosen, and that this may create a call for his reelection in 1908, much as he may be opposed to such a suggestion.

*Harper's Weekly*, November 19 (editorial):

We cannot say that we approve of his position, for the reason that circumstances might arise which would put him in flat opposition to the welfare of the country and the desires of the people; nor in these times do we attach much importance even to the wholly misunderstood two-term tradition.

The fact is that the editors of these weeklies were right in predicting that the party might disregard Roosevelt's views about the "wise custom," and call upon him to take another consecutive term. The pressure in that direction was greater than the public



THE HUNTER HUNTED (OCTOBER, 1907)  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

will ever know. Almost every one of the old party leaders who are now denouncing the "third term" begged and implored Mr. Roosevelt to disregard his pledge and take the nomination in 1908. They could then see no harm even in a third consecutive term. They promised to hold Mr. Roosevelt guiltless before the country by showing that he had not sought the nomination and that it had been forced upon him.

Mr. Roosevelt would have been nominated at Chicago in spite of himself, if he had not done everything that he reasonably could to persuade the party in advance to unite upon another candidate. His name had gone on the ticket in 1900 against his earnest protests. He was nominated in 1904 by general acclaim, and without effort or demand upon

his own part. He avoided a nomination in 1908 by sheer insistence. He did what he could to secure Mr. Taft's nomination, although he was not guilty of any improper use of executive patronage or power, and he did not for a moment play politics to the neglect of the high duties of his office. Mr. Taft's nomination and election were intended by the party and country as a vote of confidence in the Roosevelt administration, and a continuance of its personnel and policies.

This is not the place for a review of Mr. Taft's administration. It became evident, soon after his election, that the party did not find in him the leader and statesman that it had hoped for. One disappointment followed another, and the country's opinion was expressed in the sweeping condemnation of 1910, when a Democratic Congress was elected for the first time in a great many years. There is no well-informed politician or newspaper man in either party who does not know the methods that have been used, not merely in the past few weeks, but throughout the entire Taft administration, to make sure of the President's renomination. No such methods have ever been used at any time in the history of the country. Never before has the gaining of a second term been the paramount business of an administration. The supporters of the President have taken the novel ground that a renomination "belonged" to him, and that the mere preference of another candidate was something in the nature of treason and a thing to be followed up with unremitting persecution.

At the start, Mr. Taft's renomination was more than probable. The only thing that ever endangered it was the kind of effort made to secure it. The great progressive leaders of the Republican party were solemnly excommunicated by bulls from the White House at the very moment when fully three-fourths of the party was progressive and in sympathy with real tariff revision. Every bargain made for delegates at the expense of principle meant the loss of delegates in some other State where principle chiefly counted. Never in the history of American politics have there been such lack of vision and such an unbounded capacity for doing the wrong thing. The Republican party presented the specta-

cle of a President desperately and belligerently trying to force his renomination upon a party that would gladly have offered him a second term if he had been content to devote himself to his office and leave the question of renomination wholly to the people.

Mr. Roosevelt could not possibly have been a candidate this year if Mr. Taft had merely trusted the people and paid no attention to the shifting winds and currents of politics. For Mr. Roosevelt did not make himself a candidate, and did not desire to be brought forward. The widespread opposition to the Taft administration could be generally united upon Mr. Roosevelt, while it could not be united upon Mr. La Follette. Under these circumstances Mr. Roosevelt yielded to a demand. Let it be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt was a private citizen. Against him was arrayed the vast power of the federal machine, reinforced by its alliances with nearly all of the State Republican machines. Mr. Roosevelt cannot fairly be stigmatized as a seeker after the office. His strength has been merely that of the plain members of the party in States where public opinion had an opportunity to express itself. He is violating no pledge, and disturbing no custom, tradition or myth.

The very newspapers which have most to say about the third term in their bitterness against Mr. Roosevelt were the most urgent supporters of Grover Cleveland for a third term in 1904. They fully explained at that time that there was no valid argument against a third term that was not consecutive. The *New York Times*, the *New York World*, and the *New York Evening Post* were among the papers that were highly favorable to a third term for Mr. Cleveland. Yet Mr. Cleveland had already run for the Presidency three times, while Mr. Roosevelt has run only once,—namely, in 1904. The Republican party will not nominate Mr. Roosevelt unless it prefers him; and the country will not elect him if it prefers the candidate of the Democratic party. But neither in the Chicago convention nor at the polls in November will Mr. Roosevelt fail merely because of warnings against a third term. Fortunately, the people of the country have common sense and a full belief in their own power to choose or to reject.



# THE UNIT RULE AND THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

UNDEMOCRATIC DEVICES USED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY PROFESSOR C. S. POTTS

(School of Government, University of Texas)

**A**MIDST the turmoil and the confusion of the political campaign one thing at least seems reasonably certain. There is a widespread and rapidly growing distrust of the convention system of nominating candidates for office. For proof of this fact one only needs to remember that since the present campaign began five State legislatures have adopted Presidential primary laws—some of the legislatures being called in special session for that particular purpose—while in several other States voluntary primaries have been provided for by the State committees of the two leading parties. In addition to all this a bill fathered by Senator Cummins has been introduced in Congress for establishing a national primary election system, and the progressive wing of the Republican party is committed to its support. In fact, it is not at all unlikely that, after this campaign, there will never be another President nominated by the convention system as it has existed in the past.

## THE GROWING DISTRUST OF THE CONVENTION SYSTEM

This growing distrust on the part of the voters is not confined to the convention system, but seems to extend to practically all representative bodies. It is entirely probable that the chicanery and violence of political conventions have helped to prejudice the public mind against State legislatures and city councils, and in that way have stimulated the demand for the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. But be that as it may, there can be no doubt that a very large part of the people are in arms against the trickery and misrepresentation of the conventions and are determined to have a more direct voice in naming their candidates for office.

One cause of the revolt against the convention as a means of nominating Presidential candidates is the utterly unfair and reprehensible system of distributing delegates among the various States. By using population instead of party strength as a basis

for delegates the Republican party in the Southern States—assuredly the least respectable portion of the party—is given a voice out of all proportion to its importance, and, through the power of the patronage, becomes a pliant tool in the hands of a Republican President for returning himself to power or for dictating his successor. Another reason for distrusting the national conventions is the method of selecting the delegates, not directly by the people, but from conventions of delegates three or four degrees removed from the people. At each successive remove, as John C. Calhoun said in 1844, the voice of the people becomes fainter and fainter until finally it ceases entirely, and the delegates substitute their own will for that of their constituents.<sup>1</sup>

But whatever the causes may be it cannot be doubted that there is a strong belief on the part of the people that the national conventions are not truly representative of the wishes of the people for whom they assume to speak. In the national convention, the people believe, are gathered the political bosses from all parts of the country, not to seek the country's best interests, nor to carry out the wishes of their constituents, but to play at the "dirty game of politics," to struggle for the "spoils of office" for themselves and their henchmen, to scheme and plan, to swap and trade and log-roll, with the votes of the State delegations as their chief stock in trade. And back of it all and in it all, they believe, as the chief wire-pullers, stand the representatives of Big Business, ever alert for an opportunity to advance their own interests.

## THE UNIT RULE

However much this picture of the evils of the convention system may be overdrawn, it represents the views of a large and respect-

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of these objections to the convention system, see an article on "The Convention System and the Presidential Primary," by the present writer in the May number of this magazine.

able part of the American public, and it cannot be denied that the history of the conventions furnishes ample grounds for these views. Now, many of the evils of the convention system are inherent and will last as long as this method of making nominations is retained, but others result from rules and practices of the conventions that could and should be abolished. Such rules, by clogging the machinery of the conventions and interfering with its freedom of action, increase the power and the opportunity of the bosses to manipulate the delegates, and, by defeating the will of the majority, contribute much to the popular distrust of all delegate bodies.

Among such rules the most conspicuously bad are the "unit rule" and the "two-thirds rule," rules still retained in the Democratic conventions though long since discarded by the Republican party. The unit rule, which requires the delegates from a State to cast the entire vote of the State as a unit, had its origin in the days when a State might be represented in the national convention by a number of delegates largely in excess of the number of votes to which the State was entitled. Thus in 1835 the State convention of Maryland, not caring to discriminate between its members, elected them all as delegates to the second national Democratic convention, which was to be held in Baltimore, giving that State a delegation of 181. Of the 620 delegates present in that convention 422 were from four near-by States. Obviously in such a body, it would be unfair to allow a *per capita* vote to dictate the policies of the party, so a resolution was adopted that the vote was to be taken by States and that each State was to have as many votes as it had votes in the Electoral College. In this way Maryland was deprived of the advantage of her great numbers, while the fifteen votes of Tennessee, in the absence of an elected delegate, were cast by a Mr. Rucker, a private citizen of that State who happened to be visiting in Baltimore at the time.

#### THE UNIT RULE DEFEATS CLAY

While the votes in the Baltimore convention were taken by States, it is not certain that the vote from a given State could not be divided. The first certain use of the unit principle seems to have been in the Whig convention of 1839, which met at Harrisburg. Here Mr. C. B. Penrose, of Philadelphia, secured the adoption of the unit rule as a part of as crafty a political scheme as the country has ever seen, devised for the purpose

of defeating Henry Clay and securing the nomination of William Henry Harrison. The scheme worked beautifully, and the great Kentuckian afterwards bitterly complained that his party had three times made him its candidate when no Whig could be elected and had tricked him out of the nomination at a time when no Whig candidate could have been defeated.

Not only does the unit rule tend to crush out individual opinion and increase the power of the boss by giving him the solid vote of his State as trading capital, but it may result in the nomination of a minority candidate over a majority one. Possibly an illustration will help to make this clear. Suppose, for example, that Harmon gets the forty-eight votes of Ohio, and Wilson the twenty-eight of New Jersey. Of the twenty-six votes from Kentucky, let us say Harmon gets ten and Wilson sixteen. That gives Harmon a total of fifty-eight to Wilson's forty-four. But under the unit rule Wilson would get all of Kentucky's twenty-six votes, which, added to New Jersey's twenty-eight, would give him fifty-four, to Harmon's forty-eight. This is a change of ten convention votes, and in a close contest would give Wilson the nomination. In this way it is possible for the unit rule to shift a considerable part of the total convention vote, with corresponding changes in the final result.

It will readily be seen that the objection to the unit rule carries with it an objection to the use of the State as the sole unit of representation in the national convention. For, if there are to be any instructions at all, they should be given by the body that sends the delegates. So, unless the delegates are to go to the national convention without instruction, the remedy for the evils of the unit rule would seem to be in the use of the Congressional district or some smaller area as the unit of representation. Such a change would seem to be desirable, for the smaller the instructing area the more certainly will the voice of the voter have a chance to be heard.

#### THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

It would follow from what has just been said that so long as the State is retained as the area represented by the delegates in the National Convention, something of an excuse exists for retaining the unit rule on all matters upon which the State convention has given instructions. But what excuse can be offered for the two-thirds rule, the rule that requires a candidate to receive the votes of two-thirds

of the delegates before he can be declared the nominee? The framers of the Constitution—an extremely conservative body of men—did not deem it dangerous to place the election of the President in the hands of a simple numerical majority, whether the election should be made by the Electoral College or by the House of Representatives. But here we have the party that has always professed to trust the people and to believe in the principle of majority rule requiring two-thirds of its members to put forward the party's candidate for the Presidency.

The inevitable result of such a rule is to defeat the will of the majority, unless that majority be an overwhelming one, and to substitute therefor the will of the minority,—at least, their will not to have the candidate preferred by the majority. Such a contest usually ends in neither faction having its way. The delegates, worn out with the long days and nights of fruitless struggle, finally turn to a compromise candidate who has not been before the people at all and upon whom they have had no chance to pass judgment, or, worse still, a man who has been before the people but whose candidacy has met with no effective support. In either case the voice of the people is drowned in the uproar of the convention, and that body substitutes its own will for that of the voters.

This objection to the two-thirds rule was ably stated by Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, more than fifty years ago. After quoting from Calhoun's vigorous attack on the convention system, Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," adds:

One other objection to these degenerate conventions Mr. Calhoun did not mention, but it has become since he made his address a prominent one, and an abuse in itself, which insures success to the train-band mercenaries whose profligate practices he so well describes. This is the two-thirds rule, as it is called; the rule that requires a vote of two-thirds of the convention to make a nomination. This puts it in the power of the minority to govern the majority, and enables a few veteran intriguers to manage as they please.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

The origin of the two-thirds rule goes back to the first National Democratic Convention ever held. This convention, which was held in Baltimore in 1832 (six out of the first seven Democratic Conventions were held in the Maryland metropolis and the eighth in 1860 held its adjourned sessions there), was called for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Vice-President as Jackson's run-

ning mate, the Old Hero being without Democratic opposition for the first place. The convention, which was more of a national mass meeting than a convention in the modern sense, was very loosely organized, and on the second day adopted the following rule:

That each State be entitled, in the nomination to be made of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to a number of votes equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the Electoral College, under the new apportionment, in voting for President and Vice-President; and that two thirds of the whole number of the votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice.

This rule seems to have been adopted with little or no discussion, due doubtless to the fact that Van Buren, Jackson's choice for the Vice-Presidency, had considerably more than the necessary two-thirds, and was nominated on the first ballot. But the adoption of the two-thirds rule in the convention of 1835 produced a strenuous fight. General Romulus M. Saunders of North Carolina, who made the report of the Committee on Rules, said that the majority of the committee had reached the conclusion that a nomination by a two-thirds vote "would give a more imposing effect" than a nomination by a simple majority. He added that "it was to be presumed that no one had the most remote desire to frustrate the proceedings, and provided a majority should on the first or second ballot fix upon an individual, it was reasonably to be expected that the minority would be disposed to yield, and unite with the majority, so as to produce the effect contemplated by the foregoing resolution."

The report was vigorously opposed by a Mr. Allen of Massachusetts, also a member of the Committee on Rules, who asserted that the two-thirds rule was contrary to the fundamental principle of our Government, that we should be governed by the will of the majority. It was undemocratic, unrepugnant, and directly "in the face and eyes" of the Constitution. The rule was defeated by a vote of 231 to 210. The reporter adds that the rule was brought forward for the purpose of keeping Mr. R. M. Johnson of Kentucky out of the Vice-Presidency, "many being willing to make no nomination rather than accept of him." The opposition to Mr. Johnson must have increased over night, for the next day a motion to reconsider prevailed and the rule was adopted.

It is of interest to note that the General Saunders, who in 1835 urged the two-thirds rule as a means of making Van Buren's nomination more imposing, and who disclaimed



any intention to frustrate the will of the majority, was the same General Saunders, who, "before prayers" in 1844, moved the adoption of the two-thirds rule for the purpose of defeating Mr. Van Buren and of thwarting the will of the majority.

#### VAN BUREN A VICTIM OF THE RULE

The objection to the two-thirds rule that it enables the minority to govern is strikingly illustrated in the history of the Baltimore convention of 1844. Van Buren, who was defeated for a second term in 1840 by General Harrison, was immediately recognized as the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1844. State after State instructed for him until when the time came for the convention to meet he had a clear majority of all the delegates. In the meantime the question of the annexation of Texas had thrust itself to the front and some of the more urgent advocates of annexation, dissatisfied with Van Buren's cautious attitude on the subject, began to cast about for means of effecting his defeat. They found a number of the delegates from Pennsylvania and other States, who, although under instructions to vote for Van Buren, were personally opposed to him and were willing to defeat him if any plan could be devised for doing so without exposing them to the charge that they had disobeyed their instructions. The two-thirds rule supplied just the instrument they needed. Van Buren had ten votes less than the necessary two-thirds and they readily discovered that by imposing this rule upon the convention they could with safety carry out their instructions by voting for him, well knowing that with this rule in force he could not be nominated. "The conclusion is inevitable," says a critical student of this convention, "that they were willing that he should be sacrificed, but that they did not quite venture to appear with daggers in their own hands."

Of what now transpired, Benton gives the following account:

Two hundred and sixty-six delegates were present—South Carolina absent; and it was immediately seen that after all the packing and intriguing, the majority was still for Mr. Van Buren. It was seen that he would be nominated on the first ballot, if the majority was to govern. To prevent that a movement was necessary, and it was made. In the morning of the first day, before the verification of the authority of the delegates—before organization—before prayers—and with only a temporary chairman—a motion was made to adopt the two-thirds rule, that is to say, the rule which required a concurrence of two-thirds to effect a

nomination. That rule had been used in the two previous nominating conventions—not to thwart a majority but to strengthen it; the argument being that the result would be the same, the convention being nearly unanimous; that the two-thirds would be cumulative, and give weight to the nomination. The precedent was claimed though the reason had failed; and the effect might now be to defeat the majority instead of adding to its voice.

The rule was adopted by a vote of 148 to 118, and balloting began. There were 266 delegates present, of whom 134 were a majority, and 177 were two-thirds. On the first ballot Van Buren had 146, or twelve more than a majority and thirty-one less than two-thirds. After that he declined steadily until on the seventh ballot he had ninety-nine, to 123 for Lewis Cass, of Michigan. On the eighth ballot Polk appeared on the scene—the first "dark horse" in our history—and polled forty-four votes. On the next ballot, New York withdrew Van Buren's name and cast its entire vote for Polk. This action started a "stampede"—a scene many times repeated in national conventions since that day. Delegation after delegation changed its vote and when the result was made known, Polk, a man almost unknown to the country, who had only been spoken of a few times as a possible candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Van Buren, was the nominee of the party.

Writing a dozen years later Benton said:

That convention is an era in our political history to be looked back upon as the starting point in a course of usurpation which has taken the choice of the President out of the hands of the people and vested it in the hands of a self-constituted and irresponsible assemblage. The wrong to Mr. Van Buren was personal and temporary, but the wrong to the people, and the injury to republican institutions and to our frame of government, was deep and abiding, and calls for the grave and correctional judgment of history. It was the first instance in which a body of men, unknown to the law and the Constitution, and many of them (as being members of Congress, or holding offices of honor or profit) constitutionally disqualified to serve even as electors, assumed to treat the American Presidency as their private property, to be disposed of at their will and pleasure; and, it may be added, for their own profit; for many of them demanded and received reward. It was the first instance of such a disposal of the Presidency—for these nominations are the election so far as the party is concerned; but not the last. It has become the rule since, and has been improved upon. The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be President than the subjects of a king have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.

It is not necessary for us to go all the way with Benton in this gloomy view. He was

undoubtedly influenced in it by the fact that Van Buren's defeat robbed him of whatever prospects he might have had as "heir apparent" at the end of Van Buren's second term. But the fact remains that the will of the people, as expressed by the instructions to a majority of the delegates, was ruthlessly disregarded and a man upon whom the voters had had no opportunity to pass was put forward as the party's choice for President. Certainly in that particular case the party voters had no more control over the selection of their candidate than "the subjects of a king have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler."

While there has been no other majority candidate defeated for the Presidential nomination as a result of the two-thirds rule, it has greatly prolonged the balloting in many cases and immeasurably increased the bitterness of factional strife.<sup>1</sup> In 1860, for example, Stephen A. Douglas got a majority of the votes cast on the first ballot in the Charleston Convention, and had it not been for the two-thirds rule he would have been declared the nominee and the party might have escaped with only the small defection that had taken place before the balloting began. This would have done away with the other fifty-seven fruitless ballots taken at Charleston before the convention adjourned, cut off three or four days of bitter wrangling, and avoided the necessity of the adjourned sessions of the two factions at Richmond and Baltimore, with the further splits and the resulting weakening of the Democratic cause. It is possible that the election of Douglas might have followed and that the whole subsequent history of the country might have been changed.

Dr. Stanwood, in his "History of the Presidency," after reviewing the events of this most memorable convention, reaches the conclusion that "the two-thirds rule wrecked the convention."

#### WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

In 1844 the Democratic Convention met in Baltimore. In 1912 it meets there again.

<sup>1</sup>An interesting instance of the defeat of a majority candidate for Governor of Texas occurred in the Democratic convention that gathered in Austin in 1878. Governor Hubbard had a clear majority of the delegates but not the necessary two-thirds. After five days of voting, during which time it is said that over 800 ballots were taken, a compromise candidate was agreed upon in the person of Judge O. M. Roberts, of the Supreme Court. The fact that he proved to be one of the best governors the State has had cannot be offered as a justification of the method of his selection. The accident of birth sometimes furnishes a good sovereign, but that is no reason for advocating that system of selection. Roberts himself condemned the two-thirds rule which brought about his nomination and suggested as a substitute that the candidate be required to get a majority on three successive ballots.

In 1844, by use of the two-thirds rule, it defeated Van Buren, a majority candidate. We are led to inquire whether the same device may not produce a similar result in 1912? This is certainly a pertinent inquiry at this time, for by the last week of June, when the convention meets, conditions may easily shape themselves for just such a result.

Of the four active candidates in the field, Clark and Wilson seemed last month to be the favorites. Both had shown strength in various parts of the country and had secured a considerable number of instructed votes. Underwood as yet had developed no strength except in his home State and the near-by States of Georgia and Florida. Up to that time Harmon had shown little strength and had secured only a few scattering votes that cannot be counted for him if the unit rule is adopted. However, he may be expected to get the forty-eight votes of Ohio and will doubtless pick up some additional delegates before the convention meets. Three "favorite sons" have been put forward,—Governor Burke in North Dakota, Governor Marshall in Indiana, and Governor Baldwin in Connecticut, each with the votes of his own State. New York, though uninstructed, was ready to throw its great strength to Mayor Gaynor, should a favorable opportunity arise.

With such a multiplicity of candidates no one can predict what will happen. It is altogether possible, though not very probable, that Clark or Wilson will go to Baltimore with a clear majority of the delegates. But that either will have two-thirds of the delegates is beyond the realm of probability. If either of them should have a majority, but less than the necessary two-thirds, the situation of 1844 would be repeated, and in such a contingency it is not at all improbable that the outcome would be the same. That, however, would depend largely upon the ability of the leader to hold his own votes and to attract to his standard the uninstructed delegates and the delegates instructed for "favorite sons" and others hopelessly in the rear, who will be dropped early in the balloting. It would also depend to an extent upon the number of delegates instructed for him as second choice.

Now, with these facts in mind the outlook for Dr. Wilson is not as bright as his friends could wish it to be. In spite of the fact that he is the second choice of several delegations, including Kansas which is instructed for Speaker Clark and North Dakota which is instructed for Governor Burke, he will prob-

ably stand a chance to capture fewer of the uninstructed and the released delegates than any one of his three leading rivals.

This results from several causes, none of which is in the least discreditable to the New Jersey executive. In the first place he is not the type of man to attract the bosses who control the delegations from a number of the States. Imagine if you can such political bosses as Charles Murphy of New York, Tom Taggart of Indiana, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, and others of their kind, all masters of great blocks of convention votes, rallying their hosts and shouting themselves hoarse in behalf of the clean, clear-cut, independent scholar who has so recently driven men of their type from positions of power and influence in New Jersey.

Governor Wilson will suffer in the convention as a result of the fact that he was early recognized as the leading candidate. Each of his opponents recognized in Wilson the man that he would have to beat. As a result each of them was glad to see Wilson lose any given group of delegates regardless of who got them, for if Wilson could only be prevented from getting the necessary two-thirds his nomination on the first ballot would be prevented, a deadlock would ensue, and no man can foresee the outcome of a deadlock. So from the start it was the field against Wilson. It would have been the field against any other candidate who chanced to be in the lead, though doubtless Wilson's unpopularity with the bosses, for reasons already pointed out, made the field stronger in its opposition to him than it would have been to any other man. But this common desire to hold down the leader has given the appearance of a conspiracy to defeat Dr. Wilson, an appearance of which his friends have loudly complained. In each State the opposition to Wilson has centered on the man that seemed to have the best chance of getting the delegates from him. In the Southeastern States, for instance, it was Underwood versus Wilson; in Texas it was Harmon versus Wilson; while in Oklahoma, Kansas, Illinois, and Massachusetts it was Clark against Wilson.

But to return to the Baltimore convention. In what direction, let us ask, will the delegates chosen by these anti-Wilson combina-

tions turn when the man for whom they were instructed has been withdrawn from the contest? Will they go to Wilson or will they turn to one of the other candidates whose friends at home helped send the delegation to the national convention? Will the Underwood delegates from Georgia and Florida, when their first choice has been withdrawn, turn to Wilson, Underwood's chief rival in the struggle for the delegates, or will they throw their support to Clark or Harmon in gratitude for the help rendered in the State primaries? To the writer the answer seems fairly obvious. Dr. Wilson will certainly get some of these delegates, but much the larger part of them will pass to Clark or Harmon.

It is hardly likely that the two-thirds rule will prove so disastrous to any other candidate, for the reason that there will not be so much difficulty in switching the support of the minority candidates to the leader. But in any case this antiquated rule will rob the majority candidate, if there should be one, of the certainty of nomination to which he is clearly entitled, and will precipitate a deadlock whose outcome no man can foresee. At this writing it seems not improbable that Speaker Clark will have a clear majority on the first ballot. In that case he should have the nomination, for he, more nearly than any one else, would represent the choice of the Democratic voters, in so far as our present crude methods are capable of arriving at such a choice.

In conclusion, it may be added that the action of the Baltimore convention is of the very greatest importance to the Democratic party and to the country. Not for twenty years have Democratic chances of success been so good. Mr. Taft is out of harmony with a very large element in his party—the majority element, if the primary elections may be taken as a test—and hundreds of thousands of progressive Republicans will bolt the ticket, if he receives the party nomination, and support the Democratic nominee if he is a progressive man and can command the respect and confidence of the country. The search for such a man and the chances of nominating him when he is found will not be helped by the adoption of rules that tend only to bring about deadlocks and make the nomination a thing of barter and sale.



# THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

## EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

**D**URING the remaining months of this year the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will publish seven articles on "The People and the Trusts." We are confident that our readers will agree that the striking originality of conception and the freshness of treatment, no less than the importance of the subject, will justify this exception to the settled policy of the magazine.

No hesitation is felt in adding to the already voluminous literature of the problem. This literature by its very mass has tended to obscure the facts, rather than to reveal them. These articles will simplify rather than confuse, will furnish light rather than heat. The field is limited, the problem is attacked from different angles, and a constructive program which can be made effective is offered.

From the beginning the discussion will deal with human beings, rather than with blind forces. The real subject of the series might be stated as "How the Relations of Typical Individuals (and therefore of Society in General) with the Managers of 'Big Business' May be Improved." Each of these individuals is studied in turn, the facts are presented calmly and judicially, and a remedy for acknowledged injustice is offered. That this remedy is a panacea for all evils is not claimed, but it will do much in itself, and will surely prepare the way for a satisfactory solution.

The keynote of the series is the demand for PUBLICITY of the essential facts of organization and management of combinations of capital for two reasons:

(a) As a regulator and corrective. Knowledge crystallized into Public Opinion is one of the most powerful forces we have to-day. "A rat-hole into which a beam of light is thrown is thereafter useless as a rat-hole."

(b) As a means whereby the information necessary to pass laws, effective and at the same time just, may be obtained.

The titles of the articles follow:

### I. BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN.

1. Monopoly is not a new development but rather a return to old conditions. The familiar charges against the would-be monopolists of the present day may be matched in the past. But there is a new sin, the Suppression of Information.

2. The Demand for Publicity is not an unwarranted interference with private business. Why this is true, what information is necessary, who will get it, and what shall be done with it are questions for the Citizen.

### II. THE BORROWER.

Money is the life-blood of industry and upon its normal flow to every member the health of the organism depends. Frequent examination of the condition of the money-flow will enable us to discover whether any part is suffering. How the interests of the Customer of the most logical trust, Banking, will be affected by Publicity is carefully worked out.

### III. THE LABORER.

Publicity of the costs of production will enable us to know whether Labor in general is receiving a fair share of the product compared with other factors. The introduction of systems of measuring efficiency will establish the relative efficiency of individual laborers and make justice in compensation possible.

### IV. THE INVESTOR.

*Caveat emptor*—"Let the buyer beware"—was a workable rule in a simpler state of society. In our complicated industrial and commercial system the small investor can no

longer protect himself for lack of knowledge. The basic facts of every corporation offering its stock to the public must be made known. Only the government can save to the people the millions of dollars yearly paid to dishonest promoters.

#### V. THE MIDDLEMAN.

The nineteenth century solved the problem of cheap production. The twentieth must deal with cheaper exchange upon which the cost of living so largely depends. The gap between the price of potatoes in the field and in the kitchen is very large. Combination or coöperation have been suggested as remedies, but the power to combine may be abused unless agreements are made public. Then Public Opinion will take care of violations.

#### VI. THE CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

The important services rendered the community by the successful manager of business are now generally recognized, but some of these men have grown to think themselves above the law. While justice must be done him, on the other hand he must refrain from acts of oppression. Publicity will aid to secure both these ends. Under such a system he will be protected from blackmail and delivered from suspicion, if he will deal fairly with his competitor and the public. His energies may then be devoted to his legitimate function, *i.e.*, producing goods at the lowest cost, by making the most advantageous combination of men and material.

This series had absorbed the attention of Robert Lanier, of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS staff, during the last six months of his life, though the idea was in his mind long before. He recognized the fact that one reason for the general vagueness of opinion was the unsatisfactory manner in which the question had been presented, and determined that the REVIEW OF REVIEWS should do its share to make the problem clear. He sought information and suggestion from scores of intelligent students, practical business men, and clear thinkers; he had made an unusually full collection of material bearing upon different sides of the problem, and the series had begun to take form. The gentlemen chosen to write the separate articles had responded so enthusiastically to the idea, and consultations had been so frequent, that we are able to present the series as originally planned.

## BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN,—I

### BY HOLLAND THOMPSON<sup>1</sup>

(Assistant Professor of History, College of the City of New York)

THE trust problem looks so hopeless to the average man because the talk about it is so abstract.

No essay on competition can excite the same interest as a talk with a competitor. No discussion of monopoly is half so absorbing as an interview with a monopolist. In our desire to be profound we have succeeded in being either confused or silly.

Why must calm discussion of monopoly, the most human of forces, expressing as it does one of the fundamental facts of our natures, be dehumanized? For that matter "Trusts," that is to say, the driving power behind the combinations of capital, are not forces. They are folks first and forces afterward. Will it not throw light upon the whole matter to discuss these folks in their relation to the

other individuals concerned? May we not simplify the subject, immense as it is and complicated as it seems, by elimination? May we not get rid of familiar factors, find what is new, and examine that?

This article is the beginning of such an attempt. It deals with the Individual Citizen in his relation to the managers of "big business." Succeeding articles will take up the Borrower, the Laboring Man, the Investor, the Middleman and the Captain of Industry. The purpose is to limit the field, to ascertain the facts, to discover a tendency, not to denounce a conspiracy. It is assumed

<sup>1</sup> Robert Lanier (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, page 552) had been working on this series for several months, and had accumulated a great quantity of material, which he had begun to arrange. This article was written very largely from his notes and from our many discussions of the whole subject.

that under the same circumstances individuals behave in much the same way.

The successful promotion of one monopoly—perhaps the most important to America,—hung upon a woman's change of mind.

The lady's name is withheld for the present, for reasons which will appear later. It is enough to say that she was rich, and influential, through family and social position. She had undisputed control of her fortune, and naturally her secretaries were swamped with schemes suggested for the investment of her funds.

One promoter presented a plan to secure a monopoly of a profitable field, which had long been divided between two trusts. These made up in forcefulness of action what they lacked in organization, and had been able to eliminate the independent trader and now the stronger seemed to be on the point of crushing the weaker.

The business problem hinged upon transportation. The company in control of freight rates was bound to win. As it happened, in spite of their monopoly, the two trusts in command of the field were doing business at a constantly increasing cost, and both had suffered some serious losses. The cost to the consumer was growing heavier, but so great was the demand for the goods, largely because they ministered to vanity, that a wide market was assured at any price.

The ingenious promoter, who had neglected his own profession for years while unsuccessfully seeking to interest capital in his plan, had worked out a scheme which would cut costs of transportation to the bone, and therefore the new company would be able to undersell the others to such an extent that an absolute monopoly would probably result. The original producers and the consuming public would both be forced to accept the trust's own terms.

The plan was simple—on paper—too simple the lady's advisers thought; but the promoter was persistent and some of them were won over. The question of terms came up. The promoter demanded the sole management, his compensation to be one-tenth of the net profits, and also the right to subscribe for one-eighth of all issues of stock. From this he would not budge. Negotiations fell through, and the disappointed promoter left to seek other backers.

Here the woman's whim entered. A speculating capitalist of Hebrew descent, with the gift of financial prophecy so strong in his race, painted for her a vivid picture of the possible

profits; as well as other advantages—if the scheme did work. The lady changed her mind, recalled the promoter, and the trust was launched.

Though not everything expected was gained, success followed, but trouble also arose. The promoter was a man of broad views, a visionary even. One of his reasons for demanding such a large share of the profits was his desire to devote it to certain religious and philanthropic purposes. His subordinates, however, responded less to his influence than to the spirit of the promotion, which was simply a combination of money and genius to exploit producer and consumer alike. The producers suffered most. Their story is in fact a tragedy.

Like so many pioneers in other fields, the promoter did not realize the profits he had anticipated. Charged with the responsibility for internal dissensions, he was deposed, and for a time imprisoned. He died a disappointed man and his philanthropic purposes were never realized.

All of this sounds modern. You have read such stories in the magazines and newspapers, but this contract was dated April 17, 1492.

The lady was Queen Isabella of Castile; the "field," the East India trade (see map); the capitalist, Luis of the Santangel family, the Rothschilds of the fifteenth century.

The two trusts which had controlled the field were the trading cities of Venice and Genoa, which were the terminals of the combined land and sea routes to the Indies.

The promoter was Christopher Columbus;<sup>1</sup> his religious purpose, the expulsion of the Turks.

The busy Citizen has somehow come to believe that the trust or monopoly is a modern invention. He thinks that it is a peculiar development of the last twenty or thirty years in the United States, though he has a vague idea that something of the sort has developed in Europe. Why else did a score of intelligent citizens to whom this story was told fail to identify it, though all of them had read history? Tell the story to your friends, and see if they can guess the answer.

Every step is typical of modern trust-hatching in the twentieth century. Ideas and capital meet, and struggle for the advantage. An agreement is reached and they combine against the public which has not

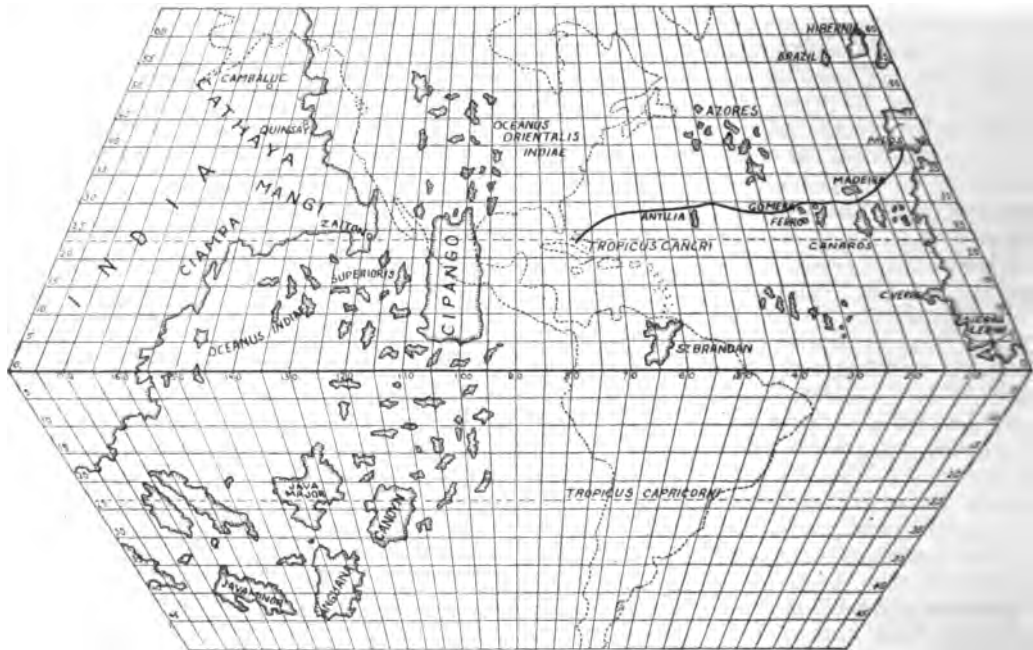
<sup>1</sup>Popular histories fail to emphasize the business side of the discovery of America. These statements above can be verified by reference to Las Casas, Harrisse, Winsor, Fiske, etc. Prescott gives a vivid account of the cruelties toward the natives. The interpretation only is new.

been consulted at all. This story of Columbus suggests that some features of trust practice are at least four hundred years old. Other instances will be given later.

Any mixed group of citizens, in the village store, in the smoking car, at the club, or the golf links, will agree that the trust is something new, but they will disagree on every other aspect of the problem. Some feel that they are a natural evolution, necessary and laudable; some, though resentful, are resigned; others would restrain, control, dis-

a trust, nor can they draw the dividing line between legitimate business and unlawful practices. Of course, there are extremes, manifestly lawful, or the contrary, but all agree that between lies a "twilight zone,"—to adapt William J. Bryan's phrase to other conditions,—which is dim and mysterious.

In the attempts to enforce the Sherman law, more than one hundred actions have been brought. Many of them have reached the Supreme Court and decisions have been handed down. In its decisions in the Stand-



WHAT COLUMBUS SOUGHT AND WHAT HE FOUND

(This map of Toscanelli [1474] was used by Columbus as a sailing chart. His aim was the northern part of Cipango [Japan], but he believed that the distance as represented by Toscanelli was too great, and hence, after sailing more than 2300 miles, he turned southward to avoid missing the island altogether. The dotted map of the Americas is in its proper position. As will be seen Toscanelli, though his calculation of the circumference of the earth was almost exactly correct, extended Asia to cover the whole Pacific Ocean)

solve or even destroy these Frankenstein's monsters of the twentieth century, but all make the same assumption of novelty.

We are told that there is in existence a "secret conspiracy" involving a concentration in a few hands of all the country's industries and even of all the very life blood of industry—banking. The charge has interested the House of Representatives and the Committee on Banking and Currency has been instructed to investigate the "Money Trust"—a power so well concealed that neither its officers nor its address is known to the public.

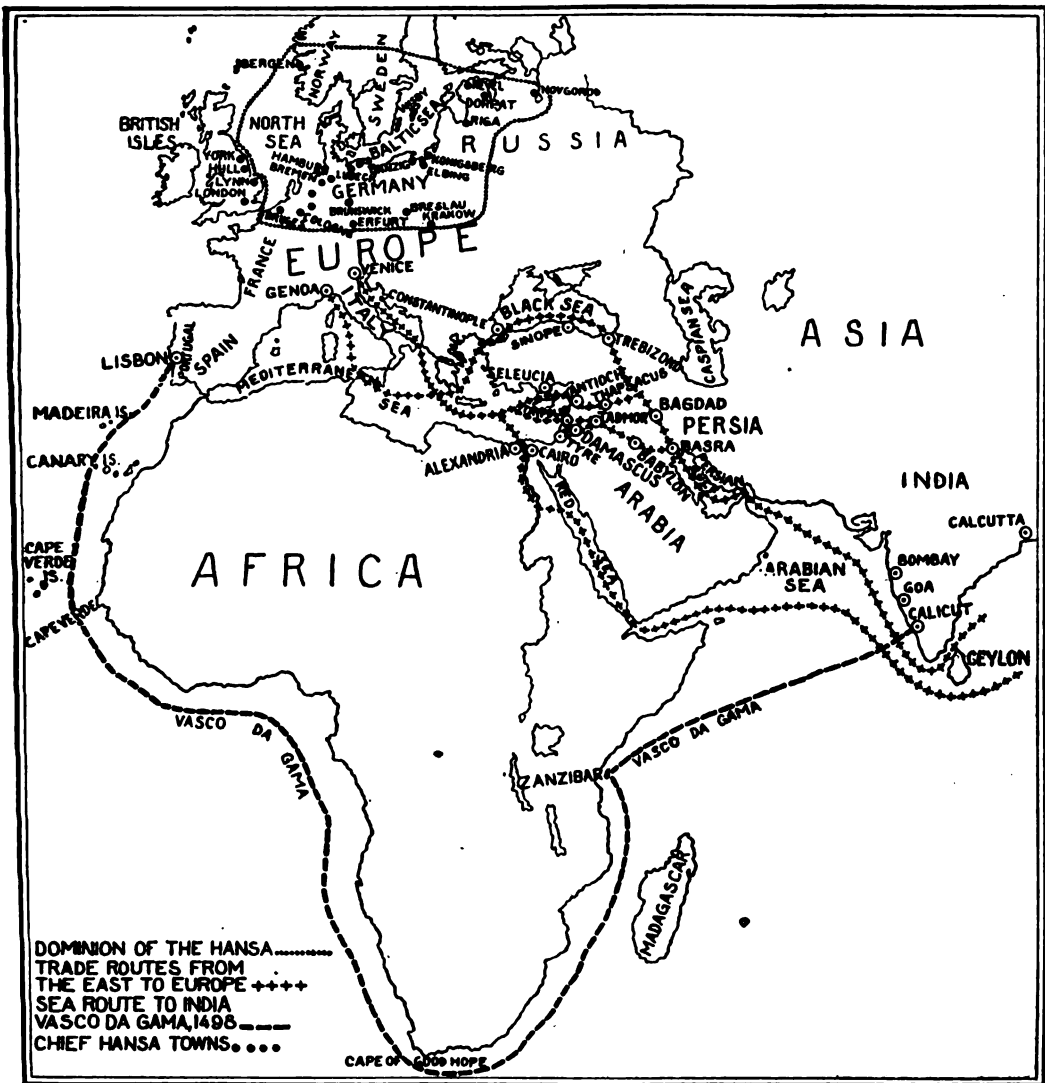
All speak glibly of trusts, and yet, strange to say, few persons can agree on a definition of

and Oil and the American Tobacco cases that tribunal has, so we are told, modified its earlier position by the insertion of the word "reasonable" into the statute, and with what result?

Chairman E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, who believes firmly in the economic and moral justification of combinations of competing units, and who certainly cannot be said to be lacking astute counselors in matters legal, said some time ago:

I know it is very easy to say the law is simple and clear and the corporation now knows exactly what to do, but I do not agree with the statement. I know that it is not the fact. I know that we have been in a position of great uncertainty during the last few years, and particularly during the last few





#### THE MONOPOLISTS OF THE PAST

(The Hansa sphere of influence is indicated at the top of the map. The three great medieval trade routes to the East led from the Mediterranean, the first by way of Constantinople and the Black Sea to Trebizond, thence southward by land and water to the Persian Gulf. The second led through Syria to join the first as shown by the map. The third passed through Alexandria and reached the Red Sea. An occasional caravan reached Novgorod in the days of its glory, and, for a time, an all-land route passed north of the Caspian Sea. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 closed the northern route, the second was closed in 1478, and Alexandria was threatened. Some other way to India was a necessity. The route of Vasco da Gama around Africa opened the way after Columbus failed. This was followed until the Suez Canal was dug)

months. We have been very much troubled to know just exactly what our position ought to be, what our conduct ought to be, and as a result there has been created in this country a feeling of great uncertainty and doubt. . . . These men would like to know what they can do; what they have the right to do; what they have the right to do from the standpoint of observance of the laws, and from the standpoint of public sentiment, which is just as important to consider; and they would not only like to know that for their present action, but they would like to know it for their future action.

There is not a more determined opponent of monopoly and monopolistic practices in the country than Senator Cummins. An able lawyer and a persevering student of economic questions, he approved the following statement: " . . . these decisions have rendered the law so uncertain and vague in its application to the actual affairs of business that men cannot safely proceed with the affairs they have in hand—safely proceed in

the sense that they do not know whether they are about to do a lawful thing or an unlawful thing."

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has been holding sessions for months. Before it have appeared merchants, wholesale and retail, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, professors of economics, officers of labor unions, farmers, railroad men, and simple citizens. In other words, producers, distributors and consumers. All of these have been allowed to express their views unhindered, and then have been questioned by the able members of the Committee representing every phase of political thought current to-day.

Into the record have been inserted decisions of the ablest judges in the history of the common law, thoughtful studies of present-day conditions, plans for paternalistic regulation of capitalization, prices and profits, well-considered plans for correcting admitted abuses, vigorous suggestions of confiscation of "ill-gotten gains" and violent demands for the punishment of "malefactors of great wealth." Representatives of every school of thought have had full opportunity to express themselves at length, thanks to the patience and forbearance of the committee.

The two fat volumes of testimony already published make interesting reading. Every citizen who takes his political responsibilities seriously will be fascinated by their pages but will lay them down with disappointment. The ablest students, the cleverest thinkers cannot come to any common conclusion. They agree that trusts exist, but they cannot say what makes a trust; they agree that there are, and have been, evils, but they cannot come together on methods of correction, and in fact, in that "twilight zone" of which we spoke above, they cannot decide whether or not a particular course is evil.

To some the efficiency and the economy possible to large aggregations of capital seem so important that they are willing to overlook probable, even inevitable wrongs. To others the interest of the petty competitor, with his little shop (though his establishment may be economically inefficient), is so important that they are willing to forego the undoubted advantages of production on a large scale, and would try to maintain the weakling by the strong arm of the law. Some would recognize existing and future combinations but would regulate them, even though such action might mean in the end fixing prices by governmental action, not only of the finished product, but of the raw material, and of labor itself,—

in other words, a return to the regulated monopoly of the Middle Ages.

If the doctors disagree what hope have the "common people" of coming to a clear decision? Their food for thought comes chiefly from the popular orators of the day who represent, generally, only one phase of the whole problem. They dwell upon the wrongs and compare the admitted evils of "big business" with those of monarchy or of slavery. They preach revolution or revolt, and some of them would have us recognize in them twentieth century Washingtons or John Browns with divine commissions to set us free.

*Why not compare monopoly with itself?  
Why not study the trusts of to-day in the light  
of the trusts of yesterday?*

Step by step the problem will grow simpler. One by one those features of trust practice which we have thought so new will be seen to be old, and they will grow less important as we see how our fathers met and dealt with them. A series of interesting parallels will result. We shall find that competition was the uncommon, and monopoly the usual condition of business in the past.

Trusts will be found from Hudson Bay to the Bay of Bengal, from the Baltic to the Gulf of Mexico. One trust ruled India and controlled the destinies of millions of people; another made the Baltic an inland sea, making treaties and dethroning monarchs as need arose. Another financed the crusaders who captured Constantinople and set up a Latin kingdom there; another, the London branch of the Virginia Company, first planted permanent English settlements in the new world. These were international monopolies. Of the lesser national or sectional monopolies there were many. Every guild organized in the Middle Ages included some features which we would call monopolistic, while kings bestowed upon individuals the sole right to sell various luxuries or necessities, which right was sold or leased to the merchant or the producer.

The story of Joseph in Egypt is one of the prettiest examples of cornering the food supply and exacting a monopoly price therefor of which we have record. We are told in Genesis that the Egyptians gave in exchange for bread their money, their cattle, and finally, their liberty and their land, which they afterward worked as tenants or serfs of their royal master. Aristotle tells us that an Athenian citizen once cornered the iron market in Syracuse.

Solomon as a monopolist surpasses any of

our modern trust magnates. We know that he levied heavier toll on the caravans passing over his roads than the most grasping transportation manager of the nineteenth century ever dared to do. We are told in the Book of Kings that he brought linen yarn out of Egypt, which his men of business sold at a fixed price. He imported war horses from the same country and sold them at a high price to the princes and warriors of the whole region. He sent out trading ships which brought back immense quantities of gold, so that "Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches."

In every case the aim was the same: to get the business, to monopolize it, and the consuming public paid. Practically every feature of modern monopoly to which objection is made is another version of an old story told long ago. The methods in the past were much the same as those pursued to-day, except that they were more vigorous. The little finger of the ancient monopolist was thicker than the loins of his degenerate successor.

Let us go over these characteristics one by one to see if we can find the new sin.

### *The Greatest Trust in the World's History*

*Is there anything new about the bigness of business as such—the power of enterprise privately controlled?*

The company which finally got the monopoly which Columbus sought became the most powerful trust in the world's history.

This company, "The Governor and Company of Merchants Trading in the East Indies," received its charter from Queen Elizabeth on the last day of December, 1600, and was not finally dissolved until 1874. This charter besides granting the exclusive right to trade in all regions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, "not already possessed by some Christian prince," gave the right to "acquire territory, coin money, command fortresses and troops, form alliances, make war and peace, and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction." Truly this was a broad grant. Standard Oil and Steel must "hide their diminished heads."

In addition it was exempted from export duties for four years, and, if necessary, the payment of import duties might be delayed until after the goods were sold. The only restriction was that the consent of the crown must be given to every voyage. The reason for this limitation was probably to preserve the right to call for ships if another Spanish Armada should approach the coasts. The royal navy was then insignificant.

In organization, the company was really a syndicate with a concession for the Indian trade, and from the members special joint stock companies were organized for every voyage. Later the syndicate became a joint stock company with a capital stock which traded on the account of all.

The explanation given for seeking the charter was simple. The price of pepper had been raised from three shillings to eight shillings the pound by the Dutch traders who had broken by force of arms the previously existing Portuguese monopoly which had followed Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India. This Portuguese monopoly had been conducted at royal risk and profit, because the Portuguese merchants refused to take the risks. "Golden Goa," the story of which reads like a misplaced page from the Arabian Nights, had at first afforded enormous profits, which, however, were largely absorbed by dishonest officials.

Ostensibly for the purpose of cheapening the price of spices—does not this sound modern?—the charter was asked. It was granted and so this old leviathan of trusts was born. The profits of the first voyages averaged more than one hundred per cent., the fourth and fifth taken together 234 per cent. Other voyages were not so successful, but the profits were large enough to invite competition, both of "interlopers" and of companies organized for the purpose. The interlopers were dealt with in a summary manner. Both ships and cargoes were confiscated. The competing companies were absorbed, in one case after a struggle which convulsed British politics.

In 1682 a dividend in cash of 50 per cent. was paid, and at the same time a stock dividend of 100 per cent. was declared. The next year, after the inflation, a £100 share sold for £500, apparently the highest price on record, though this price was approached in 1720. Between 1657 and 1691 the average rate of dividends was 25 per cent. So great a proportion of the capital of the country was engaged in the Indian trade that in 1684 the company was accused of "alone devouring half the trade of the nation." Can even the "Money Trust" be charged with such power to-day?

At first the only territory controlled was the concessions for trading purposes for which rent was paid to the native princes, but in 1689 it was decided to enter upon a course of territorial aggrandizement. Most of us have been accustomed to think of those great pro-consuls, Robert Clive and Warren Hastings as engaged in building up the British Empire.

This is true only ultimately, for they were employees of the East India Company, and while they were setting up or pulling down nabobs, confiscating treasure, or fighting battles, they were primarily extending the power and the dominion of the company. To be sure the British Government, in 1773, and again in 1784, asserted its power to regulate and control, but the company nominated the officials until 1858.

In 1813 the monopoly of the Indian trade was abolished, though the monopoly of the trade with China was continued. In 1833 even this was taken away, though the company still governed the country until 1858, when, as a result of the Sepoy mutiny, the British Government assumed full control. The government, however, guaranteed the dividends on the stock, and not until 1874 was it all retired at 100 per cent. premium.

Here then is, in brief outline, the story of a monopoly which from the India House in Leadenhall Street governed millions of Asiatics and waged bloody wars, not only with the natives, but with the French and the Dutch. It bribed officials of the government, had dozens of self-confessed representatives in Parliament and spent thousands of pounds in subsidizing the press. In fact, the responsibility for the widespread corruption in English politics in the eighteenth century is laid at its door. Its history for the first hundred years is set down in Sir William Wilson Hunter's "History of British India," a work unfortunately unfinished, but the fragment is a book which no student of economic or political problems can afford to neglect.

The American citizen has to contend with no such organization as this, and yet when it had done its work, its power, on the demand of the British Government, dropped from it as a cloak. The King of England is Emperor of India, but the East India Company no longer exists.

#### *Another Great Trading Trust*

For protection against pirates in the Baltic, and for the common welfare, the traders in a number of German cities very early formed loose associations. Out of them appeared, already full grown, early in the fourteenth century, the Hanseatic League. At the height of its power, it "had three good crowns at its disposal"; it set up a rival and successful king in Sweden; it twice captured Copenhagen and drove Waldemar III., of Denmark, from his kingdom in 1368. Later,

in 1523, it was instrumental in dethroning Christian II., it enabled Gustavus Vasa to become ruler of Sweden, and once its armies ravaged the English coast. The Baltic became a Hanseatic lake into which no other flag might enter without the permission of the Hansa, a permission rarely granted. Though never rebelling openly against the Emperor, the League treated his demands with cold courtesy, and went its own way.

First and last perhaps ninety cities belonged to the League, though the exact number is uncertain, as the membership varied at different times. Some of the cities were expelled for disobedience to the rules of the League, and others were unable to pay their assessments. Lübeck was always the leader, though Hamburg and Cologne were hardly less important. In the cities the trading classes were always dominant, and they grew in wealth and power.

At London, Novgorod, Bergen, and Wisby, the Hanseatic community was a state within a state, in which the laws of England, Russia, Norway or Sweden did not run. At Novgorod, the cloth of England and France was exchanged for furs, metals, honey and wax, always to the profit of the Hanseatic trader. At Bergen they exchanged manufactures of various sorts for fish.

Nowhere was the power of the League greater than in London, where a district known as the Steelyard on the water's edge, just above London Bridge, was the home of the Hanseatics. They bought the wool, hides, grain, beer and cheese of the English, selling them in return flax, linen, hemp, fish, wax and wine, as well as Oriental products with which they had provided themselves at Bruges, or even at Novgorod, where their traders had met an occasional caravan which had made its way entirely across Asia.

The English people objected vigorously to the favors showered upon the Hanseatics by their rulers, at first to no purpose. They were useful to the kings and useful also to the community, for they brought to their warehouses those needed goods which the confusion of the times and the backwardness of English workmen rendered unattainable otherwise. Not until the English were able to do themselves what the Hansa was doing for them, could they drive it away.

Bruges first, and later Antwerp, were the great clearing houses. Here the League did not demand the special privileges it had extorted in the cities just mentioned, but its grasp upon the entire commerce of Northern Europe was not loosened until internal dis-

sensions and a growing lack of enterprise weakened the union. With the increasing growth of national feeling in the states with which they dealt, their power to monopolize grew less. Under Elizabeth they were expelled from London in 1598. The pupils had learned how to trade from their German teachers; and then they dismissed the teachers. The Thirty Years' War completed the destruction.

The League had done its work. It had carried certain aspects of civilization to millions of barbarians. Through it the Baltic lands had advanced in wealth and intelligence. The merchant in the city had increased in self-respect and the power of the robber baron had been held in check. Our judgment on the results of its work will be much the same as on our present-day monopolies. It was done selfishly, and often roughly, but much of it was really constructive.

From the description of these two monopolies, the Individual will see that the mere size of a combination is nothing new. There are others, such as the Italian City Republics, which might be named, but the two instances given above are enough to show that there existed in the past proportionately greater combinations of capital, with greater powers, exercised in a more ruthless way, than can be found to-day.

#### *Is Close Connection Between Business and Politics New?*

No charge against the trust of the present day is made with more indignation than this, and yet attention has been called to the political activities of the East India Company. In the Hanseatic League the governing power in every town was almost invariably the merchants and every regulation was made with their advantage in view.

Another instance no less striking is the connection of Venice with the Fourth Crusade. The Venetians had agreed to transport the Crusaders to the Holy Land for 85,000 marks, but the soldiers arrived with only 51,000 marks, all that could be raised. The Doge informed them that the remaining 34,000 marks would be excused if they would take Zara for the Venetians. This done, the Crusaders were induced to capture Constantinople where they established in 1204 a Latin kingdom. The Venetians secured a monopoly of the Eastern trade coming by the Black Sea route (see map) which they held until the Latin kingdom fell in 1261.

No campaign contribution of the present

day compares with the million pounds which the East India Company furnished the government at low interest, in 1742, in return for a fourteen-year extension of its charter. Imagine, if you can, the Standard Oil Company, to prevent its dissolution, furnishing perhaps fifteen million dollars to the administration to finish the Panama Canal.

Go back four centuries farther. It seems incredible, but it is true, nevertheless, that Crécy and Poitiers were won with trust money. Edward III, a chronic borrower, had financed his earlier campaigns in the Hundred Years' War by borrowing from the Florentine bankers. His default ruined them, and no one else would extend credit. The Hanseatic League came to the rescue, loaned the needy king £30,000, worth probably more than two and a quarter million dollars to-day, and received many favors in return.

Evidently monopoly and government have been closely allied in the past.

#### *Is Harshness Toward Producers of the Raw Material New?*

Read the early history of Spanish America and find the answer. If another instance is needed, study the attitude of the Hanseatic League toward its Russian or Norwegian producers, or go to the history of all the East India Companies, Portuguese, English, Dutch or French, especially the Dutch.

#### *Is Brutality Toward Competitors Characteristic of the Present Day?*

Again go to the East India Companies. Confiscation of ship and cargo was the slightest penalty inflicted upon the intruders. Reduction to slavery was common, and torture and murder were not infrequent. Turn to the Hansa again and find a similar course of action. The competitors of a modern trust at least escape with their lives.

Coming down to later times, the story of the Hudson's Bay Company, that great fur-trading company, chartered in 1670 is interesting. The free-trader, caught trespassing on the company's territories, and then set free in the wilderness without food, boat, gun or compass, is an example of the lengths to which commercial rivalry led men even in the nineteenth century. The contest with the Northwest Fur Company was marked by deeds of which savages would hardly be proud. "If forgotten graves could give up their secrets, they could tell many a tale of violence and of treachery."

Evidently courtesy to competitors was not universal in the days of old.

*Surely Artificial Limitation of Supply to Increase the Price is a Modern Invention*

The Dutch knew two hundred years ago that often an inadequate supply would bring in larger returns than a superfluity, a lesson our Southern cotton farmers have had impressed upon them time after time, but which they obstinately or short-sightedly refuse to heed. So we find the Dutch traders uprooting the spice trees on the Molucca Islands, and even burning a large proportion of the product to keep it from the market. The diamond monopoly of London and South Africa has learned no new tricks. The old ones knew them all.

*The Inside Ring which Takes Advantage of Official Position is Surely New*

The spectacle of men, directors and officials of a corporation,—trustees for the stockholders, in fact—using their positions and the knowledge gained thereby for private gain has been often seen. The investigation of the American Tobacco Company showed to what extent this could be carried. Surely this is new. Again go back to the declining degenerate days of the Hansa, and case after case of similar conduct is revealed. Turn to the East India Companies. We are told that the royal monopolist's ship went back to Portugal half empty, but that those loaded by his officers in India returned full. The British company evidently did not expect its servants to live upon their salaries in the early days. When it found, however, that dozens of them were able to retire with enormous fortunes after a few years of service, while the returns to the company grew slowly or did not grow at all, strenuous efforts to stop the leaks were made, for a long time with slight success.

This practice is evidently not new.

To be sure these monopolies were generally mercantile and not manufacturing—monopolies of sale and not monopolies of production. The reason is plain. Before the days of machinery there was no production on a large scale, but this fact does not affect the soundness of the argument. That some of these monopolies were granted by royal favor is likewise immaterial. *Everything which could*

*be monopolized was monopolized at some time or other in the world's history.*

We find then that practically every feature of the problem of monopoly to-day has appeared before. There have been monopolies of enormous size, proportionately larger than anything we have to-day. Sinister alliance with, or influence upon, government officials was common. The monopolists wilfully limited the supply, behaved with brutality toward the producer of goods and toward would-be competitors, and officials took advantage of their trusteeship for private gain. These are the most common charges against modern trusts and their managers.

*What Then Is New?*

There is, however, in the practice of "big business" to-day, a new sin which is ~~fundamental~~. True, it is not yet recognized as a sin, but it should be and must be declared a crime. The sin is not an inheritance from the monopolies of a remote past, but has grown out of that fierce individualism so characteristic of American life. It has been fostered and developed by that unrestricted, savagely competitive struggle for supremacy which has been such a striking feature of our industrial history.

This practice, which seemed natural and logical in a simpler social and industrial organization of society, has been permitted to continue, though its effects to-day are wholly bad when viewed in the large. What, then, is this policy which has become improper and even wicked with the industrial development of the United States?

*The New Sin is the Suppression of Information Which the People Have the Right to Know*

Our country and our times are not those of our ancestors, and changed conditions have brought different standards in their train. To-day many acts, once grave crimes, are considered harmless or even praiseworthy. On the other hand, law and public opinion now condemn many practices formerly ignored. Secrecy, not so long ago, an inalienable right, has become the new sin in business. Why this is true, and what a recognition of this fact means to the Individual will be discussed in the second half of this article, to appear next month.

# LORADO TAFT AND HIS WORK AS A SCULPTOR

BY ROBERT H. MOULTON



LORADO TAFT

**T**HERE is a man in Chicago who has been called the greatest artistic educative personality in the Central West to-day; who is credited with having done more to inspire a knowledge of art and a love for the beautiful in sculpture and painting than any other man of his age in America. His name is Lorado Taft, and his work is in clay and marble. He is an artist whose sole purpose is to model ideal conceptions—to create beautiful or significant sculptures. Also, he is an idealist in the sense that he places the joy of creative effort above fame and fortune. While he has reached that place where he might have commissions for all he could do, it is interesting to note that he frequently plans and executes a work without the slightest suggestion of an order, simply because the idea dominates

him and demands to be put in some imperishable form.

Mr. Taft is a sculptor of power and genius who has worked faithfully at his art for many crowded and busy years. He has produced in that time groups and single figures which have made him recognized as one of the foremost of contemporary sculptors, and when he has not been chiseling soul into marble or molding it into clay, he has been lecturing on his own art and on art in general.

Mr. Taft's first important commission was for two groups at the entrance to the Horticultural Building of the World's Columbian Exposition. These, "The Sleep of the Flow-



"BLACK HAWK"

(Mr. Taft's famous concrete statue of the Indian chief overlooking the Rock River in Illinois)



ers," and the "Awakening of the Flowers," attracted wide attention.

Two analogous groups, "The Mountain" and "The Prairie," made for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, formed his most conspicuous work in the next decade, though "The Solitude of the Soul," exhibited at the same exposition, won him a gold medal. Its importance and suggestiveness to thinking minds is indicated by the fact that it has been made the subject of numerous poems.

His next important work was the fountain group, "The Great Lakes," which has been purchased by the city of Chicago and will stand in front of the Art Institute. In this work Mr. Taft offers a unique national symbol. It represents the Five Great Lakes, typified by beautiful female figures, joined in composition by a sparkling line of water. The descending stream is started by high-standing Superior, then caught in turn by Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the latter, with outstretched arm, finally directing the flood onward to the sea.

Best known of all Mr. Taft's sculptures,

however, is "The Blind." His inspiration for this work was found in Maeterlinck's drama of the same name. This masterly group represents the crucial situation in that play; where a company of sightless men and women who have long been the wards of a venerable priest realize that their leader is dead, and that their only hope for guidance rests with the little child around whom they crowd and grope. There is a note of despair in the group, yet the dominant motif is faith and trust—the hope that "a little child shall lead them," which is so gladly accepted by all. The conception, the grouping, and the delineation of the groping, huddling, sightless ones is marvelous.

In speaking of this work Mr. Taft says: "The play made a wonderful and lasting impression upon me. After I had read it, my mind dwelt constantly on the symbolism expressed in the tragedy—the great longing of all humanity for light in life. Then in my dreams the group shaped itself and refused to vanish. The profound truth underlying the drama urged me on. . . . It was a most

absorbing creation. I felt the deepest emotion while modeling the faces of the blind. The pathos of helpless endeavor in the posture of the figures, the hands reaching upward into empty air, appealed to the sympathies of my assistants as well as myself."

Of late years Mr. Taft has shown a disposition to turn to sculptures heroic both in spirit and in substance. He has a vigor and sweep of execution as heartening as the breezes from the Western plateau. He is a man of big conceptions and ideas and he works them out with affluence of labor and material.

#### "BLACK HAWK" IN CONCRETE

In one of his most recent creations, the statue of Black Hawk, commemorating the American Indian, we find abundant proof of his leaning toward massive figures. This statue, which was unveiled last July, is of noble proportions, being fifty feet high, and stands on the



"THE GREAT LAKES"



"THE BLIND,"—BEST KNOWN OF MR. TAFT'S SCULPTURES

highest point of a lofty promontory overlooking the picturesque Rock River near Oregon, Illinois.

Behind the building of the Black Hawk statue lies an interesting little story. Several years ago Mr. Taft was watching some workmen build a reinforced concrete chimney at the Chicago Art Institute, when there came to him his great idea of the means for making an enduring statue. With the process in mind it was not long before an adequate subject presented itself. For fifteen years he has had his summer home and studio at Eagle's Nest Camp, the summer seat of the Chicago art colony. Standing for the hundredth time at the highest point of the cliff, he never failed to remember that it was from here that Black Hawk was finally driven out of Illinois. So he decided to bring back the famous Indian chief, and now in concrete he again surveys his former domain.

This statue is, in more senses than one, the biggest thing that Mr. Taft has yet done—big enough to place him right up in front

among our most famous American sculptors, living and dead. The statue is immensely simple, the heavy folds of the blanket surrounding the figure suggesting the man's body without following closely its outlines. The dignity, the stoicism, and the bitterness of a vanquished race are there, and the great figure, gazing across the river, is a fit memorial of a race that has passed from power.

This work was a labor of love with the sculptor, his gift to the people of Illinois. He not only created it, but paid almost the entire expense of its construction—a proof of gracious patriotism which few artists are willing or able to offer to the people they serve.

#### THE COLUMBUS MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Taft's latest work and the one which will, perhaps, be seen by the greatest number of people, he has just completed after two years of modeling. It is the sculptures for the Columbus Memorial at Washington,

which is now nearing completion and which, it is expected, will be ready for dedication this month. The memorial consists of a semi-circular fountain, seventy feet wide and sixty-five feet deep, adorned with a great statue of Columbus and other appropriate sculptures. It will stand on the plaza in front of the Union Station at Washington, and has been designed to harmonize in its architectural and artistic treatment with the station and its environments.

No more fortunate or appropriate site for the memorial could possibly have been selected. Situated at the gateway of the nation's capital, it will be the first and the last thing to greet the eyes of the millions of visitors who annually journey there. And it seems altogether fitting that this monument to the discoverer of a new world should stand in the capital of its greatest country.

The plan for erecting the memorial was started under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus several years ago, when contribu-

THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY  
(One of the Columbus Memorial figures)

tions were selected from the various councils of that order throughout the United States. The responses were so immediate and hearty that the success of the project was practically assured from the first and later made secure by an appropriation of \$100,000 from Congress.



THE COLUMBUS MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN AT WASHINGTON, TO BE DEDICATED ON JUNE 8

The work was intrusted to a commission consisting of the chairmen of the Senate and House committees on the Library, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Supreme Knight of the order of the Knights of Columbus. That commission selected the Union Station plaza as the site for the memorial and adopted the design submitted by Daniel H. Burnham, architect of the Union Station and member of the National Commission of Fine Arts, with the sculptural features by Mr. Taft. The entire fountain is to be constructed of Georgia marble.

The principal feature of the rear of the fountain is a stone shaft about forty-five feet high, surmounted by a globe of the world. It forms the background of a statue of Columbus, who is represented as standing on the prow of a vessel, with arms folded in an attitude of meditation. It was Mr. Taft's purpose here to make us feel the apotheosized Columbus, and while the statue is severely plain, the sculptor has imparted to the figure a grandiose dignity by throwing about it a great cloak after the fashion of the discoverer's day.

Just below the statue of Columbus is the figurehead of a ship, a beautiful female figure of ample form and dignity, typifying "The Spirit of Discovery." The great basin of the fountain with its abundant flow of water will be immediately beneath this figure.

On either side of the stone shaft are massive figures portraying the sculptor's ideas of the New and Old Worlds. The "New World" is represented by the figure of an American Indian reaching over his shoulder for an arrow from his quiver. The "Old World" is represented by the figure of a patriarchal Caucasian of heroic mold and thoughtful mien.

The globe at the top of the shaft is intended to suggest the influence of Columbus on the growth of popular knowledge of the shape of the earth. It is supported by four American eagles, which stand at the corners of the top of the shaft with wings partially extended. The rear of the shaft carries a medallion representing Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and the group of figures is completed by two enormous lions which occupy the ends of the balustrade running from the center to the sides of the fountain.



"THE OLD WORLD"



"THE NEW WORLD"

# THE FIRST PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION AND WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED



THE COCOANUT ARCH AT THE PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION

**A**N epoch in American colonial history was marked by the opening of the first Philippine Exposition, held in its own grounds and buildings on the outskirts of Manila, during the first week of the present year. The progress made by the islands under American guidance in all the arts of peace were shown by native processes and products.

The exposition, under the general presidency of the Hon. C. E. Elliott, Secretary of Commerce and Police of the Islands, was the medium through which the four chief Philippine agricultural products, hemp, sugar, cocoanut, and tobacco, were exploited. Under the management and through the hard work of Mr. W. W. Barclay, the Director General, the exposition indicated what the native Filipinos can and will do under American direction, education, and encouragement. Even the buildings were of native material, chiefly sualie and woven bamboo. More than 100,000 pesos' worth of handiwork by the pupils of the public schools, made under the direction of American teachers, and more than 50,000 pesos' worth of goods from the provincial exhibits were sold during exposition week.

Some new decorative effects in color of native woods and vegetable products marked the buildings, and their beauty was noted by Western visitors. It would be difficult to describe to those not familiar with the tropical East the color effects produced by the combination of the cream tints of the hemp fiber, the pale green of the sugar cane, the gray of the cocoanut and the dark brown of the tobacco, particularly when used as coverings for the pillars and other structural parts of the buildings.

The chief exhibits were from the Pangasinan and Morro provinces. Pangasinan is known as the granary of the Philippines, and its wheat exhibit was remarkable. Among the industries from this province were represented the famous Calasio hat. Morro Province exhibit won many first prizes, chiefly for rubber, hemp, corn and tobacco. This province also sent samples of coffee, pronounced by experts to be equal in flavor to any in the world. Peanuts, tapioca, beans, and barley were shown in brilliant profusion. From a number of separate localities native brasswork was exhibited, and much admired, as was also pottery products from Lanao.

The exposition, which was a surprise even to many of the Manilans themselves, ap-



THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FIRST PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION, THE HON. W. W. BARCLAY



"PROSPERITY ROW" AT THE EXPOSITION, SHOWING THE PROVINCIAL BOOTHS AT EACH SIDE

parently justified itself. It seems probable ing out of the Filipino native section at the that the easy success of this exhibition will coming Panama-Pacific Exposition at San encourage and stand as a model for the work- Francisco, to mark the opening of the canal.



THE DISPLAY OF NATIVE FILIPINO MADE FABRICS, ONE OF THE RESULTS ATTESTING AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

# RESULTS OF THE STANDARD OIL DECISION

BY FRANK B. KELLOGG

(Special counsel for the United States in the Standard Oil cases)

THERE is much discussion in the public press as to what has been accomplished by the decree in the Standard Oil case. In my opinion that decree accomplished everything that it is possible to accomplish under the Sherman Act. The law does not authorize the court to confiscate the property of combinations or trusts (except property in transit); it authorizes an injunction to restrain violations of the act. The decree in this case enjoined the violation of the act; it dissolved the Standard Oil holding company and separated the subsidiary corporations. It went further, it prohibited the individual defendants, the corporations, their officers and agents from continuing or carrying into further effect the combination adjudged illegal, and from entering into or performing any like combinations or conspiracy the effect of which would be to restrain commerce in petroleum and its products.

The injunction also prohibited the defendant corporations until the discontinuance of the operation of the illegal combination, from engaging or continuing in commerce among the States or in the Territories of the United States. It also enjoined them from making any express or implied arrangements together, or with one another, like that enjoined, relative to the future control and management of any of the defendant corporations. The result is that not only was the combination condemned and declared illegal, but the defendant companies, some thirty-seven in number, which were thus dissevered, were prohibited from making any express or implied agreement relative to the control of the several companies as one harmonious whole. The decree went further than any decree has ever gone in any court, under the Sherman Act.

## WHAT WAS THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY?

The Standard Oil combination consisted of one holding company, holding the stocks of and controlling the thirty-seven corporations

engaged in all branches of the oil business in all parts of the country. The testimony showed that this vast aggregation of corporations dominated the oil business, dictated terms to its competitors, and, in many instances, actually crushed them out and drove them from the business. It also had vast influence over the railroads, receiving rebates and other preferences in transportation, which its competitors did not enjoy. These unfair methods of competition and preferences were exposed in this case, and during the prosecution and since the decree the independent oil manufacturers have had free and open opportunity to engage in business and have prospered, without being clubbed to death by inordinate capital.

## UNFAIR PRACTICES DISCONTINUED

The severing of the Standard Oil combination prevents it from acting as one great aggregation with all its powers to raise and lower prices, to control the oil industry, and to crush out its competitors.

A gentleman interested with the independent manufacturers and thoroughly familiar with their business recently writing me of the effect of the Government prosecution said:

From their (the independents') standpoint, comparing present conditions in the oil business with the conditions of 1904 and 1905 when the activity of the Government first began in the matter of investigating and publication, there is no doubt but what the independent interests have been aided and bettered by what the Government has done. The rigor of monopolistic control and abuses certainly has been broken by the proceedings of the Government through all its departments, but especially through the dissolution suit.

I think I can safely say that the piratical methods heretofore employed by the then monopoly have almost entirely disappeared, such as the acquiring of information concerning competitive shipments now forbidden by federal statute and by the statutes of many States, the employment of bogus companies, the cutting of prices below cost for the purpose of driving out competition, securing the countermanding of orders acquired by competitors, misrepresentation of goods, and in fact nearly the whole category of unfair methods set out in the Government's suit have disappeared from the arena of competition.



## THE GOVERNMENT'S POWER ASSERTED

Another thing which has been accomplished is that the Government has demonstrated that it is bigger than any corporation and can legally control aggregations of capital organized under State authority. In my opinion it is not and should not be the desire of the American people to destroy any industry, but to control it; not to destroy capital, but to regulate it, for large aggregations of capital are necessary to many branches of business. But wealth is one of the greatest powers known in the world. It should be controlled so that it will not be used to the injury of the people. The highest development of civilization will be attained by keeping open to individual enterprise the great avenues of commerce and industry so that every man, with reasonable capital, ability, and industry, may safely embark in some branches of industry with the hope of being something more than the employee of a corporation.

## FEDERAL AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED BY THE COURT

I do not contend that the machinery of the courts is adequate for the regulation of large corporations any more than that the machinery of the courts is adequate to control the banking facilities and railroads of the country. It is no part of the duty of courts to lay down rules for the future management of corporations and business; that is the duty of the legislature. The court acts upon the condition presented. Especially is it true that the criminal laws are totally inadequate and inappropriate for such regulation.

The decree of the court was necessary to establish the power of Congress and the power of any regulative body like a commission which Congress might establish. This battle had to be fought first because these corporations, entrenched behind State charters, claimed immunity from federal control. It would have been idle to legislate further upon this subject until the power to do so and to enforce legislation was clearly sustained by the Supreme Court, as it has been done. I have often said that Congress should now, in the light of these decisions, establish a commission something like the Interstate Commerce Commission and license corporations and large aggregations of capital under strict supervision and control.

I am aware that the control of the forces of industry and of capital is a very delicate and difficult task; and it has agitated and divided

the sentiment of peoples since the dawn of civilization, on the one hand to preserve the independence and freedom of enterprise necessary to the growth and development of commerce, and on the other to repress those selfish desires for wealth and aggrandizement which in all times have animated man.

## WHY STANDARD OIL STOCKS WENT UP

It is complained in the public journals that since the decree of dissolution the value of the stocks of the Standard Oil subsidiary companies has vastly increased upon the market, and some people assume that the cause of this is some defect in the Government decree. As a matter of fact nothing is further from the truth. The reason for such increase is perfectly plain to those familiar with the Standard Oil organization.

Prior to the Government prosecution the Standard Oil Company was a close corporation. It never published any statement of its assets and business even to its stockholders. All the public knew was that the Standard Oil Company stock (the holding company) paid a dividend of about 40 per cent. per annum, and its market value was regulated by those dividends. Its earnings were double this sum, but only a few insiders knew that fact. With less than one hundred millions of capital stock it had, in 1906, \$261,061,811 surplus, and since that time, for five years, it has been piling up more surplus at the rate of probably forty million dollars per annum, so that its total assets at the time of the dissolution undoubtedly amounted, on the books of the company, to over \$600,000,000. What the real value was beyond the book value, no one knows to this day. Until the dissolution, in December, 1911, the stocks of the thirty-seven subsidiary corporations had never been sold on the market. They were in the treasury of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the holding company.

## ASSETS AND EARNINGS DISCLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Government, in the course of the trial, for the first time disclosed the large assets and earnings of these various companies, collectively and individually. But the reports of the trial were not, of course, generally distributed, and only gradually did the facts filter through the minds of the investing public. Moreover, so long as the suit was pending the stocks of the parent company naturally sold for much less in the market by reason of the un-

certainty as to the outcome of the suit. When the Standard Oil Company was dissolved and these subsidiary corporations stood upon their own foundations, and as their stocks began to be dealt in upon the market, gradually the amount of their assets became known and the stocks increased enormously in value.

#### A FEW CONSPICUOUS INSTANCES

For instance, take the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. When the Government instituted the suit all that was known about the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was that it had a million dollars of capital. The Government showed that in 1906 this company had \$24,373,937 of net assets, all, except the one million dollars, made out of the business of the company in addition to its dividends declared, and was then earning at the rate of over \$10,000,000 per annum. Is there any wonder that, when this company's stock came upon the market and the public gradually became aware of the enormous amount of its assets and earnings, it increased in value? This was the most conspicuous instance of increase; but there were many others.

Take another instance. The Southern Pipe Line Company is a comparatively small company, formerly with \$5,000,000 of capital stock, since increased to \$10,000,000. Its rate of profit from pipe-line business on its net assets in that business ranged from 102.1 to 278.1 per cent. per annum. During the seven years from 1899 to 1905, inclusive, vast sums were charged on the books as having been paid out to a trusted employee of the company. The Government discovered two balance sheets—one in regular form, showing the true earnings ranging from three to four millions annually, and the other showing each year enormous payments to this employee, the aggregate being \$22,131,160, and leaving very small apparent profits, or even losses. Extraordinary efforts were made by the Government to prove what became of this money.

The Government placed upon the stand the comptroller and two directors of the Southern Pipe Line Company, also the employee in question, the comptroller of the Standard Oil Company of New York, and others. None could or did explain what became of this enormous sum.

Take another case. The Continental Oil Company, with \$300,000 of capital stock had, in 1906, assets of \$1,301,515, and profits for that one year of \$575,044. Its stock is now selling on the market at about \$900 per share. The Solar Refining Company, with a

capital stock of \$500,000 had, in 1906, assets of \$3,708,899, and earnings of \$1,258,519. Its stock is now selling at about \$700 per share. The South Penn Oil Company had, in 1906, \$2,500,000 in capital; its assets amounted to \$14,915,185. Its stock is now selling at about \$690 per share.

These assets were those shown on the books at the close of business for the year 1906. To them must be added the surplus earnings for the years from 1907 to 1911, the time of the dissolution, which were large, and we therefore have assets far beyond anything ever dreamed of by the public. No corporation ever existed in this country with such earning capacity or such secrecy in its business. To be sure, these figures were in the record in the Standard Oil case as early as 1907, but the public did not know it and certainly did not appreciate the enormous value of the assets in the treasuries of these subsidiary companies.

#### FEDERAL INCORPORATION AND LICENSE

The fault is that the Government never has had adequate supervision or control over large aggregations of capital with the proper publicity which follows such control. What Congress should now provide for is a voluntary system of federal incorporation and a compulsory system of federal license of large corporations engaged in interstate business. Such a license could be issued upon condition that the corporation comply with the terms and conditions of the act of Congress providing therefor; and the first and most essential of these conditions would be proper publicity of the business and affairs of such corporations. This would work for the benefit of the stockholders as well as the general public.

It is sufficient here to say that such a license law should make clear just what corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate commerce and under what conditions. When licensed, so long as they comply with the terms of the license and the acts of Congress, they should be protected in their right to do business so that there may be security and certainty in the right to engage in commerce. The law should also provide that, if such corporations engage in unfair methods of competition for the purpose of obtaining a monopoly, their charter or license shall be forfeited. The object, of course, should be to regulate and prevent the abuses of large aggregations of capital, keeping open the opportunity for all men fairly and with equal right to engage in commerce.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## THE LABOR PROBLEM IN THE BRITISH MAGAZINES

**T**HE difficulties and lessons presented by the great coal strike in England, and its settlement by the adoption of the minimum wage law, are the subjects of a number of solid articles in recent and current numbers of the British monthlies and quarterlies.

A long analysis of the situation is contributed to the *Quarterly Review* by Sir Arthur B. Markham. In complimenting those mine owners who at once expressed their willingness to coöperate with the government in effecting a settlement of the strike, this writer does not spare the minority of the operators, particularly in England.

As to the merits of the dispute, it is only fair to say that, generally speaking, the majority of owners, where abnormal places have been met with in the mines, have treated their men fairly; but a considerable minority have not done so. This same minority have, during all the recent negotiations, adopted an irreconcilable attitude toward every proposal to improve the conditions of the men. I cannot too strongly press the point that the responsibility for the strike in the English area rests mainly on the owners of this class. They have persistently refused to pay men a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; and it is not to be wondered at that the men at last revolted against this unfair treatment. Though the relations between the English employers and their men have as a rule been fairly satisfactory during recent years, on the other hand there has been much unrest in mining districts owing to the reduction of earnings by the Eight Hours bill, the refusal of some owners to meet the admitted grievance of men working in abnormal places, bad management of mines, increased cost of living, and the rise in house-rents.

Referring to the increased price of coal to the consumer consequent upon the settlement of the strike which effected a general rise in the miner's wages, Sir Arthur Markham insists that out of "Two shillings rise, nine pence only goes to the men, and one and three to the masters." J. Keir Hardie, the labor leader, has some very sober comments on the lessons in the strike in *Nash's Magazine*. He predicts that the next "big strike will be not only national, but international." He recognizes that it is becoming "increasingly true that the strike for improvement

in industrial conditions will not solve the social problem."

The experience of the strike of late has shown conclusively the imperative need for the workers to control Parliament, which is a very different matter from waiting upon it. The action of the strike can at most be only ameliorative; it never can be revolutionary. That belongs to the sphere of politics. A strike can secure the adoption of the principle of a minimum wage, but only Parliament can nationalize the mines, or the railways, or other



Westminster Gazette

A BURNING QUESTION

MRS. BULL: "How long do you think it will last, John?"

industrial undertakings. And so political action is revolutionary whereas direct action is but palliative. The strike can be used to supplement, but not to supplant political action. Before the working-class can be free they must control the state, and the strike, apart from its educational value, does nothing to secure control of the state. With forces of "law and order," civil and military, under their control, the master class boss the show. They have the press, the policeman, the soldier, the judicial bench, and the Senate as their servants. And all this because, despite a popular franchise, they are still the ruling class. Parliament is therefore the citadel upon which the forces of democracy must concentrate their attack. A general strike against Liberalism and Toryism is the need of the hour. Every general rise in wages leads to a rise in rent. The political strike is the only form of strike which is all gain and no loss. The strike, espe-

cially on a national scale, is a double-edged weapon, to be used only occasionally, and then with care, whereas the vote can be used all the time, and is guaranteed to injure only the enemy.

### The Labor Movement and Missions

Discussing the labor movement in its entirety, particularly in its world bearings, Bishop Gore, writing in the *International Review of Missions*, says:

The labor movement makes throughout Europe a great claim for justice. And in spite of the faults and exaggerations which attend upon the movement, it ought in its broad lines to enlist the sympathy and coöperation of all who call themselves Christians. The Bible shows an extraordinary care for the worker. The believer in the Bible will hold that the first charge upon any industry is the proper payment of the laborer. The inspired prophets of God denounce the divine judgments upon all those who "grind the faces of the poor," that is to say, who use sweated or inadequately remunerated labor to accomplish their own enrichment. It ought to cause the Christian churches the gravest anxiety to find that they have been, on the whole, so indifferent to the claims of labor: on the whole so much more anxious to defend the rights of property than to protect the poor; so much more ready, at the best, to comfort the fallen and bind up the wounded in the industrial struggle than to assert their rightful claims against the tyranny or injustice of the strong. It is indeed sometimes said that our Lord had His eyes fixed upon the spiritual interests of the Kingdom of God and paid no attention to social or political conditions. But it has to be remembered that He had behind Him the Old Testament, and that He identified Himself with its message. . . . It is something much more than sympathy which this movement, or pair of movements, can claim of Christians. If "the powers that be," the actual forces which sway mankind, "are ordained of God," then as surely as the Roman Empire and the British Empire, so surely the democratic movement and the nationalist movement are ordained of God. It is our coöperation as Christians that they should claim, and our great contribution as Christians should ultimately be the demonstration that it is only through the faith in Christ that either movement can realize itself.

### Profit-Sharing and Labor Copartnership

A summary of recent progress in profit-sharing and labor copartnership appears in the *Contemporary Review*. The writer, Theodore Cooke Taylor, M.P., dilates upon the advantage of good-will between the employer and his "hands." We quote his words here:

We move in a mischievous circle; war breeds war, strikes and lock-outs breed enmity and poverty; poverty and enmity breed strikes and lock-outs again. Is this vicious see-saw never to cease? In theory we all condemn it; no sane thinker defends it. Industrial war, like international war, settles no question of right and wrong. It only proves which side for the time being is financially

the stronger. In addition to the money cost of the struggle, the winning side loses the good-will of the other side. In the balance-sheets of many trading companies, among the assets large sums are set down for what is called "good-will." The meaning is that the company's relations with its customers are so good that it can make more profit than otherwise it could. There is another kind of good-will, however, namely, good-will between a company and its employees. Such good-will has both moral and money value. It would be a novelty to find good-will between employer and employed assessed at a cash figure in a balance-sheet, but there is as much reason for a figure of that kind as there is for the ordinary money valuation of good-will between seller and buyer.

Besides the great moral, mental and physical value that profit-sharing and copartnership would have for the workmen, the results, says this writer, upon the business man's life are worth much sacrifice to secure.

It greatly increases his pleasure in his business. He has a new zest in his work. He has the great satisfaction of helping to raise financially and morally the very men who are helping him to make his own living. He finds his finest opportunity for social usefulness in his daily work. He may or may not have time for outside work, but he realizes that his business is well worthy of his best service. In short, the system dignifies and raises the character of business life. Frankly, that is the employer's greatest gain because it is beyond money value.

### Germany's Lesson to England

Britain, a novice at many social reform laws, can learn much from Germany, according to Mr. William Harbutt Dawson, writing in the *Contemporary*, "thanks to the humanizing influence of this legislation [German insurance and poor relief], the poor are not only treated more liberally than before, but they are no longer reminded by invidious, time-dishonored disabilities that the victims of sickness, misfortune and distress are regarded as citizens of an inferior grade." Investigations recently made by the German government into the workings of the insurance laws of the empire were regarded as very profitable. Dr. R. Freund, of Berlin, who collated the data and statistics, is quoted by Mr. Dawson as saying:

Although the insurance laws have been in operation far too short a time to allow of their influence on the Poor Law being fully felt; although the prevalence of unfavorable economic conditions during recent years has shown this influence in a disadvantageous light; and although the Poor Law Unions, for the most part, have not observed the effects of the laws with the necessary care, a powerful influence can already be observed. The Poor Boards have been relieved of a considerable proportion of the cases of relief, so that the insurance laws do now, to a large extent, protect the working classes from the necessity of claiming poor relief.

## POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES

**I**N the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, Mr. Francis E. Leupp, a veteran Washington correspondent and biographer of ex-President Roosevelt, contributes a study of "Roosevelt the Politician." Mr. Leupp puts Colonel Roosevelt's strong qualities as a politician in this order: his picturesque personality; his indifference to precedent or consistency for its own sake; his audacity. His chief faults in politics, Mr. Leupp thinks, are three: impatience of the interval between desire and accomplishment; failure to appreciate the persistence of a moral ideal as distinguished from a wise or expedient purpose, and overconfidence in the disposition of the popular mind to consider fine distinctions in passing on a broad issue.

As to Roosevelt's personality, Mr. Leupp has this to say:

Everything in his physiognomy, his manner, his speech, his gestures, bears witness to the energy stored up in him, for which must be made some outlet or other. This will explain why he is always doing something out of the common. To glide along with the general human stream would call none of his inner forces into play. What they crave is the stimulus of opposition, the need of buffeting against adverse influences. For that reason we find him a conservative by descent, but a radical by choice; an aristocrat by birth, but a democrat by voluntary association; a puny lad in pinafores, but an athlete at maturity; a scholar by training, but a worker by impulse; a warrior at home, but a peacemaker abroad; a reformer among politicians, and a politician among reformers.

## How the Big Split Came

In the June *McClure's*, Samuel G. Blythe, a newspaper correspondent and political writer, has a fanciful story of "The Political Revolution in America," in which he records the remarkable development of the campaign of 1912, in the form of a complete realignment of parties in accordance with which all the progressive Republicans and the progressive Democrats go into one camp and the conservative Republicans and the conservative Democrats into another. In the race for the Presidency the conservatives of the two parties are led by President Taft and Governor Harmon, while the progressives follow the standard of Roosevelt and Wilson.

## The Massachusetts Primaries

Believing that the discussion of the preferential primary, with its relation to the political boss, is equally applicable to every part of the nation, Mr. Frank A. Munsey reproduces

in the June number of his magazine an address that he made to the voters of Massachusetts through his Boston newspaper, the *Journal*, just before the primary election in April. Commenting on the result in Massachusetts, by which Roosevelt practically won a tie vote with Taft, Mr. Munsey declares that but for the preferential primary Mr. Roosevelt would not have had a delegate in the whole State. The vote of the State would have been absolutely machine controlled. Whatever delegates Mr. Roosevelt has, he owes wholly to the preferential primary. In view of all the facts, the conservatism of New England and the closely knit financial system which has much voice in New England politics, Mr. Munsey suggests that when compared, in effect, with the overwhelming vote that Mr. Roosevelt received in Illinois, where conditions were with him, it may well be that the Massachusetts result is even a greater triumph.

## The Kind of Democrat Champ Clark Is

One of the surprises of this unusual campaign has been the strong development of Speaker Clark's candidacy in the primaries. As to the Speaker's position in relation to the issues of the campaign and the leading tenets of his party, there has been exhibited, not so much a difference of opinion as a positive lack of information in many parts of the country. It is, doubtless, with a view to supplying this lack that the *Outlook*, in its issue for May 11, presented an authorized interview with the Speaker by John E. Lathrop. In this interview Mr. Clark formulates as the two principal issues of the campaign the tariff and the cognate question of the trusts. When asked to classify himself among the several schools of economic thought on the tariff, the Speaker replied: "I am for a tariff for revenue only; or as close an approximation thereto as the circumstances permit." "How rapidly should the schedules be reduced, and how?" he was asked. "The Democratic party favors a gradual reduction of the tariff," he replied.

When asked whether, in his opinion, the business men of the country have anything to fear in the event of Democratic victory in the election, Mr. Clark replied: "It is a thing incredible that any sane men should desire to injure any legitimate business. What we contend for is that every legitimate business and every citizen have equal opportunity,

and that laws be passed that will enable no few to be the beneficiaries of the toil and sweat and lives of the thousands."

Other issues outlined by the Speaker were these:

That of transportation, reform of the financial system, final determination of who shall control the potential power in the waters of navigable streams, preservation of our natural resources (what there is left of them), the getting of all election machinery close to the people, preventing corrupt use of money in politics, reforestation, improvement of the rivers and harbors, automatic compensation to workmen. These are all questions of deep interest and vital importance. But I cannot understand how they are to be solved first until the tariff and the trusts are disposed of—hence I am for tackling the tariff and trusts, and doing it just as fast as we can, compatibly with

sound business judgment and the evolution of remedial measures.

Such is the Speaker's own confession of his political faith. In the arguments circulated by the Clark Campaign Committee special emphasis is laid upon the fact that the candidate is a "dependable Democrat" who voted for Bryan three times and for every Democratic candidate since he became of age, and that his record is "straightforward and Democratic." This leads Ray Stannard Baker to remark, in the *American Magazine* for June, that "in whatever particulars the old-fashioned Democratic creed is still progressive—for example, in the matter of tariff reduction—Clark is truly a Progressive," but farther than this he does not go.

## THE RIGHTS OF PATENT OWNERS

THE United States Supreme Court evoked considerable criticism—some say "un-reasoning criticism"—for its decision of March 11, 1911, in the case of *Henry vs. A. B. Dick Company*. Although well-informed lawyers claim that the decision merely "confirmed the law as it was already clearly understood," the fact is undeniable that hostile comment of the Supreme Court's action has been widespread, and that the refusal (April 8, 1912) of the Court to grant a rehearing has stimulated to a great extent the agitation for new Federal legislation modifying the grant made to patentees under the law. In the *Engineering Magazine* for May there appears a digest of the case by Mr. Gilbert H. Montague of the New York Bar, in the course of which are set forth with admirable clearness the rights that belong to patent owners and the rights of users of patented articles. With regard to the Supreme Court decision which has given rise to so much comment Mr. Montague goes so far as to say that "since the creation of the patent system . . . and the adoption, in 1790, of the first patent law by the first American Congress, no better considered decision affecting patent rights has ever been rendered in this country." The facts out of which the decision arose were as follows:

The Dick Company owned patents covering a mimeograph. It sold to a certain Miss Skou a mimeograph, embodying the invention covered by these patents, subject, however, to a license, printed and attached to the machine and reading as follows:

### LICENSE RESTRICTION

This machine is sold by the A. B. Dick Company with the license restriction that it may be used only with the stencil

paper, ink and other supplies made by A. B. Dick Company, Chicago, U. S. A.

The Henry firm sold to Miss Skou some ink suitable for use upon this machine, with knowledge of this license restriction under which Miss Skou had bought the machine, and with the expectation that the ink would be used with this mimeograph. The question presented to the Court was:

"Did the acts of the Henry firm constitute contributory infringement of the Dick Company's patents?"

The Supreme Court decided that these acts constituted contributory infringement.

The opinion was written by Justice Lurton, and with him concurred Justices Holmes, Van Devanter, and McKenna. Chief Justice White dissented from the decision, and with him concurred Justices Hughes and Lamar. The dissenting opinion declares that the decision tends "to extend the patent so as to cause it to embrace things which it does not include," and permits the owner "to extend his patent rights so as to bring within the claim of his patent interests which are not embraced therein, thus virtually legislating by causing the patent laws to cover subjects to which without the exercise of the right of contract they could not reach." Commenting on the dissenting opinion, Mr. Montague remarks:

The all-important circumstance which Chief Justice White overlooks is that no license restriction is enforceable, under the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, unless the restriction is "brought home to the person acquiring the article," at the time the article is acquired. To make a license restriction enforceable, "the purchaser must have notice that he buys with only a qualified right of use." The notion, engendered by Chief Justice White's dissenting opinion, that Henry would have been held as an infringer if Miss Skou, or any other user of the Dick mimeograph, had bought Henry's ink at a

corner drug store, has absolutely no foundation in fact. The infringement in the Dick case, the Supreme Court expressly held, consisted in the fact that Henry, knowing of the license restriction, and with the expectation and intention that his ink would be used for the purpose of violating this license restriction, incited Miss Skou, intentionally and deliberately, to violate the license restriction—to which Miss Skou, as Henry well knew, had expressly assented when she acquired the mimeograph—and supplied Miss Skou with the means of accomplishing this wrongful act. Indeed, the court below expressly found that Henry deliberately and knowingly instigated Miss Skou to this wrongful act, and even instructed her that if she would pour Henry's ink into Dick's can and throw away Henry's can, she would not be caught violating the license restriction.

In regard to the rights of the patent owner Mr. Montague points out that Section 4884 of the Revised Statutes provides that a patent owner shall have "the exclusive right to make, use and vend the invention or discovery."

This "exclusive right" is in effect three "exclusive rights," i. e., the "exclusive right" to make, the "exclusive right" to use, and the "exclusive right" to sell the patented article.

The patent owner may, according as he sees fit, dispose of one, or more, or any part of these component "exclusive rights." Thus, when he elects to manufacture the patented article himself, he reserves to himself the "exclusive right" to make, and disposes simply of all or part of the "exclusive rights" to use and to sell the patented article. Again, if he elects not to sell the patented article, but simply to lease it on a royalty basis, he reserves to himself the "exclusive rights" to make and to sell, and disposes simply of the right of use. Similarly, if he elects to dispose of only part of the "exclusive right" to use the patented article, he may reserve to himself the "exclusive rights" to make and to sell the patented article, and part of the "exclusive right" of use, and may dispose of simply a portion of his "exclusive right" of use, by granting merely a limited right of use,—simply, for instance, the right to use the patented article only under such conditions and only with such supplies as the patent owner shall prescribe.

Like the owner of unimproved real estate, the patent owner may decline to use his invention, or to allow others to use it.

In one respect the patent owner is not so favorably circumstanced as the owners of other kinds of property; for whereas the latter may exercise their rights as long as they may desire, the patent owner may do so for the statutory period of seventeen years only, and at the expiration of that period he must relinquish to the public all of his rights. It must be remembered, too, that

the public is free to take or refuse the patented article on the terms imposed. If the terms are too onerous, the public loses nothing, for it may decline to buy or use the patented article; and when the patent expires the public will be free to use the invention without compensation or restriction.

Mr. Montague holds that "in affirming these propositions the Supreme Court stated plain, common business sense, and also long-settled principles of law, in reliance upon which enormous business interests have been established."

### The Opposing View

Mr. Seth K. Humphrey, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, referring to that part of the Supreme Court's decision affirming the right of a patent owner to control the supply of materials to be used with his machine, considers the added prerogative in the light of the proverbial "last straw" falling upon an already intolerable situation. The public, he says, rises to inquire, "What is back of these grants so freely handed over to inventors?" He continues:

The object of our patent system, as stated in the Constitution, is "to promote the progress of Science and Useful Arts." That is, in order to get inventions for public use, the patent laws were made for the encouragement of inventors. The community's interest in new discoveries is, theoretically, the prime consideration; the reward to the inventor is no more than a just and agreeable means to attain the desired end.

But our patent law, as it has come finally to be construed, is singularly oblivious of the public. It devotes itself exclusively to the patentee. It does not reward the inventor and take over the invention; it awards him the invention itself for a period of seventeen years, and makes no demand upon him to administer it for the public good, or, indeed to administer it at all. Instance any patented improvement: suppose manufacturers engaged in the particular line adopt the device in their machinery or process, in their desire to market a more perfect article,—the one attainment which really interests the public. The law interferes. But it does not say to the manufacturers, "You must pay a reasonable tribute to the inventor before you may make this improved device"; it says, "You must *stop making* the device." And there it rests. In proclaiming a new and useful invention by publishing the patent, the government merely informs us of one more thing which we may not use. It leaves the public at the inventor's doorstep, expectant, but unassured of admittance. . . .

It is as plain as daylight that the patent system encourages invention, but inventions are without value to the community except as they are set to work "to promote the progress of Science and Useful Arts." We need to be reminded that *for this end* the patent laws were devised. We are so accustomed to regard the encouragement of invention as the complete function of the patent laws, and are so impressed by the bulky output, that only on special occasion, when one of our supposedly beneficent creations "shows its teeth," does it occur to us to ask, "Where do we come in?"

Mr. Humphrey believes that the present patent laws "have outlived the conditions that made them necessary," and proposes that we get away from ancient traditions and con-



struct a patent system adapted to the present day. Here is his plan:

The inventor wants compensation for his discovery; give him compensation,—not the discovery. The community wants the discovery; although the plain teaching of our patent law makes it heresy to say so, the community is entitled to it. Both ends can be attained at once by making the discovery public, in fact, as well as in letters-patent, to all who may wish to make use of it, with the single obligation that they shall pay to the inventor legally determined royalties during the life of his patent.

Under our present system, the most fortunate inventors are those who succeed in establishing their patents on a royalty basis. The law might as well bring this opportunity to every inventor, with the added advantage to him and to the community that, instead of being restricted to one licensee, both would do business with an entire industry. The royalties, carefully graded to provide just com-

pensation, would be paid to the inventors, and a penalty for not doing so would enforce this reasonable exaction. New inventions, at once engaging the attention of experienced manufacturers throughout the country, would automatically come before the public in their most perfected form, through well-established channels, and under conditions assuring competitive terms, plus the royalties. The inventor would not of necessity be forced to go into business, or to sell his rights for an arbitrary price. His inclination would be to retain his patent, supplement its publication by advertising it to the industry likely to be interested, and gather direct from it such reward as his invention might merit. . . .

A study of the numerous instances in which inventions are now being worked on a royalty basis, would greatly assist in devising a satisfactory scale. To provide for special cases in which the royalties might work a hardship, either to the inventor or to the community, there could be a commission to which either might appeal for a proper readjustment.

## THE CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE COLLEGES

"THE time has come when even the most progressive friends of the modern college—men who both by natural inclination, university training, and active public interests are in hearty sympathy with more effective and more scientific method in collegiate instruction and administration—must needs admit to a growing realization of the fact that we have reached a crisis in our college development, that we have gone too far in the modernization of the curriculum, that our ideals must be readjusted, or that the college must go." The question whether the college is a necessary or a superfluous institution is a question of political and social economy and will be settled as such.

If the college has something to offer our social, intellectual, and moral life which neither the high school, nor the university, nor the technical school can offer; if it has a distinct and beneficent contribution to make to American civilization, the college should remain, and an enlightened public opinion will demand its jealous preservation. If, on the other hand, it but accomplishes what a year or two added to the high school together with the professional school can do equally well, and even more cheaply, then by all means the college should go.

The author of the foregoing observations is Mr. Thomas Lindsey Blayney, head of the department of Modern European Literature and Arts, Central University of Kentucky, who in the *Sevance Review* makes an eloquent appeal for the restoration of culture to its proper position in the college curriculum. This element of culture, which has been called "the fruit of knowledge married to sympathy," is, he says, "the corner-stone upon

which the whole structure of the curriculum must rest." Sacrifice culture, and "you have withdrawn from the college its very reason of existence."

The causes of the deterioration of American colleges are various. One of them is "the shameless competition in the educational field," which has "vitiating the fundamental aims of collegiate instruction." To quote Mr. Blayney:

Standards have had to be adapted to the needs of the "average man," which has discouraged all attempts at real, intensive scholarship. The conception has gained ground that the college is a "finishing school"; hence the crowding of halls with students (?) whose families and whose ambitions are in little or no sympathy with the real purpose of the college. From their ranks are recruited the "snobs" of college life.

Another cause of deterioration has been the practice at some of the smaller colleges of employing instructors who are not specially trained men. Even one such "makeshift" man, whatever be his age or dignity, in the faculty of the smaller college undermines the morale of both students and faculty.

Mr. Blayney sees hopeful signs of the renaissance of the liberal arts college. He notes, for example, Harvard's change of policy toward the wholesale elective system; also, the recent recommendation of the class of 1885 to the trustees of Amherst College, "advising the elimination of the scientific (B.S.) degree and the concentration of funds and efforts (including the payment of large salaries to a picked faculty) upon what should be the true ideals of collegiate training—the attainment of disinterested culture."

## INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF OCEAN TRAVEL TO-DAY

**I**T is inevitable that the American and British investigations into the *Titanic* tragedy will be followed by radical changes and improvements in the regulation of passenger traffic on the ocean. By agreement between the foremost maritime nations of the world, particularly Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States, a conference to discuss this subject will meet in London before many months. Meanwhile it will be profitable and interesting to give a summary of the regulations at present existing regarding this highly important phase of human intercommunication.

In a paper read before the annual meeting of the American Society of International Law, held in Washington, on April 25, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, one of the best known members of the New York bar, surveyed the development of international usages, which have, from time to time, by general acquiescence, come to prevail among civilized nations. These usages are set forth in decisions of international tribunals, in treaties, and in the writings of students and authorities.

Many congresses considering maritime matters have been held during the past century. The first great meeting at The Hague, in 1899, made provision for an international court of arbitration, which has, of course, largely to do with maritime matters. However, in the century preceding this epoch-making congress, there had been other gatherings of the nations, the deliberations of which led to greater uniformity in maritime law. Said Mr. Wheeler:

As the commerce between different countries increased, the number and size of vessels trading between them increased in a corresponding ratio. The speed and power of ocean steamers have increased in equal ratio, and these mighty vessels have almost entirely displaced the sailing vessels which carried almost all ocean commerce down to the year 1850. The risk of collision had increased in a corresponding ratio. Certain usages in reference to lights and signals had grown up in different countries. It is to the honor of the State of New York that one of the first acts of legislation prescribing lights and signals for the purpose of avoiding collision was adopted by that State in the year 1829. This act provided for the range lights, the forward white light lower, the after white light higher, which were required on all the waters of the State of New York for many years and were finally adopted by the International Maritime Conference of 1889. Before that time and in or about the year 1861 many maritime nations had regulated the lights and signals and precautions to be observed by ocean-bound vessels and these by

common consent had become the law of the sea. But experience showed that these regulations were in some respects deficient and the construction put upon them by the courts of different countries was to some extent diverse. Accordingly, by agreement of the great maritime nations, an international maritime conference was held at Washington in the year 1869. Many distinguished men familiar with the problems of navigation, some by experience in the navy, some by experience in merchant service and some as business men or maritime lawyers, took part in this conference. It revised the rules of navigation and the requirements as to lights and signals. The international rules as recommended by them were adopted by



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SURVIVORS OF THE "TITANIC" BOARDING THE "CARPATIA" IN THE OPEN SEA

statute or by executive decree in all the principal maritime nations and have become the law of the sea from that time to the present. They have removed many of the distressing conflicts of law which existed before their adoption and have undoubtedly been the means of saving many lives. The percentage of collisions has diminished; the percentage of lives lost in consequence of collision has also greatly diminished.

This conference also dealt with the subject of ocean lanes and that of life-saving stations and devices. To quote Mr. Wheeler again:

Commodore Maury, before the Civil War, had made a careful study of the ocean currents on the route between New York and Liverpool under the climatic conditions which prevailed at different seasons of the year, and had recommended certain routes to be observed by ocean steamers plying between the United States on one side and British, French and German ports on the other side of the Atlantic. The great Civil War distracted attention from these recommendations. The subject was again taken up by Thomas Henry Ismay, who was one of the founders of the White Star Line, in a letter to the British Board of Trade on January 1, 1876. In this letter he called the attention of the Board of Trade to these recommendations of Commodore Maury, recommended them strongly for adoption as means of preventing collisions and avoiding danger from ice, and declared that he had required the steamers of the White Star Line sailing between New York and Liverpool to observe them. This recommendation was again taken up by the firm of Ismay, Imrie & Co., of which Mr. Ismay had been the senior partner, in a communication to the British Board of Trade, dated December 12, 1889. The result has been that these lanes have been adopted by all the transatlantic lines.

The chief difficulty in the way of securing absolute observance of this regulation regarding "lanes" was pointed out by Ensign Everett Hayden, in a discussion before the United States Naval Institute at Annapolis, which was reconsidered at the conference of 1899. Mr. Hayden said:

The mails are given to the fastest vessels. One steamer may take a safer route, traverse a slightly longer distance and lose the mails. This very thing happened last year, when the *Werra* was beaten a few hours by the *Servia*, and Capt. Bussius complained that he had followed the route recommended and lost the mail in consequence. This question should, therefore, be carefully considered and postal regulations framed accordingly.

The subject of life-saving systems and devices received extended treatment at this conference in the report of the special committee appointed for that purpose. This statement included a report made to the British Board of Trade by a commission appointed by the crown. The chairman of this commission was Thomas Henry Ismay,

father of J. Bruce Ismay, the present head of the International Mercantile Marine, whose connection with the disaster to the *Titanic* has occasioned so much discussion throughout the English-speaking world. With regard to Mr. Ismay, Senior, Mr. Wheeler took occasion to say:

May I stop for a moment to say that I have known many men who were prominent in the commercial world. I have never known one of keener and more comprehensive insight, more liberal views, and more resolute determination to achieve the best results for the public than the elder Mr. Ismay.

The report of the commission, which was appointed by the British Board of Trade, laid down in detail the regulations and rules for life-preserving equipment on passenger-carrying ships. This classification, which is of especial interest at the present time, was in substance as follows:

Ships of 9000 gross tonnage and upward are required to have at least two life-boats "to be placed under davits." Each such life-boat to contain not less than 5250 cubic feet of space. If such boats do not furnish sufficient accommodation for all persons on board, then "additional wood, metal, collapsible, or other boats of approved description (whether placed under davits or otherwise) or approved life-rafts shall be carried." These additional boats must together, in the aggregate, provide "at least double the minimum cubic contents required for the others." The exceptions to or exemptions from the strict requirements of this rule are: "when ships are divided into efficient water-tight compartments so that with any two of them in free communication with the sea, the ship will remain afloat in moderate weather, they shall only be required to carry additional boats or life-rafts of one-half of the capacity required in the preceding rule." The regulations further provide that there must be a life buoy for each boat and a life belt for each person.

The principle of these rules was approved by the conference, which recommended

that the several governments adopt measures to secure compliance with these principles in regard to such boats and appliances for vessels of 150 tons and upward gross tonnage.

Unfortunately the several governments did not adopt these recommendations, and a great diversity came to prevail in the equipment of ocean steamers belonging to different countries.

Some nations were exacting, some were lax. The result was an unfair discrimination against the vessels of those countries which had adopted more stringent regulations. Unfortunately, the traveling public does not appear ever to have attached importance to the existence of safety appliances

upon ocean vessels. The percentage of deaths caused by accidents at sea has been so small that practically they have been considered negligible. I am sure there are many here who have listened to the collect in the Episcopal liturgy in which the petition is for preservation on the great deep and to be guarded from the dangers of the sea and have thought it somewhat superfluous. The recent dreadful disaster has shown that although these perils are much less frequent than they were when this collect was composed, yet when they do occur they may be more deadly. It is, therefore, not difficult at this particular moment to convince our people that agreement on this subject between the commercial nations of the world is of great importance. Even if among the 2,167,115 passengers carried across the Atlantic during the year ending June 30, 1911, the loss of life was only 262 and the percentage of loss was, therefore, about one in eight thousand, still in the aggregate the loss was serious. In the current year it has been terrible and we all agree that precautions must be taken as far as human skill and foresight can extend to prevent it in the future.

## ICEBERGS AND SEARCHLIGHTS

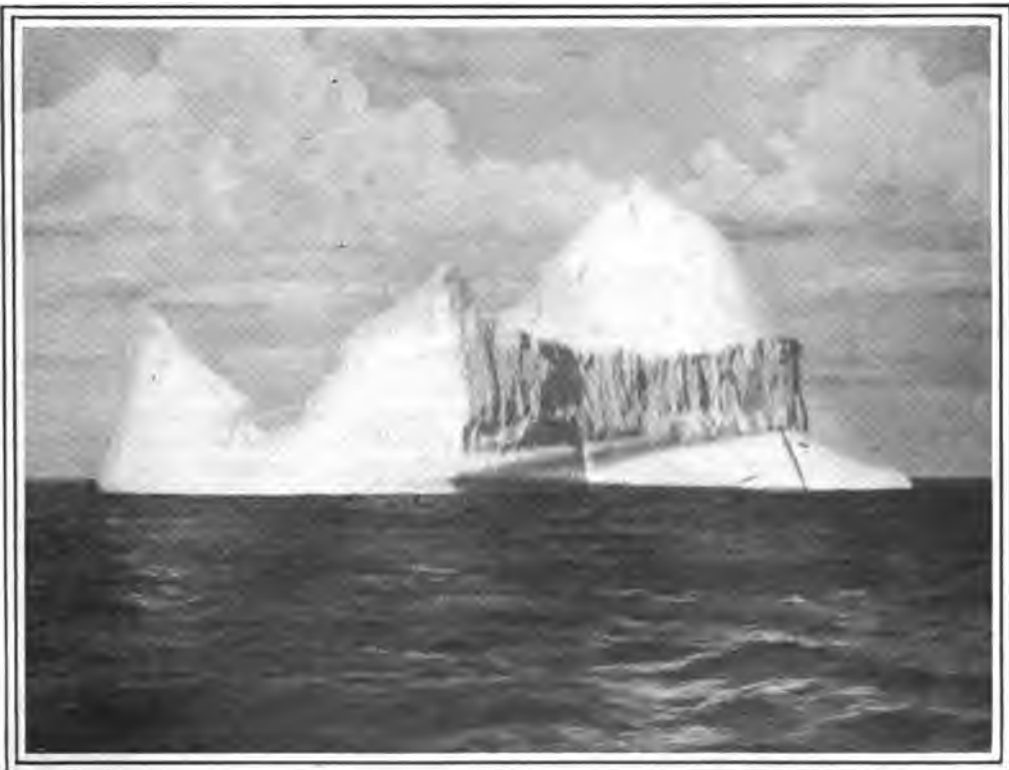
**A**MONG the various suggestions of a preventive nature arising out of the lamentable *Titanic* disaster, one that has attracted considerable attention has been that to use searchlights to detect the presence of icebergs. On such a proposal no opinion could be more valuable than that of Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary, whose views have been ascertained by the *Army and Navy Journal*, and appear in its issue of April 27 last. The Admiral believes that

would be useless except at such short range as to be of no value. There is no reason why a searchlight on a transatlantic liner should not be equally as effective in determining the presence of icebergs or field ice in any direction, as the searchlight on a battleship or cruiser in determining the presence of torpedo boats or other craft. And the same conditions which would affect the usefulness of the searchlight in the one case would also affect it in the other.

The large bergs, being most easily located and avoided, are "the least dangerous of all," and

A powerful searchlight would be of great assistance in determining the presence of icebergs in a ship's course in clear weather. In dense fog it

under certain atmospheric conditions the presence of these bergs can be detected even while below the



A NORTH ATLANTIC ICEBERG

horizon, sometimes by the reflection upon the sky above them, sometimes by the little cloud of condensed moisture hovering over them.

At closer range air temperatures, water temperatures, the whistle and megaphone, the sound of breaking seas and the searchlight may all be of assistance in detecting the danger, and, on the other hand, under adverse conditions all these may be useless in giving warning in sufficient time to prevent disaster.

But, as the Admiral remarks—and the *Titanic* catastrophe furnished appalling testimony to the truth of the observation—"the value of all these methods is largely vitiated by the high speed at which modern steamships travel."

What in the shape of an iceberg a steamer has most to dread is thus described by Admiral Peary:

The most dangerous ice menace to a steamer is the last remaining fragment of a berg, usually a mass of dense translucent ice, hard as rock, almost entirely submerged, absorbing the color of the surrounding water, and almost invisible, even in broad daylight, until close aboard. These masses of ice present no surface to the air to affect its temperature, to cause condensation, to catch the eye, to send back an echo, or to form a sea. Nor is the size of the mass sufficient to affect the temperature of the surrounding water to any distance. I know of no way of detecting them except by the eye, and, as noted, even that is often difficult, even under favorable conditions.

These dangerous fragments of bergs we know in the Arctic regions as "growlers."

The Admiral relates an experience of his own with one of these "growlers."

I recall one occasion in Melville Bay when my second mate in broad light, with no other iceberg or fragment of ice in sight from the crow nest, smashed the ship full speed on to one of these submerged ice rocks with a force which carried away the cabin table, broke some of the couplings in the engine room and nearly sent the topmasts overboard.

The stout little wooden ship, with her solid bow and elastic sides, caromed off it like a billiard ball without injury. A steel ship would have had her bilge torn open from bow to quarter. For our huge modern steel steamships, traveling at high speed and intensely vulnerable to puncture, there is no certain protection against icebergs except to give the region where they may occur the widest berth.

In his northern work, with his "snug, strong little wooden ship, the *Roosevelt*, minding its helm quickly and going at moderate speed," icebergs never gave Explorer Peary and his party much concern. The danger they most feared, and from which they had some narrow escapes, was that "of being smashed under by a huge mass of ice breaking off from a berg alongside and falling on the deck."

And, strangely as the statement reads, there were occasions when icebergs proved themselves friends and not foes.

At times the icebergs were eagerly sought for shelter and protection. The wake of a berg or group of bergs often enabled us to hold our position against the drift of large fields of floe ice. And in Robeson and Kennedy Channels grounded icebergs frequently offered us a partially protected position between them and the rocks of the shore against the onset of heavy flocs of field ice.

## THE NORTH AND SOUTH POLES—WHAT THE WORLD GAINS BY THEIR DISCOVERY

THE raising of the Norwegian flag at the south pole by Captain Roald Amundsen on December 14, 1911, signalized the completion of about 140 years of exploration of the Antarctic continent. North-polar exploration had attracted the attention of adventurous and ambitious men of many nations for nearly 400 years before Commander Robert E. Peary unfurled the Stars and Stripes at the North Pole. There being no more poles to conquer, it is both interesting and instructive to take stock of what we have gained by the discoveries which have entailed so much labor and expense and have, unfortunately, cost so many lives. Writing on this subject in *Popular Mechanics* Admiral Peary, quaintly enough, records, as the first significance of the attainment of the poles, the fact that now

is fulfilled the scriptural injunction with regard to our first parents: "Let them have dominion over all the earth." The second significance is "the opening up of the last large unknown area for both observation and investigation." To-day,

only in a few detached localities of comparatively small area are places to be found which have not been seen by the eye of man, and which have not yielded to that irresistible combination, the perfect human animal machine with its wonderful adjustability and endurance, spurred and guided by the flame of divine intelligence.

In the *World's Work* and in an address delivered at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, Admiral Peary gives some interesting details and comparisons

with regard to exploration in the Arctic and Antarctic circles.

Amundsen's journey has shown what was, however, practically known before from Shackleton's expedition, that the South Pole is located in a great elevated snow plateau about 11,000 feet above the sea level. Amundsen's determination of the head of the Ross Sea ice barrier is of interest in connection with the theory of some geographers that Antarctica was divided into two principal masses, separated by a trough filled with barrier ice, extending from Ross Sea to Weddell Sea. Amundsen's journey appears to negative this theory. The north pole is located in a sea basin two miles or more in depth.

As regards fauna and flora, the conditions in the two polar regions exhibit a remarkable contrast.

The most northerly north-polar lands known possess a comparative abundance of animal life—musk-ox, reindeer, polar bear, wolf, fox, Arctic hare, ermine, lemming, and land birds, as well as forms of insect life—and during a few short weeks in summer numbers of brilliant flowers. Human life ranges to within some 700 miles of the North Pole. On the Antarctic continent, there is absolutely no form of animal or vegetable life, though two or three species of sea birds breed during a few weeks in summer at several localities on the coast. No human life is to be found nearer than Tierra del Fuego, some 2000 miles from the South Pole.

Admiral Peary puts the area of the Antarctic continent at 5,000,000 square miles, and the diameter at about 2,500 geographical miles. Another traverse is needed from the opposite side of Antarctic to the pole, which with the journeys of Amundsen and Scott will give us continuous traverse section of the Antarctic continent. Of the benefits to science from the explorations in the south-polar regions, the Admiral quotes Prof. Forest Ray Moulton, of Chicago University, who shows that in the fields of meteorology, geology, and zoology, important results must follow further observations in Antarctica, and that many magnetic and tidal phenomena will doubtless be solved there. For all practical intents and purposes, "the South Pole has a permanent fixed land surface uninterrupted by lanes of open water on which to work and travel. On such a surface depots can be established at intervals of fifty miles, if desirable, all the way to the pole."

Admiral Peary considers that

now it is the duty of the United States, as a matter of national pride and morale, to make up for its failure hitherto to join the other nations in attacking the Antarctic problem.

There is no way in which this desirable result can be secured by a single stroke, and with greater credit and certainty of immediate and important



CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN

results other than by occupying the South Pole during a year as a station for the purpose of continuous magnetic, meteorological, astronomical, and other scientific observations by a small party of experts.

To effect such occupation would be only a matter of detail, and it is not necessary to enlarge to the popular mind on the prestige and credit of occupying for the first time, as a scientific station, one of the poles and the only one capable of such occupation. Nor is it necessary to enlarge to the scientific mind on the value and importance of the resulting observations.

One thing that Captain Amundsen's successful capture of the South Pole seems to have demonstrated beyond doubt is "that the Eskimo dog is the one and only motive power for polar expeditions."

Reference may be appropriately made here to the unfortunate death by drowning of Mr. Borup, to whom with Mr. MacMillan the Museum of Natural History had entrusted

the next north-polar expedition for the exploration of Crocker Land and the crossing of Greenland. In the light of the lamentable cutting short of Mr. Borup's promising career, there is a pathetic interest attaching to the following passage from Admiral Peary's address, referred to above:

I congratulate the museum upon its undertaking these two great and interesting problems.

And I doubly congratulate the museum on putting the work in charge of my two boys, Borup and

MacMillan, than whom no two men could be better fitted for the work by physique, temperament, experience and inclination.

When I recall their sledge journey from Cape Sheridan to Cape Morris K. Jesup and their return from there, covering 275 miles in eight marches; when I recall their work establishing depots westward along the north coast of Grant Land, and when I recall their work with me on the journey to the Pole, I speak with definite knowledge when I say to the museum and its friends that it has placed the execution of the work in good hands and that the work will be done and well done.

## A SHEEP MAN ON THE WOOL-GROWING INDUSTRY

IF there is one industry more than any other concerning which a plain, unvarnished statement of facts is sorely needed, it is the wool-growing industry in the United States. Much of the current speculation about it is mere wild guesswork. The sheep-raisers of the West are characterized as nomads having no abiding interest in the general welfare of the country; they are also suspected of being in conspiracy with the trusts to boost the high cost of mutton and clothing. These and similar misrepresentations have prompted Mr. Paul S. Richards to present (in the *May Forum*) the sheepman's position. Himself a Wyoming sheep man, Mr. Richards asserts that while wool-growers are met with in the East, "sheep men are to be found only west of the Missouri. Their flocks, fed on the grass of great unoccupied ranges, furnish most of the wool and mutton produced in the United States. They have endured the hardships of the wilderness, and, in former years, have been rewarded with a fair prosperity. That prosperity is now seriously imperiled."

When Mr. Richards first set foot in Douglas, Wyoming, ten years ago, he found himself, he says, in a community of sheep-men. Besides the sheep men pure and simple everybody else was interested in sheep—the saloon-keepers, leading lawyer and doctor, bank officials, newspaper man, the taxidermist, all the merchants but one; and even two of the preachers had retired as pastors and become shepherds.

It was a sheep town, sure enough. They worshipped not the golden calf, but the golden fleece. . . . There were no millionaires, but there were several men whose fortunes ran into six figures. . . . The citizens pointed with pride to a dozen men who a few years before had been herding sheep at \$30 a month who were now worth from

\$5000 to \$20,000 or more. All a poor optimist had to do to get rich was to get a band of sheep on shares. Such a man was freely furnished with credit by the bank and the stores till he could realize on his wool and lamb crop. The atmosphere of the country was charged with the feeling of hope and prosperity. . . . And back of it all . . . lay the Open Range, millions of acres of Government land that rolled away like a great sea of hill and plain and billowy foothills to the Canadian border and the Mexican line. It was sparsely covered with cactus and sagebrush and buffalo grass. It had appeared on the maps as the "Great American Desert." But it was free. Free grass was the commercial life-blood of the arid region. There was not much of it to the acre. But in the aggregate it spelled success and prosperity for every man who could raise the money to buy a band of sheep, or a herd of cattle, and knew the business.

It did not take long to change all this. To-day there are still millions of acres of Government land; but "the creeks and streams and springs that furnish watering places for stock have been filed upon and have passed into the hands of private owners." A congested condition of the range has gradually developed. There are too many horses, cattle, and sheep for the amount of grass that grows upon it. In a dry season either hay and grain must be shipped in from the East, or the stock must be shipped to eastern feeding points to be wintered.

If any of his readers fails to realize that the sheep business is to-day in a very bad way, it is not through any fault of Mr. Richards in describing the situation. Take, for instance, the following passage:

The sheep business to-day is sick. It has been ravaged by one misfortune after another for the past three years. The list of them spreads out into a tale of woe that needs but the hand of a poet to be cast on the lines of the Book of Job or an old





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#### A COLORADO SHEEP RANCH

Greek tragedy. If the Lord had looked upon our iniquities and said in His wrath, "They are an evil race, let them be no more," we might understand the series of disasters whose sum-total mounts to such epic proportions. The list of them reads like the plagues of Egypt. For they are seven. Here they are, in more or less chronological order: Dry farmers; foot-and-mouth disease; the winter of 1910; drouth the summer following; drouth again in 1911; low prices for wool and lambs; and last of all, the great American bug-bear that has been made of "Schedule K," and the fear of death at the hands of the tariff doctors.

Of course, this list is only partial. It does not include such incidental misfortunes as sporadic attacks of scabies, or the loss of probably over a million dollars' worth of sheep and lambs from wolves and coyotes in the State of Wyoming alone, as a result of the refusal of the Governor of Wyoming to sign the bill making the customary appropriation of \$60,000 for bounty on "varmints."

A "dry farmer" is one who attempts agriculture without irrigation in the region of insufficient rainfall. The dissemination of the theory of dry farming resulted in an invasion of the sheeplands by thousands of immigrants on whom the real-estate sharks grew fat and multiplied. According to Mr. Richards, the experiment was a disastrous one.

For two years now the dry farmers have raised nothing but children and cries for help. In Weston County over 100 families have been furnished with free transportation back to points where the

struggle for existence did not include the dry climate. . . . But the fact remains that hundreds of thousands of acres of the best grass land of these States has been taken from the open range by this costly experiment, and little of it is likely soon to become public grazing land. . . . The fences wont come down. That free grass is gone forever.

The arctic winter of 1909-1910, the following periods of drouth, foot-and-mouth disease, and, above all, the "tariff nightmare" have cut the prices for wool and mutton "almost squarely in two." In 1909 Mr. Richards received for his wool 24 cents a pound. In 1911 the average price was probably not over 12 cents. Two years ago the average price at which lambs were marketed was about \$3. This year it was below \$2, and many flockmasters did not net more than \$1.80. The town of Douglas, described so optimistically above, is now a town of gloom, a "community that stands in fear of disaster."

Mr. Richards in discussing the cost of growing a pound of wool gives in fullest detail the figures for labor, supplies, taxes, shearing, breeding, etc., and shows that on a band of 2,500 ewes a sheep-man's total annual expenses are \$4737.50, or \$1.89½ a head. Beyond this, the average sheep-man has to pay interest at 10 per cent. on borrowed money, which means an

his expenses of \$250 annually. The net profit on the year's transactions is represented by \$227.87. But in hundreds of cases the money borrowed runs the interest charges up to \$1250, leaving a deficit on the year of \$772.13. Hundreds of sheep men have been rendered insolvent by the tariff agitation. Mr. Richards puts his situation quite frankly:

I said by way of introduction that I am a sheep man. I am not a statesman. This is not an attempt to show that the tariff on raw wool should not be lowered. The interests of the American public must determine that. But we have seen a drop in the price of wool in two years from 22 cents to 12 cents, without any lowering of the

price of woolen clothing. We have seen the placing of hides on the free list followed by a rise in the price of shoes. We have sold our lambs and our wethers for little more than half the price we received two years ago, with no change in the price of mutton to the consumer.

Would the destruction of the sheep industry benefit the American people? No one believes that. Would a material reduction in the tariff on wool destroy the sheep industry? Emphatically, yes. Owing to the vicissitudes we have endured for the past two years we have seen how a prosperous industry has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The narrow margin of profit that now exists may be changed to disastrous loss by any of the great risks of the range. A further lowering of prices would certainly be followed by ruin. If ever an industry needed protection, and needed it badly, it is the sheep industry to-day.

## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND ITS IDEALS

AS stated in the paragraph on the close of the Lawrence strike, in the April number of the REVIEW, it was the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World which became influential among the strikers and "succeeded in welding the various elements into a semblance of a labor union." The conduct of the strike and the success of the strikers have brought this organization to national attention, with the result that many of the statements as to its history and purpose which have appeared in the press have been inaccurate and contradictory. For this reason Dr. William E. Bohn, one of the university men identified with the Industrial Workers of the World<sup>1</sup> in its initial stages, was requested by the *Survey* to prepare an account of the development of the organization, and this appears in the issue of that publication for May 4. It describes the origin of the I. W. W. as follows:

In 1904 six men prominently identified with various industrial or semi-industrial unions met in Chicago and issued a call for a larger conference to thirty-six persons who were chosen as representatives of the more progressive union spirit. This was the beginning of the I. W. W. The second conference met at Chicago during the opening days of January, 1905. The result of its deliberations was the call for a convention to meet in Chicago on June 27.

At the first convention 186 delegates, representing nominally 90,000 members, were present, and they adopted the famous preamble which has since become "the official gospel of industrial unionism in the United

States." The more important sentences of this document read thus:

The working-class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party. . . . Conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or a lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Almost from the start there occurred dissensions, arising chiefly between prominent members of the two socialistic parties; and at the 1908 convention a definite split occurred, Mr. Daniel DeLeon and a number of other elected delegates being denied seats at the convention. These met in the following November, and organized a separate body under the same name. It now has headquarters at Detroit, Mich. Neither organization has a large membership. Dr. Bohn says:

Vincent St. John, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, wrote me in February, while the Lawrence strike was on, that this organization had enrolled some 15,000 members. The Detroit I. W. W. is probably even smaller.

What is the characteristic of the I. W. W. movement which gives it its present prominent position in the public mind? Dr. Bohn thinks its most striking feature is the unfaltering devotion of its adherents. Hundreds

<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion, the abbreviation I. W. W. will be used in the article for the Industrial Workers of the World, having headquarters at Chicago. The other organization which goes by the same name and which has headquarters at Detroit will be termed Detroit I. W. W.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

**HAYWARD AND ETTOR, LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,  
AT LAWRENCE, MASS.**

of men and women, living as best they can, wherever they can do most for their cause, go from place to place, taking whatever jobs they happen to find and preaching everywhere industrial unionism. The ideals of the I. W. W. differ from those of the old trade-unionism. The ideal of the latter was expressed in the phrase "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." Industrial unionism has three distinct slogans: "industrial freedom"; "one big union"; "an injury to one an injury to all." Dr. Bohn sets forth the following general statements which, in spite of all divergence, hold true of all those who properly call themselves industrial unionists:

(1) They all believe in the "one big union."

(2) They all refuse to bind themselves by means of contracts with their employers. Believing, as they do, that there is an inevitable and continuous struggle between employers and employed, it seems to them that a contract is a truce with their natural enemy, a truce, moreover, which gives him all the advantage. It must be remembered, in this connection, that no employer ever binds himself not to discharge a workman.

(3) They all believe that all workers should be brought into the union. On this account they are opposed to high fees and long apprenticeships. They reason that since the introduction of machinery is rapidly reducing all workers to the level of unskilled laborers it is best to recognize absolute community of interests once for all. To them

union men who boost their own wages by refusing to allow others to learn their trade are as much traitors to their class as the lowest-priced strike-breaker.

(4) They do not insist upon the closed shop. To them this savors of collusion with the employer. The common arrangement in accordance with which the employer collects union dues appears to them a sure sign that the union has surrendered to the capitalist and will be expected to return certain favors for those received.

(5) They all believe that the great weapon of the working class on the economic field is the well-timed, energetically conducted strike. Not being bound by contracts they can strike without notice and at the moment when a tie-up will do the employer most harm. This belief in the power of the strike extends, naturally, to faith in the ultimate efficacy of the general strike. But the general strike must be preceded, of course, by equally "general" industrial union education and organization.

(6) They all believe that they have here and now the nucleus of the industrial commonwealth in the industrial union.

With regard to the last point, practically all revolutionists, all those who are bent on replacing our present capitalist system with an industrial commonwealth, may be divided into three well-defined groups: (1) pure and simple political socialists; (2) direct-actionists; (3) those who believe in combined and coördinated political and economic activity. Of these the direct-actionist has been con-

nected especially with the resort to violent means. Now, according to Dr. Bohn:

A direct-actionist may or may not believe, that violent measures are justifiable in the fight against capitalism. It is safe to say that all the members of the Detroit I. W. W. are consistently opposed to

violence. . . . Moreover, very many of the members of the I. W. W. are also opposed to violence. Some of the latter organization, however, believe that violence is always justifiable and sometimes more effective than any other means. . . . Violence is used against them, and it is necessary to fight fire with fire.

## THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER AND THE STRIKE AT LAWRENCE

"IT has been pointed out with emphasis, and it cannot be denied, that the woolen and worsted-mill owners have been guilty of sham and hypocrisy in demanding a high tariff for the protection of the American mill operative, *when, as a matter of fact, the so-called American wage-earner does not exist.*" This sweeping charge against the textile manufacturers occurs in an article entitled "The Lesson from Lawrence," contributed to the *North American Review* by Mr. W. Jett Lauck, who since 1908 has had charge of the field work in the industrial investigation of the United States Immigration Commission. This writer makes the further assertion that

instead of a protective tariff serving as a bulwark for American standards against the "pauper labor" of Europe it has been made clear that the American mill-hand has not only been exposed to the direct competition of a cheap, alien labor-supply from the south and east of Europe, but, because of his inability to work under the same conditions and at the same wages as the recent immigrant, has been forced to leave the woolen-goods manufacturing industry. The inadequacy of the earnings of married men; the need for wives and children to work; the lack of an independent form of family life, due to the necessity of taking boarders and lodgers in order to supplement the earnings of husbands; the poor housing facilities and the highly congested living conditions; the segregation of the alien textile operatives, their inability to speak English, and their failure to develop any political or civic interest—all these and many other lamentable facts relative to working and living conditions in Lawrence have come to light as the result of the present strike.

The chief lesson, however, to be learned from the Lawrence strike, and one which the American people do not seem to have yet grasped, is that the situation there is typical of all our important industrial centers. The working and living conditions which have been shown to exist in Lawrence are "found in all of our industrial localities in the North and West, no matter upon what branch of manufacturing or mining they are dependent." It will doubtless surprise many readers of the REVIEW to learn that the U. S.

Immigration Commission, after an exhaustive investigation, failed to discover a single purely American industrial community in all the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. "No manufacturing or mining locality of any importance could be found which did not have its immigrant colony of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe." Of over half a million employees in twenty-one leading industries, three-fifths were of foreign birth, and of these two-fifths were from the south and east of Europe. These industries included cigars and tobacco, agricultural implements, copper mining and smelting, cotton goods, leather, railroad construction, slaughtering and meat-packing, iron and steel, shoes and sugar; and the percentages of foreign-born employees ranged from 27 per cent. (in shoes) to 85 per cent. (in sugar-refining). These immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are "characterized by a high degree of illiteracy," and of 250,000 only 53 per cent. could speak the English language. Of certain employees in mines and factories only about one in six could read or write in any language.

The living conditions at Lawrence, also, are typical of those in other industrial centers. "A normal form of family life—wife and children supported by the earnings of the husband—is as uncommon in other industrial localities as in Lawrence." The income of the family is supplemented by the earnings of the children and by boarders. Of 17,000 investigated by the commission there was an average of 246 persons for each 100 sleeping-rooms. The average monthly rent for each person in 11,000 families was \$1.60, and among the Bulgarians and Macedonians it was as low as 78 cents a month per person. The standards of living indicated by these small payments are self-evident.

The status of the wage-earner and his family at Lawrence being typical of the so-called American wage-earner in general, the question is what can be done to improve the entire industrial situation. The causes of

this situation lie in the attraction to our shores of millions of "untrained, inexperienced, non-English-speaking, illiterate, temporary immigrant wage-earners." The native Americans and the older immigrants from Europe, finding themselves unable to compete with the low standards and the rates of payment accepted by the recent immigrant workmen, have sought other employment.

The obvious solution consists in imposing a check upon a further addition to this labor-supply until those who are already at work in our mines and mills can be absorbed and elevated to a point where they will demand proper wages and working conditions. If the alien influx is permitted to continue it will mean a further degradation of the industrial worker and the intensifying of the conditions of unrest and dissatisfaction which offer such

fruitful ground to the Socialist and other revolutionary and radical propagandists. McKee's Rock and Lawrence are object-lessons in this respect. We shall do well if we heed their teachings. A temporary restriction of immigration would not imply any racial discrimination or deviation from our traditional policy of offering an asylum to those who are politically or religiously oppressed.

Whether we have a restriction of immigration or not, we must educate and assimilate the recent immigrants who are already resident in our cities and towns and who are workers in our mines and industrial plants. The astounding fact in connection with the presence of a large immigrant population in all of our industrial communities has been the complete indifference of the native Americans to its existence.

This attitude must be altered. The alien must be Americanized if we are again to have "American" wage-earners.

## FALLACIES CONCERNING THE RIGHT TO RESORT TO THE STRIKE AND LOCKOUT

WITH the air full of the echoes of strikes past and of rumors of strikes to come, employers and employees alike may read with profit an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for April by Dr. Robert A. Duff. Its language is temperate, its reasoning cogent, and its presentation of the entire subject of strikes is characterized by sound common sense. Dr. Duff clears the ground by the observation that "it has to be said, in view of the claims frequently made by masters and men to have an absolute right to work or not work at their discretion, that such a claim is without warrant from the state."

For there are no single or separate rights in single persons or in combinations of persons which give them an absolute title to act in this way or that. All rights that may be enjoyed within a state form a system or unity. They are dependent on one another, limited by and effective through one another. . . . I have no right to act in a way which will lead to the disintegration of society. . . . Even though property is in the popular sense my own, there are many uses of it which I am not entitled to make. For example, I may not buy a war-vessel with it, nor use it to bribe a magistrate, or to procure a false witness, or to support a rebellion or a crime, or to erect houses contrary to the Buildings Regulations Act, or to set up an obstruction on the highway, or to print a libel. And what is true of property is equally true of life and working power. . . . From this it follows that no individual or combination of individuals can have even a *prima facie* claim to act according to their own discretion, unless they can show that the general interest will be better served by allowing such discretion.

These "semi-philosophical or common-sense remarks" are made by the writer "because

one hears so much loose talk indulged in by both masters and men to the effect that the state has no right to interfere in trade disputes. For this contention, he says, there is no ground.

The state has a right—and not only a right, but a duty—to intervene (or, if you like, to interfere) when its own unity, strength, and security are involved, compromised, or endangered.

The right to strike has been defined by a zealous defender of it as "the right to demonstrate the value of labor by withholding it." This definition is inadequate, "because both in theory and in practice a strike involves much more than a withholding of labor."

First of all, it is a *combined or organized* stoppage, and involves concerted common action on the part of a considerable number of persons for a single end. This puts it at once on a different plane from the liberty to work or not work which the law allows to each individual. . . . A is at liberty to sell or to refuse to sell food to Y. So also are B and C and D, etc. And the state can allow this liberty because it is on the whole in the interest of each. But if A, B, C, D, etc., combine to refuse to sell food to Y, Y may justly ask the state to compel them, as their combination is a negation of his very existence. Or again, though each of us has liberty to walk along the street, if ten thousand of us agree to go in solid procession through the streets, we may lawfully be forbidden to do so. Or though each of us is at liberty to stand at a shop window, or door, it does not follow that a thousand of us have the right at one and the same time. Or, if anyone is at liberty to ring your bell, it is not intended that a thousand people should. . . . In a meeting each man is at liberty to speak, but we are not at liberty to combine and all speak at once, else there will be no meeting.

As to the element that enters into both the theory and practice of the strike—namely, the claim that no one else shall do, or be allowed to do, the work of those who go on strike—Dr. Duff says: "This distinguishes it from every voluntary discharge. The men stop work, but they do not intend to give up the work."

When the strike is over, they not only demand to be taken back, but to be taken back as a body. . . . Every nerve is strained to see that those who have hitherto done the work shall not be replaced by newcomers. Now consider what this involves. It means that if those who carry on a particular service decide either that they will no longer carry it on, or that they will only carry it on under conditions for which they stipulate, then the community must go without that service until they please or until their terms are granted. . . . A claim of this nature is obviously little removed from taking society by the throat. For it means that each section of our very complex industrial organization will be wholly within the control of any small body of men. And not only each section, but the whole industrial life of the community; for the whole would in a few days or hours come to a standstill if any one of a hundred trades or occupations were to be wholly stopped.

Referring to the suggestion that has been made, that state ownership of railways would be a remedy for railway strikes, Dr. Duff negatives the idea. From the employees' point of view, it is doubtful whether the workers' position would be improved; for the first thing to disappear would be the right to strike. "Any refusal to work under the conditions imposed by the state would be a criminal, and probably a treasonable, act, punishable by fine and imprisonment." Setting aside state ownership as no solution, continuing his argument, Dr. Duff asks:

Should we begin to reconcile ourselves to the idea that the vital necessities of our national existence are at every moment at the mercy of what each section of the workers or the employers may think to be their rights or their due reward? Or is this a condition of things fraught with peril to the interests of all? . . . Can any class enjoying unchecked power be trusted to be a fair and just judge in its own cause?

And he makes this strong point: Supposing the community to be satisfied that a strike or lockout is unwarranted, what power has it to make its opinion operative? At present, none. The community has managed to "muddle along" without such power because strikes were seldom universal, and the sympathetic strike was not preached or practised. These conditions are now changed. The "sympathetic strike tends to widen infinitely the area to which the paralysis extends." And capital will not be slow to use the devices of labor, if only in self-defense, and it will be forced to grasp and wield them in earnest; for this is a game at which one party can play as well as the other. Dr. Duff inquires whether it would not be well, before this comes, for the workers to ask themselves seriously whether the paralyzing of industry can bring them aught but suffering and loss. After all it is pure coercion, "reckless of all consequence, like presenting a pistol at a man's head, or starving him into compliance with your demands. You may do this once, but he will take means to see that you shall not do it again." It is "not by coercive measures that better relations are established, but by seeking out the real causes of the difficulty." It is only in this way, says Dr. Duff, that a solution can be reached.

## WILL BAHAIISM UNITE ALL RELIGIOUS FAITHS?

"SURELY the dawn of a new day was heralded on that Sunday evening when the Archdeacon of Westminster walked hand in hand with the venerable Abdul Baha up the nave of St. John's Church, and invited him not only to address the congregation but to offer for them his prayers and blessing," says a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Considering the dignity and conservatism of the Established Church of England, and the fact that this little-known Persian prophet has come to the western world to proclaim the dawn of the millennium, to announce that the Messiah awaited by all nations has actually lived, taught and died upon this earth within the past century, and

to preach what he and his followers believe to be the new world religion, designed to include and supersede all others and to unite all nations under the banner of a common faith, this would hardly seem an extravagant statement. When we add to it the assertion of the *Contemporary Review* that, within a week after his arrival in England, where he was almost unknown, Abdul Baha delivered an address from the pulpit of the City Temple in London, being introduced by its rector as the leader of one of the most remarkable religious movements of this or any other age, it seems evident that at least a part of the Episcopal Church is inclined to accord him the courtesy of a respectful hearing.

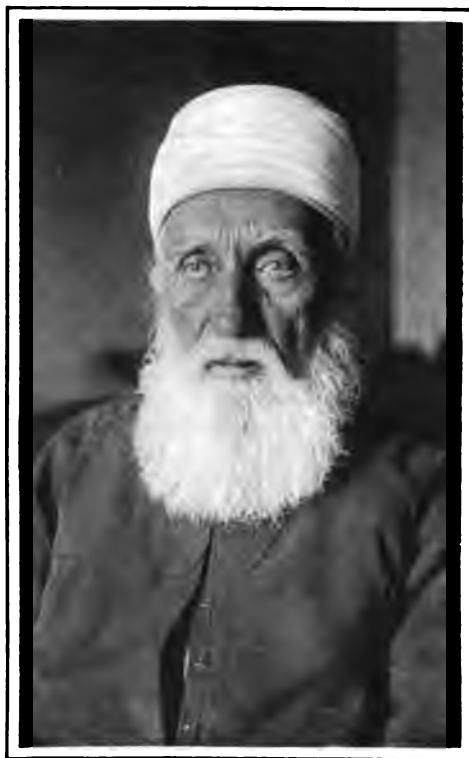
Religionists of other faiths were equally interested. The *Fortnightly Review* goes on to say:

To the house in London where Abdul Baha and his suite were received as honored, welcome guests, came a constant stream of all sorts and conditions of men and women, Christians of every denominations, Buddhist of every nationality, Theosophists, Zoroastrians and Mohammedans, Agnostics and Gnostics. To each he spoke some individual message, and to their varied questions he gave simple, direct and quite spontaneous answers.

A few weeks ago Abdul Baha and his little group of disciples landed in New York, quietly and almost unheralded by the newspapers. Courtesies similar to those he had received in London were at once extended to him by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant and others of the clergy, and the first Sunday after his arrival he was invited to deliver his message in the Church of the Ascension. Since then he has been speaking constantly to those who cared to seek him out, and has announced his intention of visiting the Bahai communities in different cities of the United States.

Abdul Baha,—or Abbas Effendi, to use the name by which he was known before he received his mission,—makes no claim that he is himself the Messiah. He says plainly that he is not even a prophet, only Abdul Baha, the Servant of God. But he and his followers believe and assert that the Messiah expected by all peoples came in the form of Baha'u'llah, who spent the greater part of his life a prisoner in the Syrian penal colony at Acca, and who died there fourteen years ago. In this prison he wrote the three books which form the sacred scriptures of the Bahais, and from there he spread abroad his doctrines in the form of epistles and by means of such disciples as were not imprisoned with him. During the later years of his life he was visited by many distinguished scholars, as well as religious enthusiasts from all countries, and to the writings of the former we owe such authentic information as we possess concerning the character of the religious reformation that was hidden for so many years in the heart of the East. Almost without exception these accounts treated both teacher and doctrine with the utmost respect.

The absolute catholicity of the doctrine goes far toward explaining its ready acceptance by adherents of every known creed. It meddles with no religious beliefs, laws or observances, but insists on the unity underlying all. While its ultimate aim is the spir-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York  
ABDUL BAHÁ

(Who has recently visited the United States)

itual unification of all mankind, it is not in any way subversive of the ancient creeds. On the contrary, it urges specifically that "each man shall cling more closely to his own church or faith, to the end that he may work therein to purify, ennoble, enlarge, spiritualize and merge into the larger unity the expression of each particular belief." The Bahai who is not made thereby a better Christian, Mohammedan or Buddhist, is no true Bahai.

Bahaism formulates no new system of ethics. Rather, it emphatically asserts that the ethics already given in the world's religious literature, and hammered out from the common experience of humanity, are quite sufficient for mankind in any age. The sole point is that the fundamentals of spiritual teaching shall be universally admitted and practically applied to the affairs of daily life and to the development of the social and political life of nations. The great word of Bahaism is Unity.

"War must cease," says Abdul Baha.

There is something above and beyond patriotism, and it is better to love your fellowmen than to love only your countrymen. When we see this, and know in very truth the brotherhood of man, war will appear to us in its true light as an outrage on civilization, an act of madness and blindness.



Baha'u'llah announced this half a century ago, in the slaughter-house of Persia, and it is not less forcible because to-day it is the slogan of Peace Societies in every civilized country in the world. So with other ideals which men are striving to realize. They all form integral parts of the teachings of Baha'u'llah. In a country and at a time when women were held to be soulless chattels, he intensified the persecution from which he suffered by proclaiming the perfect equality of the sexes. "Essential difference in sphere," he said, "in point of view and in service to their joint humanity, but each one of two pillars supporting the arch of life, the necessary complement one of the other." Abdul Baha, true to the Bahai method of keeping up with the times, even approves woman suffrage, saying:

In all questions which concern the welfare of a nation, is not the woman's view as important as the man's if one would get a just and true consideration of all sides of that question? Therefore, I am in favor of votes for women on every subject. This great woman movement which is stirring and vibrating round the whole world is a sign of spirit awakening.

The industrial movement, now at such tension, Abdul Baha declares to be the prelude of a rapidly-approaching era in which the status of the worker shall be free and dignified, and the division of the world's wealth just and equitable to all classes. The teachings of Baha'u'llah touched very lightly upon the domain of politics, but he strongly advocated constitutional government for all countries, and predicted that the new epoch would bring this to pass. A world language

he declared to be one of the inevitable results of the breaking down of national barriers, and essential to the establishment of brotherhood among men. Education of all children must be one of the chief duties of Bahais; of both boys and girls where the resources of the family admitted it, but of girls in any case, as they were the future mothers and trainers of the race and so had the greatest need of knowledge. The other great individual requirement, as commanded by Baha'u'llah and emphasized by his successor, is the learning by both boys and girls of some trade or profession which shall serve as a means of livelihood. All handicrafts are approved, because the training of the hand to useful work is one of the great roads to mental development and spiritual enlightenment.

Abdul Baha lays great stress upon the necessity of a vital and burning faith, says the *Fortnightly Review*, but he has little use for faith without works. Numerous instances are given of questions asked by members of different cults, and his replies, far from encouraging a more or less unproductive mysticism, urged the necessity of proving the value of every theory by practical application. On the other hand, practical, in the sense he uses it, does not in the least mean profitable. One of the most rigid rules of Bahaism is that no religious teacher shall receive a salary, or payment of any kind, for giving forth the truth as he has received it, but shall support himself and his family by the work of his hands or the practice of some profession.

A full account of the history of the "Bab" and the movement he inaugurated was published in this REVIEW for February, 1909.

## THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY

IN these pages, last month, in our editorial department, we recorded the result of the recent general elections in Turkey and pointed out how the Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turk party) had been triumphantly retained in power.

The Turkish press finds many reasons for this victory of the Young Turks, but considers the most important one as being confidence in the administration in its policy toward the war with Italy. Of course, the Young Turk party is, in itself, very homogeneous. It has an established organization in every section of the Empire, it is well administered and financed, and has proved

itself quite able to hold its own against the so-called "Liberal Entente," a coalition of discontented Unionists, various smaller national groups with decentralized programs, and differing groups of reactionaries. This "Liberal Entente," which really makes up the united opposition to the Young Turks, is composed of voters of such radically different opinions that it did not possess the necessary cohesion to make a successful stand against the Young Turks.

When, on January 18, the Turkish Parliament was dissolved and new elections decreed, the Young Turkish party went before the people for the approval or rejection of its

policies. The result of the balloting shows that the people approve of what the Young Turks have done and what they stand for.

Commenting on the make-up of the new Parliament and the attitude of the administration toward the continuance of the war, the *Jeune Turc*, one of the best known organs of the Young Turk party, says:

Among the reasons which induced Italy to make war on us Turks, the most important was their belief that the Committee of Union and Progress had been weakened by the growing opposition against it, and that the disorder throughout the Empire would force our government to accept Italy's demands. The Italian statesmen were so credulous as to believe that by attacking, in their official declaration, the Committee of Union and Progress, they could gain the sympathy of our people. . . . As can be judged by the known results, the entire country has endorsed the committee; the national will is on the side of the Unionists. . . . This means that the Empire approves the program of Union and Progress. . . . "What was the party's motto at the beginning and during the war? No humiliating peace! No territorial cession! Struggle to the end!" . . . The country does not want any humiliating peace nor territorial cession; it wants to fight to the end.

The *Tanin* (Echo), another well-known Young Turkish journal, speaking on the same subject, says:

The nation has just been consulted. It has pronounced itself unanimously for the program of Union and Progress, which stands for honorable peace and a fight to the end. To-day, the nation and Union and Progress are one.

The Sultan, Mehmed V., himself, in opening the new Parliament, on April 18, and in his speech from the throne, after referring to certain administrative, judicial and constitu-

tional reforms and railroad building, touched in a very firm and courageous manner upon Turkey's foreign policy. He insisted on maintaining, at all costs, his sovereign rights over Crete, and expressed his intention of continuing sincere and friendly relations with the neighbors and European powers, but mentioned that the desire must be mutual and should seem sincere, and that his rights should be respected. He assured the foreign governments that Turkey is strengthening her army and navy for the sole purpose of defending her territory and insuring peace. All this shows Turkey's determination to play her rôle in the concert of the nations in the future in a more respected way than heretofore. Concerning the war, the speech declared:

The war unjustly provoked by Italy and contrary to the principles of international treaties, continues, notwithstanding the general desire for peace all over the world. We wish also peace; but a peace will only end this war on the condition that we maintain effective and integral our sovereign rights.

"This imperial reply to Italy's aggression," says the *Jeune Turc*, by way of comment,

which is the dominant thought of all this speech, and makes of it an historical document, is the answer of the entire nation, whose sentiment and idea the Sultan, in his double capacity of Emperor and Caliph, has interpreted. . . . It is a noble and dignified reply to the provocation of the Italian guns before the forts of the Dardanelles, a reply which the Ottoman nation has expressed to the entire world through the mouth of its venerated Sultan; words calm, dignified, firm, and courageous. . . . We are going to resist to the end with energy and tenacity. . . . We cannot give Italy either a centimeter square of sand, or the economic concession of a hamlet.

## WILL EGYPT BECOME THE SEAT OF THE CALIPHATE?

AN Arab paper, the *Afkar*, published in Cairo, recently contained an article which has caused some sensation. It stated that during the prolonged stay there last winter of the former Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, an extraordinary number of Ottoman political men and partisans of the "Party of Liberty and Entente" came to Egypt. These visits, the *Afkar* believes, were not simply caused by the electoral campaign then going on in Turkey, but were explained by the necessity that the leaders of the party should get into touch with the British directors of England's policy in Egypt, Kiamil Pasha, who is what the Turks describe as a *dunmeh*, or Moslem Jew, being a strong partisan of

the British as opposed to the German influence at Constantinople. This paper, the *Afkar*, is, therefore, inclined to think that certain of the Liberal politicians in Turkey are preparing the separation of Turkish Arabia, and increasing thereby, knowingly or unknowingly, the influence exercised in that part of the Ottoman Empire by England.

In this way all the conditions would be established for the founding of an Arabian Caliphate. Now this Arabian Caliphate is well known in Cairo to be an old dream of English policy, which would, through it, extinguish Islamism as a political factor.

This opinion of the Egyptian paper, writes a correspondent at Constantinople, is not

entirely without foundation, as one may see by the papers of the past few weeks. Kiamil Pasha, in his memoir addressed to the Sultan, had already pointed out that by an understanding of England with Egypt, Turkey might easily lose the provinces of Yemen and the Hedjaz and with it the Ottoman Caliphate. An article in the London *Fortnightly Review*, among others, said that the future of Egypt as an integral part of the British Empire would be of the most brilliant description. Endowed with Home Rule, it would occupy a preponderating position among the nations; and if Turkey disappeared, Egypt could easily replace her. She would become the protectress of the Hedjaz and the mistress of Mecca under British protection; and when one thinks of the effect that would be produced on the ninety-four millions of Mussulmans under British rule, the dream seems worth realizing. Egypt would regain its ancient splendor and Syria and Palestine would return under the domination of the Nile country, and all Arabia would be annexed to Egypt. The tribes of Yemen, rebels against the Turks, are ready to submit to England if Turkey falls.

These ideas appear to have produced an effect on certain elements in Egypt. The Arabic paper *El Makattam*, the organ of the British occupation, continually recurs to this question, maintaining that the Caliphate should be held by an Arab, the Emir of Mecca or the Khedive. The *Egyptian Gazette*, a semi-official paper, in a leading article entitled "Syria and Islam," says that the Mussulmans of Syria are beginning to understand how dangerous it is for their religion and language to remain tied to the political destiny of the Turks. On the other side, they can see how Islam develops under the British flag very much better than under the Moslem Turk, and that it would be much more beneficial for them if the Crescent of the Khedive should extend over the country between Cairo and Damascus. A Constantinople paper, commenting on this, points out that all thinking Mussulmans will not fail to understand that a Caliph who is not supported by the bayonets of his own army can only be a mere tool in the hands of his protectors, who desire once for all to destroy the scarecrow of an Islamic world power.

## A TRANS-CUBA CANAL TO SUPPLEMENT PANAMA

THE approaching completion of the Panama Canal has brought forward a project for a canal across the island of Cuba, designed to shorten the route between Panama and the principal North Atlantic ports, as well as to foster the internal commerce of Cuba. The *Revista Municipal* of Habana contains an article giving much interesting information in this matter.

As regards Cuban interests alone, this project is by no means of recent date, for a century and a half ago the building of such a canal was proposed to facilitate internal commerce between the ports on the southern and northern coasts of Cuba. As an illustration of the advantages to be attained in this way, we are told that the distance by water between Habana and Cienfuegos would be reduced from 953 miles to about 120 miles.

As far back as 1767, a royal decree notes the receipt by the Spanish government of "new special charts and also a general chart of the north coast of Cuba," relating to the matter of the Cuban canal, and in 1776, the cost of a navigable canal between Habana and the Batabanó river was estimated at

\$1,200,000, a figure that naturally refers to other times and conditions. An old chart in the archives of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, shows the proposed course of a canal along this route, as planned by Francisco and Felix Lemaur in 1798, by order of a royal commission appointed to provide new means for the economic development of the island. Three years earlier, in 1795, the Real Junta de Fomento y Navegación, the department charged with the maintenance and improvement of communications by land and water, advocated the execution of what was even then termed "the old project of the Conde de Macuriges," regarding the construction of "a navigable canal to unite the Güines and Almendares rivers." It provided for the nivelization of the tract between these rivers and the dock-yard of Habana, traversing the heights of the Cerro near the Puente de la Zanga.

The proposed Cuban canal received the approbation of Alexander von Humboldt, who expressed himself as follows in his work on Cuba published in the early part of the last century:

I have had the pleasure of visiting, in the company of Señores Lemaury, the plains through which this line of navigation is to pass. The utility of the project is unquestionable, if they are able to secure, in time of drought, a sufficient quantity of water at the dividing point.

At various times, during the Spanish domination, this enterprise was taken into serious consideration, and some preliminary examination of the ground was made, but the political complications in which Spain was involved and the unsettled state of things in Cuba interfered with its accomplishment. Now, however, the interest of the Cubans has been aroused in this matter by the hope and expectation that great advantages would accrue for Cuba if the canal should be constructed. Of this, the writer says:

Cuba is situated immediately in Panama's zone of influence; moreover, its entire length faces the Panama canal, so that an imaginary line drawn between this interoceanic port and New York crosses approximately the middle of the island. . . . This being the case, a Cuban canal, supplementary to that of Panama, might be immediately profitable, as it would have a virtual monopoly of a great part of the vessels passing through the trans-isthmian canal. According to expert opinion, the Cuban route would be the logical one for vessels sailing from New York to Panama. It is also believed that our canal would be used, almost without exception, by vessels sailing from Panama to Europe and to the Atlantic ports of the United States, since shortly after traversing the Panama canal and entering the Caribbean Sea, the strong equatorial current flowing from east to west would oblige them to seek the Strait of Yucatan, in order to avoid sailing against this current, and then to follow the northeastern coast of Cuba, so as to take advantage of the Gulf Stream, up to the Florida Straits. All this would be rendered unnecessary by passing through the Cuban canal, and if by this means there should result a saving, however small, of expense or danger, the ships would take this route, provided the conditions were reasonable.

This Cuban enterprise, essentially national in its grandeur and importance, would require legislative authority, and full discussion in Congress,

whereby the scope of the undertaking and its multiple aspects would be duly considered. Furthermore, it will be necessary to study and determine the constructions and measures contingent to its accomplishment, such as a series of bridges connecting both sides of the canal; promenades and docks along its banks; landing-places; the policing of the canal; the preliminary expropriation by the State of a broad zone stretching from sea to sea along the selected route, and yielding, when utilized for warehouses, railroad and train stations, hotels, etc., a revenue that would cover, to a great extent, the costs of maintenance; finally, the construction of custom-houses, post-offices, buildings for the sanitary service, etc., at the terminals of the canal and at certain points along its course.

That the successful execution of this project would do much to ensure the prosperity of Cuba is the firm conviction of the writer, a conviction he voices in the following terms:

The increase in the value of that part of the Cuban territory near which this canal may pass would be incalculable. Let us only think of the zeal with which the various municipalities and provinces will dispute concerning the route to be selected; and this very rivalry will facilitate the enterprise. Cienfuegos, for instance, will allege that Herrera was right when he said of this port: "It has no rival in the world"; Cárdenas will hasten to canalize its Puerta de Hicacos—something it should long ago have done—so as to place itself in immediate communication with the open Atlantic; Sagua will emphasize its greater proximity to New York, and will complete the clearing of its bar, etc., etc.

In the southern and northern parts of the island, the terminals of the Cuban canal will become cosmopolitan centers, where all languages will be spoken; immense centers of activity, calculated to raise the social and historic significance of the neighboring territory. The army of men to be engaged in the construction of the canal will represent, economically, millions of dollars, and the many great undertakings subsidiary to the canal itself will cause a "river of gold" to flow into our land. Moreover, the prospect of remunerative occupation for so many will serve to counteract undue partisan activity, which will be largely renounced when public order and prosperity rest upon more solid foundations.



# CHOOSING BONDS FOR SAFETY

## WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

### The Extraordinary Caution of a Western Merchant

**L**AST month this magazine made a detailed analysis of the hundreds of letters on investment matters received from inquiring readers since the beginning of the year. One interesting point suggested by it was this: that investors who give the most consideration to the element of safety, when buying bonds, might be divided, roughly, into three general classes:

First, those, in whom the desire for "security first" seems to be inborn; second, those who have acquired the desire through study, or experience; and third, those who, so to speak, have the desire thrust upon them—big institutional investors, like the savings banks and insurance companies, for example, or individuals who carry the responsibility of looking after trust funds.

Of course, the very word, "investment" carries with it the idea of safety, as compared with "speculation," or "gambling." But safety, itself, is relative. The desire for it may, therefore, vary greatly, not only among these three classes of investors, but also among individuals of any one class. It is found, too, that the desire varies with the times.

At present, with the average investor's dinner table giving him so much concern—with the costs of beef, butter, flour and other things the bond owner has to buy, mounting as they have been during the last few weeks, for instance—it is not at all surprising that it should be the common experience of all investment bankers and other financial advisors to find an increasing number, even of their most conservative clients, giving more than the customary thought to the element of income. These are times, at least, when one would scarcely expect to find an investor, in whom the desire for safety apparently had become a passion. Yet the Investment Bureau discovered one such recently.

He is of the second general class described—a man with experience of the sort which is popularly supposed to point the sure way in investment to the ideal combination of safety and income, but which doesn't always work that way. He is a successful merchant in a Western city.

One reason for referring here at some length to his letter of inquiry is that it is strikingly *a propos* of a suggestion once made by a well known New York banker that "success in the delicate and almost instinctive matters of credit does not at all imply a corresponding success in investing money in bonds." In other words, accumulating money is a task, to which business men not infrequently devote all their time and thought, to the exclusion of many other things, of which preparation for the proper investment of that money, subsequently, may not be the least important.

Another reason is that this merchant's questions were of an unusually searching kind—marvels, in fact, for the manner in which they went to the root of the matter he had in mind. It has already been suggested that he was possessed of a passion for extreme safety. He explained that he intended investing several thousand dollars in three per cent Panama Canal bonds. Few would have attempted to go behind the fact that these were United States Government obligations, and that as such, they, were overwhelmingly secure. Yet note the disposition in this case to make assurance double sure. Here are some of the merchant's queries:

Do you think Panama threes will ever sell much lower than their present price?

What effect would the adoption of a new currency or banking plan have on them?

Could the registered and coupon bonds be sold in a few minutes for cash on any business day at about the last quoted price?

In case of a revolution in this country, could the succeeding government repudiate these bonds, or can you imagine a situation where private property, or the bonds of a private corporation would sell higher than Government bonds, the same rate of interest and safety being considered?

### Why Gilt Edged Bonds Are Low

**C**ONSIDERATION of the extremely remote possibility—if it may be called even that—suggested by the merchant's last question, may give place for the present to some notice of the other points raised. To them a peculiar timeliness is imparted by certain recent financial happenings.

It was, for instance, highly suggestive that at the very time these questions came to hand, there was going on a world-wide dis-

cussion of the depreciation of the securities of other nations. Rentes, the French Government three percents, had just sold at the "low record price of 91.65 francs; and British consols and German Imperial threes were near their low record prices of modern times."

Economists were busy explaining that these were but transient phenomena, responding to the general rise in the rate which all Governments have to pay for money. The London *Economist*, perhaps the first journalistic authority on the financial affairs of the world, lately pointed out that while, "in each individual country, apart from the causes that have operated without distinction of nationality or locality, there have been special circumstances either aggravating or mitigating the effect of these universal agencies, it has by this time been amply recognized that it is impossible to divert from their course the events which have all tended to open up innumerable opportunities for more profitable investment than home Government stocks (bonds) are able to offer."

United States Government bonds have declined, too. Their fall has been less noticeable, perhaps, because it has been relatively less abrupt. Still it has been considerable. Take the twos of 1930. They are now quoted only slightly above par. Four years ago they sold at 106. So that investors who bought them then have now to figure a loss of \$60 on each \$1000 bond. Yet they are the very investors, who doubtless thought that nothing could be safer than a Government bond.

In these securities, moreover, the decline has taken place in the face of quite special "mitigating circumstances." United States Government bonds have for fifty years enjoyed an almost purely "artificial" market. They have sold, not on their value to investors, but on their necessity to the national banker, as security for his circulating notes, which are more profitable than lending his money directly.

Panama threes are the only exceptions to this. They were sold by the Government last year on an investment basis; that is, it was expressly provided that they should not be available as security for national bank circulation. But it is natural that they should have indirectly reflected the legally devised stimulus given to the credit of the Government by the provisions affecting the other issues; and that they should continue to command prices at which they yield less than three percent. Can there be but one thing to expect, however, when our currency

system is changed, as it may be some day, and business men's notes are substituted for Government bonds as its basis?

Then, all the bonds of this nation will come under the direct influence of whatever "universal agencies" may be affecting the securities of other nations of high credit. If the output of gold continues to increase, as many authorities believe it will,—for some time to come, at least,—the effect on such bonds will, of course, be a further lowering of their prices.

Even now it may be seen how the flow of gold in late years has helped to affect the prices of gilt-edged bonds of other types, such as the old and seasoned issues "next to the rails" of the great railroads—the kind that in America take the place of consols in England and rentes in France. A list of twenty-five representative issues tabulated by *The Wall Street Journal* on the first of last month showed an average decline of over three and a half points since May, 1909.

### Higher Yield, Less Risk, Possible Nowadays

A DUTCH statesman had occasion, not long since, in the course of a speech in the Legislature, to make some reference to the cause for the prevailing low prices of gilt edged securities.

He declared that he had never been able to admit the correctness of the argument of the "man in the street" that the fall in prices was due merely to the fact that capitalists now require a higher rate of interest, because of their bigger expenses, heavier taxes, and so on. He is quoted in the *Economist* as saying, "The investor *at all times* has wanted to make the highest rate of interest which he was able to make, and if nowadays he enjoys bigger yields, it is because he is able to get them." The speaker presumably meant, bigger yields without loss of safety.

It is easy enough to imagine that this statesman may have had in mind, as he spoke, the extent to which the capital of his countrymen has, for a good many years, sought investment in securities based upon modern American enterprise. On the whole its security has proved sound, and its yield abundant.

Now, contrast the position of the Dutch investor with that of the Western merchant. How much easier for the latter, with the facilities of so many dependable American investment banking houses at his immediate disposal for the asking, to become a discriminating investor for income substantially

greater than the three percent his Government bonds would yield!

How easy for him—if he wanted to put his money away permanently—to learn about the many bonds which yield more for reasons other than that there is less security behind them,—bonds less known, yet possessing practically everything conducive to investment peace of mind! Such might be picked for him from any one of the four main classes, municipals, railroads, public utilities and industrials.

Or, if the circumstances were such as positively to require securities "that could be sold on any business day (not necessarily on the Stock Exchange) at about the last

quoted price," how easy for him to learn about things like high grade notes, or like railroad equipment bonds, which yield well, whose actual record of safety is astonishing, and whose market is always "ready."

To the student of financial affairs, it becomes increasingly evident, as one authority recently remarked, that the small savings of a large class of people will continue to stand in need of facilities for investment in securities of the Government type. But the successful merchant is of a class for which there is less excuse for finding the principles of discriminating investment for income hopelessly mysteries.

### The Average Investor's Inclinations

IT takes the exception—like the Western merchant whose timely questions furnished the basis of this month's investment comment—to prove the rule.

American investors, by and large, are becoming each year more alive to the diversity of opportunity offered them to turn their surplus funds to good account.

The analysis of the letters written during the four months ended May 1 last by correspondents of our Investment Bureau are particularly interesting. It visualizes the investment inclinations of a large number of people, representing every walk of life. And it seems to show that, after all, the flow of capital from the pocket of the average citizen is furnishing motive power in a pretty equitable way to all forms of American enterprise.

The figures appearing on this page indicate the principal types of investment securities, with which the letters received during the period referred to were concerned, as well as the geographical distribution of the inquiries.

In the following table the entries opposite "California," for instance, means that of the total number of inquiries to the REVIEW or REVIEWS Investment Bureau from that State, three were concerned with municipal bonds, seven with railroad bonds, four with railroad stocks, two with industrial bonds, five with industrial stocks, eight with public utility bonds, one with real estate bonds, one with mining stocks, and nine with miscellaneous investment questions and securities.

STATE	Municipal Bonds	Railroad Bonds	Railroad Stocks	Industrial Bonds	Industrial Stocks	Public Utility Bonds	Public Utility Stocks	Short Term Notes & Equipments	Real Estate Bonds	Real Estate & Farm Mortgages	Mining Stocks	Miscellaneous	Total
Alabama.....												3	3
Alaska.....												1	1
Arizona.....												3	4
Arkansas.....												3	7
California.....	3	1	4	2	5	8			1	1	1	2	40
Colorado.....		1		1					2	1		2	13
Connecticut.....			1		2	1	1			1	1	4	18
Delaware.....		2										1	1
District of Columbia.....		2		1	1	2			6		1	2	14
Florida.....		2				2			1	3		2	10
Georgia.....				1					1			1	3
Idaho.....			1			5	1			1	1	2	11
Illinois.....	4	6	7	4	8	9	3	2	2	3	1	9	58
Indiana.....	4	3	3	3	1	4	2		1	1	1	3	26
Iowa.....		2	3	2	2	2	2			5	1	2	21
Kansas.....												3	3
Kentucky.....	2	4	2	2		3				2		2	17
Louisiana.....												1	1
Maine.....		3	1	2	3	7	2	3	1		2	3	27
Maryland.....	1	4		1	2	2			1	1		2	14
Massachusetts.....		2		1	3				3			3	16
Michigan.....	3	2	1	1	2	2		1	3	4	2	8	27
Minnesota.....	2			2	2	3	1		1		2	3	17
Mississippi.....													
Missouri.....	5	3	4	2	3	5	2			3		2	29
Montana.....		1				3				1		1	6
Nebraska.....					1							2	3
Nevada.....													
New Hampshire.....	2			1	1	1	1					4	10
New Jersey.....	2	3	2	5	6	4	2	2	4	2		1	33
New Mexico.....													
New York.....	4	7	13	8	19	9	6	4	15	5	6	15	111
North Carolina.....		2				3		1		2		2	10
North Dakota.....					1							2	4
Ohio.....	4	3	2	1	8	4		3		1	1	6	33
Oklahoma.....												1	1
Oregon.....	1					1				2		1	9
Pennsylvania.....	6	13	10	11	16	11	4	5	8	3	2	14	103
Rhode Island.....					1				1			1	3
South Carolina.....										1		2	3
South Dakota.....												1	1
Tennessee.....					2	1						1	4
Texas.....	1	2	2	1	1	1		1	2	2		5	18
Utah.....	1											1	2
Vermont.....		1	1	1								3	7
Virginia.....					2							1	5
Washington.....		1			2	4					1	4	12
West Virginia.....					4	1					1	1	7
Wisconsin.....	2	1				2			2		1		8
Wyoming.....													
Foreign.....	3	4	4	8	2	6	1	1	2	6	3	11	51
Total.....	50	79	63	60	99	108	28	23	58	52	33	154	807



# THE TREND OF POPULAR FICTION

THE popular novels of the present season show clearly that we are at last emerging from the bondage of our appetite for the short story. For the past twenty-five years the short story has been the obstacle that has prevented the growth and the perfecting of the American novel. During the past decade the demand for tabloid fiction increased so amazingly that publications were created solely to satisfy the voracious American appetite for the short story. The novel became a commercialized product and its production became a trade. Almost any person of education, with a reasonable facility in the use of ordinary English, could, with some attention to excellent models, turn out a narrative that might be published as a novel. To discover that most of the popular novels offered were nothing more than amplified short stories, it is only necessary to compare their content with the content of some of the old favorites that would have come in their time under the heading of popular novels,—for instance, "Ivanhoe" or "The Cloister and the Hearth." We demanded no more from these hybrid novels than we demanded from our short stories. Their length was to be such that we might easily skim them over in a brief space of time; we asked that they should carry us on to one vivid, thrilling climax, and that they should not tax our understanding or bring any troublesome problems for our consideration. Consolation and amusement were their only functions. We kept the minds of children in our attitude toward fiction; we wanted some one to tell us a story and then we wanted some one to tell us another story.

## THE ADVENT OF THE SERIOUS POPULAR NOVEL

Now, in the spring of this year of 1912, there is discernible an increasing number of novels, which, while still retaining the elements of popularity that appeal to the masses and cause them to be listed among the "best-sellers," are distinctly books for those who think,—well-rounded, leisurely pieces of fiction.

It is not logical to expect that we shall perhaps ever again produce a novel of the particular quality of "The Scarlet Letter." The America of to-day is not the background that vivified the atmosphere of Hawthorne's masterpiece. "The Scarlet Letter" chronicled the life of a colony in a province as yet unsubdued and subject to strange incidents of life,—a province whose settlers were half-fearful of their domain and wholly unknowing of the immensity of their future. Because of our great development as a nation, because of the storm and the turbulence necessary to this development, our fiction has become like troubled waters over which it has been difficult to discern any dove flying with the olive branch of reassurance.

Now that we have turned from our short-story gluttony toward more serious types of fiction, it is possible to gain a reasonable perspective over the entire field of popular fiction, to perceive its art in kind, and discern the trend of its current. It is not to be denied that the popular novel makes tremendous sacrifices to the gods of the moment. It is written largely for to-day alone. With tomorrow, its idols are thrown down, its citadels

conquered; it makes way for the next inflated pig-skin; it has not won even a place in a respectable oblivion. This, too, in the face of the fact that it contains much excellent material, that it abounds in philosophy, satire, epigram, aphorism, metaphor, and paradox, that it has magnificent situations and astounding plots. With all this, nevertheless, it lacks the power to touch our hearts and, like clanging brass, makes a noise over our heads and is forgotten. It is written hurriedly, published hurriedly, and forgotten in the same tempo.

## THE LACK OF A TRAINED CRITICAL INTELLIGENCE

The dearth of a well-trained critical intelligence has been a hindrance to the growth of the novel in this country. Even from the ranks of those who have been for some time recognized as critics and reviewers of fiction, there has been little offered that compares favorably with European reviews of current literary productions. From the reviews of a certain book of the season in nine prominent newspapers, the following phrases are selected:

"A striking book—wonderful inspiration and power—astounding fertility—marvelous power and originality—a great work—a wealth of ideas—idealistic—near the stars—absorbing, astounding, inspiring, baffling—marks of genius constantly."

Is there much opportunity left for self-study and improvement in the field of literary artistry under this flood of fulsome flattery from the reviewers? It is the duty of the critic to hold a mirror to the face of art—to reveal the fruit to the tree, not to be pleasant and flattering at the expense of truth.

## THE DEMAND FOR EXCELLENT CHARACTERIZATION

The ever increasing demand for biography in this country is a symptom of the lack of striking characterization in our fiction. Now the delineation of character in a biography compared to that which may be given in a novel is like comparing an early Italian fresco painted in flat tones to the portraits of a Goya or Frans Hals. For certain obvious reasons the biographer may not lay aside respect for the conceded reserves of life in his pen-portraits. A biography is the mere skeleton of a personality. Even Boswell could not tell everything. Samuel Pepys' Diary is the nearest thing we have to the picture of a living, breathing man endowed with mind and spirit, and we know that Pepys' Diary was written in cipher and never intended for publication.

## THE NOVELIST UNDER NO RESTRAINT

The novelist labors under but little restraint in the matter of characterization; he is at liberty to reveal delicious actualities because he is dealing solely with the phantoms of his own creative fancy. There may be more veracity to life in his art than in a thousand biographies. This is the great reason why the novel has never lost its hold upon the public—its verisimilitude to life. The novel alone gives us the picture of the interplay of human emotion in the relations of life, clarified and in many cases injected, as it were, with the personality of the author.

MR. JAMES' AND MR. H. G. WELLS' QUALIFICATION  
OF THE NOVEL

Mr. Henry James has said that the novel gives us "a feeling for human relation as the social climate of our country qualifies, intensifies, generally conditions and colors it—an exquisite notation of our whole democratic light and shade." Mr. H. G. Wells hails contemporary fiction as "the social mediator, the vehicle of understanding, the instrument of self-examination, the parade of morals and the exchange of manners, the factory of customs, the criticism of laws and institutions and of social dogmas and ideas. It is to be the home confessional, the initiator of knowledge and the seed of fruitful self-questioning." With these wholesome ideals before us there can be but little fear as to the eventual standards of the American novel.

## WILL ROMANTIC FICTION SURVIVE?

Some concern has been expressed for the survival of the romantic and adventurous type of popular fiction. There has been a prediction that when the surface of the earth became a well-cultivated garden, that our novels would become as tame and spiritless as the barnyard fowl. Only the gushing type of light fiction has owed more than a small debt to its environment. The hairbreadth escapes of dare-devil heroes adrift in un-

tried lands have only the passing charm of novelty. The jungles of our human desires and emotions, the interplay of man's hundred selves built into his present bodily structure by the tedious process of evolution, will forever afford sufficient material for stirring fiction.

THE EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENT UPON THE FORM OF  
FICTION

The softening of our physical environment will in time temper the form of the popular novel. Our flamboyant plots and our structural crudities will disappear with the equalizing of physical environment. That we shall lose something of freshness of originality is true, but we shall gain in more ways than we lose. The problems of urban life have evolved a type of fiction which in many ways parallels that which gathered its material from the heart of old London. Our vast admixture of foreign population has already changed not only the form, the technique of our fiction, by bringing into it European influences, but it has wonderfully broadened and seasoned it. All that our environment has ever been in the past, the entire history of our nation, is minutely etched upon the pages of our novels by invisible fingers. Concord, Lexington, the Monroe Doctrine, Gettysburg, the battle with the Western desert, are subtly shadowed forth in all that is written by Americans.

## PICKED FRUIT: A STUDY IN CURRENT FICTION

AMONG the new books of fiction that have come under observation this spring, an even half-dozen seem to rank far ahead of the rest in artistic and spiritual significance. It is gratifying to note that one-half of them are American, while the other half are English. The three produced on our own side of the ocean are Gertrude Atherton's "Julia France and Her Times" (Macmillan), Dorothy Canfield's "The Squirrel Cage" (Holt), and Owen Johnson's "Stover at Yale" (Stokes). The three coming to us from the other side are Algernon Blackwood's "The Centaur" (Macmillan), John Trevena's "Bracken" (Kernerley), and G. K. Chesterton's "Manalive" (Lane).

A comparison between the two groups suggests itself naturally, but to be profitable it must be a comparison of tendencies rather than of values. It would be hard to pick out a volume from either group, or from both groups together, that could be placed positively above the rest. In worth, if this be based on a balance struck from many special considerations, they stand pretty close together. But in other ways they differ conspicuously, and the works of each group differ more radically from those of the other group than from the other works within the same group.

The essential spirit of the American novels under consideration may be called social, that of the English cosmic. The former deal, on the whole, with man's relation to other men and to their

institutions of common making, while the latter are more concerned with his relationship to life in general, or in its entirety. The ground note of the American books is still that of the previous century. They must, in the last instance, be classed as naturalistic—but it cannot be done without strong reservations, for all of them show a marked waning of that skeptical materialism which was so characteristic of the fiction rooted in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The three English books, on the other hand, are frankly Neo-Romantic—a term that will have to be used mainly for lack of a better one—because in them the mystical and spiritual note is once more openly triumphant. Put into less abstract terms, this means that our American authors have their eyes chiefly on life as it is, while the Englishmen are seeking more eagerly to discover the seeds of the future beneath the concrete reality of the moment.

The representation of the sexes within the two groups has a significance of its own. Two of the American novels are written by women, while all of the English ones are of male origin. These proportions might be accidental, of course, but a glance at the field in its entirety proves that, in this respect as well as others, our groups remain representative. In England a new literature is springing up beyond all doubt—one that looks as if it might make history. In this literature woman appears in a new light—neither raised on a pedestal nor trailed in the mud, but walking side by side with man as his equal in a double sense, socially and

biologically. But this literature is almost wholly "man-made."

Here, on our side of the ocean, the same signs of coming larger things are also visible, and here they are also accompanied by a similar rectification of our view on woman's place and part in life. But here it is the women themselves who are bringing us both the promises and the clearer light. It has long been a reproach to our fiction that it was so largely feminine both in its origin and its appeal. Now it looks as if what was a menace might become an inspiration and a hope. For while it is hard to discover American men equalling Mrs. Atherton and Miss Canfield (now Mrs. John R. Fisher) in width of vision, depth of sympathy, and sense of consecration, there are many other women striving in the same spirit, although perhaps more humbly or less successfully. And the "new note"—of simplicity, of sincerity, of valuation by use rather than appearance—which they are sounding, seems to promise us an art which, like the religion surely bound to come out of the future, will be for everyday use, and not for holiday exhibition.

For other novels written by a woman and having the scope and power of Mrs.

*An American George Sand* of Mrs. Atherton's, we must

hark back to George Eliot, George Sand, and Mme. de Staël. And of the earlier George Sand one is frequently reminded while reading "Julia France." Somemaythink this coupling of names disparaging to the living author. It is far from being so in the writer's mind. With all her faults, George Sand had a power and a passion, a scope of outlook and audacity of spirit, that go far to explain why the earlier half of the last century used to be named after her. Those big qualities of George Sand belong also to Mrs. Atherton—as do some of the former's extravagances. In her book we are dealing with real life, conceived on a large scale—life so broadly inclusive that it may touch such fanciful phenomena as Eastern occultism, or such recent facts as the spread of Bahaism, the Persian cult of which mention is made elsewhere in this REVIEW, without losing its hold or its dignity.

It is the story of a woman's growth from eighteen to thirty-four, but into this story have been woven not only other lives but much of what goes to the making of our own time. Any attempt to reduce its abundance of vital observation within the confines of a single, neatly rounded idea must fail; but it would probably be safe to say that its chief preoccupation is with the interrelationship of love and work in woman's life. In the main, it is perhaps a woman's book, but one that

should particularly be read by men—lest they fail to realize what the time is fraught with.

"The Squirrel Cage" comes as a surprise. Miss Canfield's success as a writer of entertaining and salable short stories has foreshadowed next to nothing of what makes this book so important. The theme of Miss Canfield's novel is not merely the relation of husband and wife with each other, but rather that of both to the pressure resulting from our peculiar form of economical and social organization. And the charge implied in it is that "business"—the god of the national cult—is not only a Serpent tempting men astray, but a Moloch swallowing them alive. One might with some justification describe "The Squirrel Cage" as a presentation of Thorstein Veblen's economic theories in fiction form. But to conclude that it is, primarily, a tract or a treatise would be a mistake, indeed. First and last, it is a dramatic, yet far from melodramatic, story of strongly individualized human beings of the kind we see around us daily.

"What I criticize here I criticize in American life," says Brockhurst in *A Criticism of "Stover at the American Yale"*—and Spirit Brockhurst

is supposed to have been modeled from Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati. The words might as well have been applied by Mr. Johnson to his own book. Nominally he is dealing with university life and with certain disturbing tendencies within it. In reality he, like Miss Canfield, is analyzing and criticizing the spirit animating our entire nation. His conclusions differ little from those arrived



DOROTHY CANFIELD

(Whose new novel, "The Squirrel Cage," is noticed on this page)

at by Miss Canfield. Selfish competition is what he finds at the bottom of our ills. The remedy he seeks in individual rather than in social action. His diagnosis may be as wrong as his remedy is vague, and yet the spirit of the book cannot be denied recognition. For it is one of those—there being now an increasing number of them—through which we are drawing perceptibly nearer to that most dreaded and despised of literary chimeras: the poetry of thought. Discussion, which Shaw has already introduced on the stage, is now being introduced into the realm held most inaccessible to it—the American novel. And Mr. Johnson has shown us, too, that it is possible to combine such an achievement with a spirit of adventurousness almost Stevensonian.

As to Mr. Johnson's picture of Yale life, opinions differ. The present Senior class at Yale stoutly maintains that "Stover" misrepresents the university. Of the replies to questions about the book sent to members of the class, only 9 per cent. admitted its truth, while 5 per cent. were in doubt.



OWEN JOHNSON

From the figure of Stover to that of O'Malley in the "The Centaur" is a leap of many thousand years—whether forward or backward the reader will have to decide for himself. **Fantasy or Gospel** The book is as daring in conception as it is artistic in execution. And if it suffer from a certain vagueness and an unmistakable redundancy in spots, these slight defects must be traced back to the subtlety of its theme. It is the romance of "cosmic consciousness"—of man's instinctive sense of kinship with the secret forces that make and maintain both men and worlds. Fantastic beyond endurance it will seem to many, while to others it may appear like a new gospel. Between these extremes the truth will probably be found—and this truth is more than suggested by Mr. Blackwood when he makes O'Malley insist repeatedly that his strange experiences had been spiritual rather than physical.

Trevena's "Bracken" is mystical in a sense quite different from that applicable to "The Centaur," and yet the two books overlap largely.

**Another Mystical Tale** Back of both lie the discoveries of modern psychology in the regions of the subconscious. Both deal at bottom with "divisions of personality." But Mr. Trevena looks ahead where Mr. Blackwood is inclined to look back. Though nearer to our own moment in many ways, "Bracken" is really more fantastic, and probably also more unreal. And yet it is wonderfully suggestive, telling us, as it

does, of the fearful power which one human mind may exercise in the reshaping of another. It has, too, a quaintness of imagery and address which adds to its charm most of the time, though not always.

The critics have had a bad time with Mr. Chesterton's "Manalive" and have even gone to the extent of begging him to desist from that kind of thing. It would be a pity if he **Mr. Chesterton's Preachment** listened to them, for his book, though exaggerated in its drollery of plot and phrase, is among the most refreshing and stimulating that have been offered us for a long while. Its text is: "Break the conventions and keep the commandments." The purpose of its humorous symbolism is to indicate that man remains alive only as long as he preserves the mental flexibility and impressionability of youth.

While sex plays rather too small a part in "Stover at Yale," it runs rampant in Reginald Wright Kauffman's "The Sentence of Silence" (Moffat, Yard & Co.). And while

**The Sex Question** all the six books mentioned above tend toward a new, more spiritual, less photographic realism, Mr. Kauffman's one ambition seems to lie in the closest possible reversion to Zola at his worst. In fiction he is apparently trying to do what Brieux has done in the drama, and the result is not attractive. But there can be little doubt that he is telling the truth, and telling it with a fine purpose in mind. And much should be forgiven him for the climax to which the whole book leads up—showing in a flash that men who can overlook everything in themselves can pardon women nothing.

Hopelessly timid beside this rash venture seems the attempt of Jeanne Bartholow Magoun, in "The Mission of Victoria Wilhelmina" (Huebsch), to deal with another phase of the sex question—



GILBERT K. CHESTERTON

that of extra-marital motherhood. But there is encouragement in the very fact that an author of unmistakable sentimentality and no originality should feel compelled to deal with such a theme at all. Both Mr. Kauffman and Mrs. Magoun might profit by the study of W. L. George's "A Bed of Roses" (Brentano), where a strong-minded woman's progress through prostitution to economic independence and social respectability is outlined with an artistic restraint that renders sensationalism and sentimentalism equally out of the question.

Emerson Hough's "John Rawn" (Bobbs-Merrill) belongs in the "Monte-Cristo" order, but in spite of its plausibility and the undoubted candor of its author it sins in a manner that would have made Dumas weep: by substitution of dreary comment for self-revealing action and talk in the upbuilding of its characters. And yet a similar tendency in Richard Pryce fails to rob his "Christopher" (Houghton, Mifflin) of its delightful appeal—which proves that what matters in art is not what you do but how you do it.

Mr. Pryce belongs naturally with W. J. Locke and Leonard Merrick, although he is a little more serious than either of them. All three of these

Short  
Stories

authors stand for a decided tendency toward Gallicism in the construction of English fiction. In Mr. Merrick's two novels, "The Position of Peggy" and "The Actor-Manager" (Kennerley), this tendency seems to have failed to produce the expected results, except in occasional episodes. To discover what it may actually achieve, we must turn to the same writer's volume of short stories named "The Man Who Understood Women" (Kennerley). These stories are delicious. They would need no other warrant than their grace and suppleness, reminding one of young girls at play in a field, but at the bottom of them lies a great deal of genuine insight into human nature.

The American short story is popularly held unsurpassed. Yet one can think of no one in America writing with the delicate touch of Merrick. No more can one think of any American writer—with the possible exception of Mrs. Wharton—who might be capable of giving us the feast of intellectual laughter to be harvested from L. P. Jacks's "Among the Idolmakers" (Holt), or the marvelous construction of character, local and personal, observed in the stories making up Arnold Bennett's volume, "The Matador of the Five Towns" (Doran). In the latter collection we would especially call attention to "The Death of Simon Fuge" as a masterpiece in the evocation of both physical and spiritual atmosphere. Of course, we have Jack London, whose "The House of Pride" (Macmillan) certainly shows the true story-teller's touch, and Gouverneur Morris, who, even when he writes unashamedly for "bread-and-butter," as in "It and Other Stories" (Scribner), commands our respect for the deftness of his workmanship. Both could undoubtedly do as well as the Englishmen recently named, if not better, but they are not

doing it. And back of their failure lies after all nothing but lack of sincerity, of persistence in aspiration, whether this ennobling quality be voluntarily thrown aside or regretfully surrendered under pressure from without.

There was a rare thrill in the announcement that an unpublished novel by Balzac had been discovered and was at last to be given to the world. The thrill vanished when the book appeared. It seems little likely that the great Frenchman wrote



LEONARD MERRICK

(One of the few successful present-day writers of short stories)

"Love in a Mask" (Rand, McNally), and if he did write it, the work must date back to those years before "The Chouans," when he had not yet "found" himself. No such disappointment accompanies the reading of another posthumous work, the publication of which had been expected with no less eagerness. The wonderful simplicity of Leo Tolstoy's "Hadji-Murád" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), its realism based not on indiscriminate enumeration but on symbolical selection, its directness that takes us straight to the heart of life—these are qualities from which even the foremost of our living writers have still their lesson to learn.

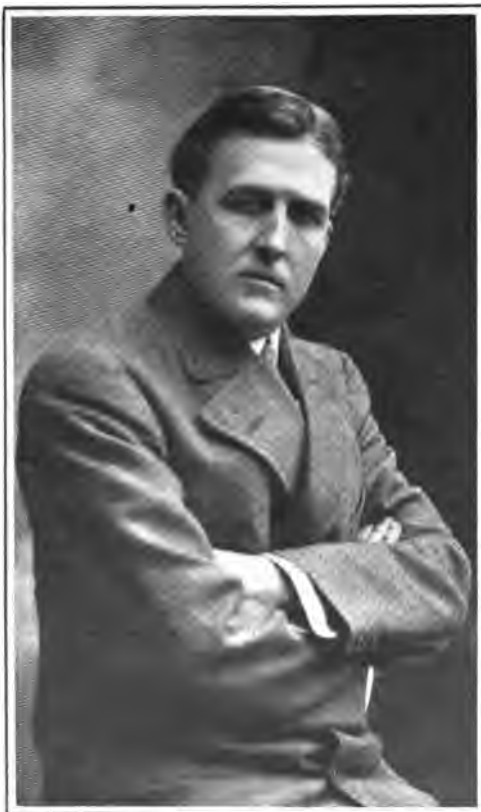


# POPULAR NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

## THE YOUNGER AMERICAN SCHOOL

"JAPONETTE" or "The Turning Point," by Robert Chambers, is a clever, artificial novel of American social life, abounding in brilliant dialogue.

**American Types** The thread of the story is flimsy and a sense of reality is lacking in the characterizations. It is difficult to realize that the author, of "Japonette" once wrote those volumes of exquisite short stories—"The Maker of Moons" and "The King in Yellow." The commercialization of the popular novel has not laid such a withering hand upon Meredith Nicholson. His new novel, "A Hoosier Chronicle" (Houghton, Mifflin), while in an entirely new manner for this author, very nearly approaches the ideal for an American novel. Perhaps this is because Mr. Nicholson has chosen to write of the intimate things concerning life in his own State, but may it not be partly due to the fact that the interests of the book cluster around the old-fashioned, sturdy, American ideals and around the adaptation of the American character to meet the enormous changes and the needs of the present era? Assuredly, this Hoosier-born poet and novelist knows his Middle West, and to say that is very near to saying that he knows twentieth-century America.



MEREDITH NICHOLSON  
(Author of "A Hoosier Chronicle")



ZANE GREY

To go back to the Utah of the year 1871, we have a strange, wild romance of the strife between the Mormon and the Gentile over the cattle ranges of the Mormon country,—Zane Grey's "Riders of the Purple Sage" (Harpers). It is exaggerated fiction, but it is not servile to any European model; it brings us to the top of a desert hill whence we can see the long, level stretches of mesa stained with the "purple sage." The ruthlessness of Mormonism in that period of western development is laid bare with great accuracy and the literary artistry of the book is superior to that of many that have been praised above it.

Since Boston has begun the "return to Beacon Hill" several novels have appeared which have their scenes laid partially on that historic ground.

**Varied Scenes and Incidents** "The Green Vase," by William Castle, Jr. (Dodd, Mead), and "The Heart of Us," by T. R. Sullivan (Houghton, Mifflin) are among their numbers. "The Stake," by Jay Cady (Jacobs) is a well-written story of the New England coast. For crispness and originality John Breckinbridge Ellis' "Fran" (Bobbs, Merrill) is a lively bit of recent story-telling. Fran is a young lion-tamer who drops down upon her father, a hypocritical clergyman who doesn't know of her existence. He doesn't want Fran; nobody seems to want Fran, but she proceeds to make a place for herself and incidentally cures her father of the habit of hypocrisy. The book is immensely entertaining, al-

though technically the execution of the narrative is not as brilliant as the theme.

Several preachments have been issued this spring in the form of novels. "Wild Oats," by James Oppenheim (Huebsch), is a warning to young men of the ultimate misery that results from the sowing of "wild oats."

#### POPULAR HISTORICAL NOVELS

The historical novel occupies a place of its own in the lists of popular fiction. The story that is *true* is of different parentage from the story that is *imaginary*. The historical novel is **Seven "True" Stories** rooted far back in the soil of Anglo-Norman epic romance. Seven excellent historical novels are among the spring publications. Of these, the most virile is the English prize novel, "Beyond The Law," by Miriam Alexander (Putnams). Such judges as W. J. Locke, A. C. Benson, and A. W. E. Mason chose this book out of a large number submitted as superior to all others. It is a story of Ireland under William of Orange written entirely from the Irish point of view, and alive with the Celtic passion for personal freedom.

"The Return of Pierre" (Holt) brings us to the scenes of the Franco-Prussian War. It is a fine study of military tradition, of the heroism and grimness of actual war. The author is Donal Hamilton Haines. Another story of France, "The Burgundian," by Marion Polk Angelotti (Century), carries us into the atmosphere of old-fashioned romance and adventure in the beautiful Provençal country and in the Paris of the mad king, Charles the VI. "The Lonely Queen," by H. C. Bailey (Doran) gathers together the incidents of the life of Queen Elizabeth, and Charles E. Major, in "The Touchstone of Fortune" (Macmillan), turns our eyes to bygone England in the reign of Charles II. Mr. Major's narrative has great vivacity of style and conscientious technique. Nell Gwyn, Sara Jennings and John Churchill are among the characters. Two interesting and genial historical novels are "God and the King," by Marjorie Bowen (Dutton), and "The Noble Rogue," by Baroness Orczy (Doran).

#### FOREIGN TALES

Women are at the fore in the production of popular French fiction. There are the excellent novels (as yet untranslated) of Mme. Jacques

**French and German Tales** Morian. "Le Tournant," her latest work adapts the Christian doctrine of resignation to the complexities of modern life. Two French novels in excellent translation, are from the pen of that brilliant French woman who writes under the pen-name of Pierre Le Coulevain. "Eve Triumphant" (Putnams), which is the story of two American women in Europe, gained the distinction of being crowned by the French Academy. The American woman under Madame Pierre's manipulations emerges from the confusion of an international marriage a sensible, determined figure who adapts herself to the complex racial standards of her adopted country. "The Heart of Life" (Putnams), more recently published, purports to be the tranquil journal of the author kept during her residence at Lausanne, Baden, and St. Gervais, but biological and religious discussions hold the thread of a charming love story. Madame Pierre is idealistic; she looks forward: "The nineteenth century saw humanity;



MIRIAM ALEXANDER

which century will see life? Which century will see God?" she asks.

A German woman, Margaret Böhme has chosen a great dry-goods emporium for the setting of her novel, "The Department Store" (Appletons). The "big shop" is the property of Herr Joshua Mullenmeister in Berlin. If romance suffers in the process of the portrayal of the rush and surge of humanity both before and behind the counters, at any rate the sacrifice is made to reality. Several frivolous, heartless women are cleverly sketched in the midst of the whirlwinds they reap from the winds of their own sowing.

G. A. Birmingham, the Irish novelist, is not very well known in this country. A group of his novels are offered this spring in a uniform edition (Doran), "Spanish Gold" is a whimsical and delightful tale of how the Curate of Ballymoy and his friend the Major sail away to find a lost galleon of the Spanish Armada. In "The Simpkins Plot," the story hangs on a droll error by this selfsame Curate of Ballymoy, and incidentally there is a humorous and sparkling portrayal of Irish character. "Lalage's Lovers" is a story of an audacious Irish tomboy of a girl and "The Search Party" is the story of a mysterious stranger at Clonmore who formed the habit of kidnaping. Mr. Birmingham's novels are not of the popular commercial type; they are delightful, humorous stories with which

#### An Irish Writer's Work





G. A. BIRMINGHAM

one may read to the end of restfulness and refreshment of mind.

The English novel, "Carnival," by Compton Mackenzie (Appletons), has been a noteworthy novel of the season in America as well as in England. It gives the life of a girl who grows up in the ranks of a London ballet school and becomes a chorus girl. She is not wayward, only a light-hearted little creature who loves life and who is impulsive without having very much wisdom. Mr. Harold Begbie author of many helpful books and novels, publishes "The Challenge" (Doran), a story dealing with the life of a woman in India, the main theme being the rebirth of a moral consciousness from the psychological standpoint. "The Drunkard," by Guy Thorne (Sturgis & Walton), is a powerful study of the downward course of a brilliant man of letters who has become an inebriate. It is a document rather than a novel. It fulfils the purpose of a tract on temperance, which is the end of its usefulness as outlined by the author.

#### POPULAR NOVELS BY AMERICAN WOMEN

The large sales of Anne Douglas Sedgwick's "Tante" (Century) afford evidence of the growth of popular taste for serious fiction. "Tante," without being a truly great novel, has all the qualities of greatness—a dignified theme, excellent characterization, brilliant technique, and intellectual abundance. Madame Von Marnitz (Tante), the half-Polish, half-Spanish genius, the "world's greatest pianist," and her companion Mrs. Talcott, the Maine woman with the "wallet" face, as characterizations are not cast into obscurity by even the

creations of Dickens. They stand out in sharp bas-relief against the general movement of the novel they have joined the long procession of the enduring personages of fiction. Tante, the genius voices the creed of the dominant self that sweep away all obstacles that hinder its triumphant progress: the other speaks the creeds of the selfless, the meek, whose souls "inherit the earth."

The analysis of the causes of marital unrest is, in varying phases, the theme of many of the season's novels from the pens of women. "Joseph in Jeopardy," by Frank Danby (Mrs.

Unrest in  
Married Life Julia Frankau), is an argument as to whether modern marriage is a kind of imprisonment with the husband and wife on parole and the servants as "warders," or whether for other than moral malefactors it is the larger freedom, the way out of infinite alarms and perplexities. The "Joseph" of the book is Dennis Passiful, an Englishman "in trade," who marries rather blindly the exceedingly plain and domestic daughter of his wealthy employer. When the first novelty of marriage has yielded to the routine of domesticity, he becomes involved in a flirtatious affair with the beautiful Lady Diana Wayne, who possesses all the feminine charms save one. This one the charm of innate refinement and purity



COMPTON MACKENZIE

of heart, brings the husband release from his infatuation.

"The Marriage Portion," by Mrs. H. A. Mitchell Keays, brings out the truth that there is rarely anything so complicated or so incompatible in the relations of two people who are married, that courage and faith and patience will not ultimately transmute to peace and happiness. The novelist gives us a picture of the inner life of a young wife who has been married before the ripened maturity of her emotional nature. Because of this, coupled with the fact that her husband is engrossed in business affairs and treats her like a child, she falls in love with another man and confesses the fact to her husband. He does not, because of this confession, turn away from his duty; to him marriage is indissoluble. He shields her from harm and the consequences of her folly and in the end wins her whole heart to himself by his tenderness and love.

The idyllic, barefoot heroine of the backwoods districts of our mountain country is a type that is swiftly giving place to the audacious and piquant city bread heroine. "The Mountain Girl" by Payne Erskine (Little, Brown), brings the barefoot girl in homespun,—Cassandra of Carew's Crossing, North Carolina,—to an exalted position as the chateau of Daneshed Castle, England. Cassandra is not wholly plausible but she is human and delightful.

Mary Wilkins Freeman offers a thin piece of edifying fiction in "The Butterfly House" (Dodd,



ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK  
(Author of "Tante")



PAYNE ERSKINE  
(Mrs. Emma Payne Erskine, author of "The Mountain Girl")

Mead), which records the little airs, graces, and hypocrisies of a northern community. Mrs. Cora

Harris rather more brilliantly per-  
**Miscellany** forms the same office for a lazy, Southern town in "The Recording Angel" (Doubleday, Page). "To M. L. G." (Stokes), is a striking book, written in the first person, that has nearly reached the record of "Tante" for popularity. Its simple, direct narrative gives it a certain resemblance to Marie Claire. The story is autobiographical and narrates the events in the life of a neglected little girl, the child of two wandering vaudeville actors, "Boy" and "Dearie," who grows up amid sordid surroundings and becomes a famous actress. Among the delightful and consoling novels with simple love themes are Myrtle Reed's "A Weaver of Dreams" (Putnams). "The Man in Lonely Land," by Kate Langly Boshier (Harpers); "Through the Postern Gate," by Florence Barclay (Putnams), and "Sidney," a story of the South, by Modeste Hannis Jordan (Cosmopolitan Press).



## TIMELY NEW BOOKS

A REAL sensation in the educational world has been created by the methods in teaching very young children used by Dr. Maria Montessori, an Italian educator at Rome. Dr. **A New Method in Teaching** Montessori's ideas, as worked out by herself and her followers in Italy and France, have been the subject of a number of magazine articles. Now we have the authoritative story of "The Montessori Method," written by the author of it herself, and translated from the Italian by Anne E. George.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to get an

the regular system. This book, which is an authorized translation, contains the author's method fully set forth. There are a number of illustrations.

Under the title "Anti-Suffrage,"<sup>2</sup> Grace Duffield Goodwin, president of the association of the District of Columbia which is opposed to woman suffrage, has given what she calls "ten good reasons" why the modern American woman does not need, and should not, in the name of patriotism, demand the right to the ballot. The substance of Mrs. Goodwin's argument is that the burden of proof for such a radical change as woman suffrage would bring about, rests with the sponsors of such a change. They are under the necessity, she says, of proving to American women that their present condition is evil, and also that universal adult suffrage would be the panacea. This, she believes, the suffragists have not done and cannot do. If women are really in earnest, she concludes, they can secure without the ballot whatever they are willing to work for in the way of influence or legislation.

Anti-Suffrage Arguments



DR. MONTESSORI GIVING A LESSON IN GEOMETRY TO ONE OF HER LITTLE GIRL PUPILS IN ROME

adequate idea of Dr. Montessori's ideas from the magazine articles which have appeared. In this book the subject is treated exhaustively and lucidly. The views on childhood of this modern educator are similar to those of the famous Froebel, only more radical. "Both defend the child's right to be active, to explore his environment, and develop his own inner resources through every form of investigation and creative effort. Education is to guide activity, not repress it. . . . The Montessori pupil does about as he pleases as long as he does not do any harm." The quoted words are from the introduction to the book by Professor Henry W. Holmes, of Harvard. It is reported that by the Montessori method children of four have learned to write in six weeks. When pupils of this system are transferred to the regular schools it is stated that they are much better prepared than the older pupils of

environment, make this little volume very graphic and appealing. Mr. Copping is very optimistic about Canada. He sees in the great Northwest of the Dominion the solution to many of Europe's social problems. One of his most entertaining chapters treats of the position of the new women settlers in the Canadian Far West.

In his seventy-fifth year John Muir, for more than half a century a devoted student and explorer of the mountain regions of our Pacific coast, has brought out a new book on the Yosemite.<sup>4</sup> Muir has been called "the most magnificent enthusiast about nature in the United States, the most rapt

About the Yosemite

<sup>1</sup>Anti-Suffrage. By Grace Duffield Goodwin. Duffield & Co. 142 pp., 50 cents.

<sup>2</sup>Canada The Golden Land. By Arthur E. Copping. George H. Doran Co. 283 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup>The Yosemite. By John Muir. The Century Company

<sup>1</sup>The Montessori Method. By Dr. Maria Montessori. Translated by Anne E. George. Frederick A. Stokes Co.

of all prophets of our out-of-door gospel." In this book he sets down something of his experiences and feelings during many years of what he calls "happy wanderings through his marvelous wonderland." There are a number of suggestions of practical helpfulness to Yosemite travelers. The book is dedicated to Robert Underwood Johnson, "faithful lover and defender of our glorious forests and originator of the Yosemite National Park." The scenic illustrations are excellent.

An eminent English statesman, in introducing to an English audience Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, one of the foremost living literary men of Holland, characterized him as "the most highly cultured and unselfish man on earth." Dr. Van Eeden is poet, playwright, novelist, radical social reformer, and believer in coöperative production and distribution. His views are set forth in a stimulating way in his volume of essays just issued under the title "Happy Humanity,"<sup>1</sup> which is really an autobiography. He tells of his training first as an artist, then as a physician,—experiences out of which his social doctrines grew. He explains the failure of his experience at Walden, in Holland, in trying to carry out his economic creed into practice. He tells how his own fortune was lost, and of his unsuccessful efforts to establish a coöperative colony in the United States. Through it all he shows his unchanged faith in the ultimate attainment of "universal economic justice." Incidentally in this book, the literary and scientific life of modern Holland is charmingly set forth.

<sup>1</sup>Happy Humanity. By Frederick Van Eeden. Doubleday, Page & Co. 265 pp., por. \$1.25.



DR. FREDERICK VAN EEDEN, THE EMINENT DUTCH AUTHOR, PHILOSOPHER AND PHILANTHROPIST



JUSTIN MCCARTHY, WHOSE "IRISH RECOLLECTIONS"  
—NOTICED ON THIS PAGE, APPEARED JUST A FEW  
WEEKS BEFORE HIS DEATH, ON APRIL 24

Just a few weeks before he died (on April 24 last) Justin McCarthy, the well-known Irish novelist, historian and journalist, brought out his "Irish Recollections."<sup>2</sup> Written with all the warm-hearted Irish nature and love of robust social life fairly shining through his sentences, this autobiography is a most charming one. Mr. McCarthy knew almost all the eminent worthies of two generations. The concluding paragraph of this volume is peculiarly suggestive. Mr. McCarthy refers to the quality of patience which, contrary to general belief, is a characteristic of the Irish race, and ends with the phrase: "the patience with which Ireland has waited for the dawn, that day when her rights shall be recognized by England." During the very week that this volume came from the English press, the Asquith Home Rule bill was being introduced in the House of Commons. This book is charmingly illustrated with some excellent photographs and some landscape and other views of Ireland in the past century.

The story of the anti-slavery agitation has been written and rewritten so many times from the Northern viewpoint that no fair-minded American will begrudge the South the modest privilege of setting forth the main incidents of the same story as that section witnessed them. The "reconstructed" South has an able and patriotic representative in the Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, for many years a member of Congress from Alabama and Secretary

<sup>2</sup>Irish Recollections. By Justin McCarthy. George H. Doran Co. 279 pp., ill. \$3.



HON. HILARY A. HERBERT

(Author of a new survey of the "Abolition" movement from a Southerner's viewpoint)

of the Navy in President Cleveland's cabinet. Although he served in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy, Mr. Herbert, soon after Appomattox, reached the conclusion that slavery was wrong and on announcing this conclusion to his father was surprised to learn that his mother, who had

died some years before the war, had been in early life an avowed emancipationist, but that she had never felt at liberty to discuss slavery after the rise of the new Abolitionists and the Nat Turner insurrection. "The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences"<sup>1</sup> is a book of 250 pages, conceived in a spirit of loyalty to the Constitution and government of our reunited country. Mr. James Ford Rhodes, the historian, while unable to agree altogether with Mr. Herbert's presentation of the subject, declares that the book is "pervaded by practical knowledge and candor," and may profitably be read by the younger generation. No one questions Mr. Herbert's patriotism or his intention to state fairly and without bitterness the facts of history as the loyal Southerner of our time sees them.

One of the most charming and widely discussed magazine features of the past few months has been a series of articles by a Russo-Jewish immigrant girl named Mary Antin, the story of whose life presents a picture of unusual human strength and pathos, and told with literary distinction. The entire autobiographical story now appears in book form under the title "The Promised Land: The Autobiography of a Russian Immigrant."<sup>2</sup> "I was born, I have lived and have been made over." With these words the writer begins the introduction to her book. Therefore, she says, "the person that was before I was made over is the real heroine, and since my life I have still to live, and her life ended when mine began, therefore I write the biography of her who I was." Mary Antin was born less than thirty years ago in Polotzk, Russia, a town within the Jewish Pale, and spent her childhood there. Her family was driven by the pressure of poverty to the United States. At twelve years of age she entered the public schools of Boston, and after a brilliant progress through these schools and Barnard College, New York, she has, by sheer force of merit and native gifts, attained a conspicuous place among women thinkers and writers of her adopted country. Married to a professor in Columbia University, she rightfully takes her place in the intellectual life of America. Her life, she says, is a concrete illustration of a multitude of statistical facts. "Although I have written a genuine personal memoir, I believe that its chief interest lies in the fact that it is illustrative of scores of unwritten lives. . . . We are strands of the cable that binds the old world to the new, as the ships that brought us link the shores of Europe and America, so our lives span the bitter sea of racial differences and misunderstandings." Further on, she adjures the American people "to love your country understandingly, you should know what I have been and what I have become. In the book of my life is written the measure of your country's growth and the answer to your doubts." The human pathos and the joy of the story, the remarkable achievement of the lone immigrant girl, and the simple, direct charm of the style make this a book of unusual individuality. There are a number of illustrations, chiefly from photographs.

<sup>1</sup>The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences. By Hilary A. Herbert. Scribner's. 250 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup>The Promised Land: The Autobiography of a Russian Immigrant. By Mary Antin. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 373 pp., ill. \$1.75.



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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



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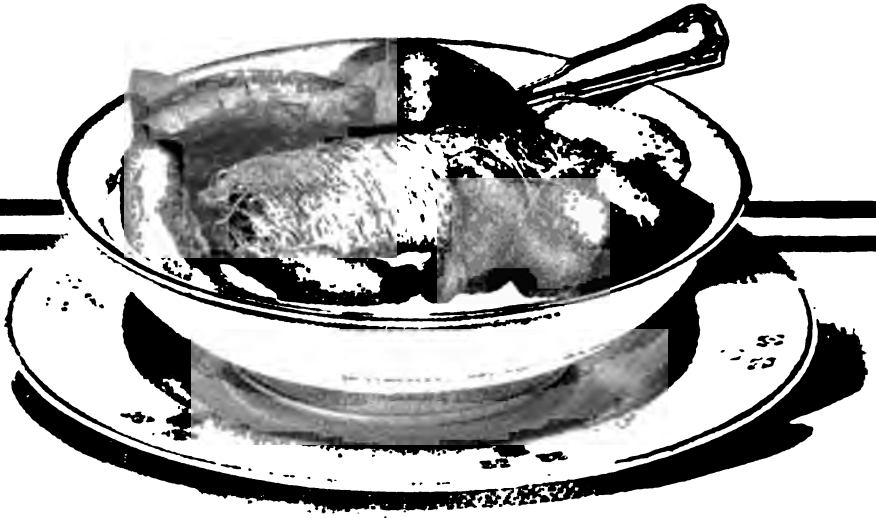
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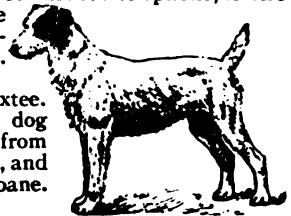
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TUES  
WEDN  
THUR  
FRID  
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Total  
STATE  
C  
W.  
ester  
Lemo  
swear  
erat  
during  
daily

Even  
center

**STEE**

What is an Aeroplane?

A course for  
aeroplanes or other  
(which see).  
(aerodrome +  
mes or flying-  
machine).  
[As aéro-  
plane, the atmo-  
spherical, but  
does not aéro-  
P. Langley,  
why, air, +



Wright Brothers' aeroplanes. A, motor; B, gliding machine.



Wright's Aeroplane (aeroplanes). A, motor; B, gliding machine.

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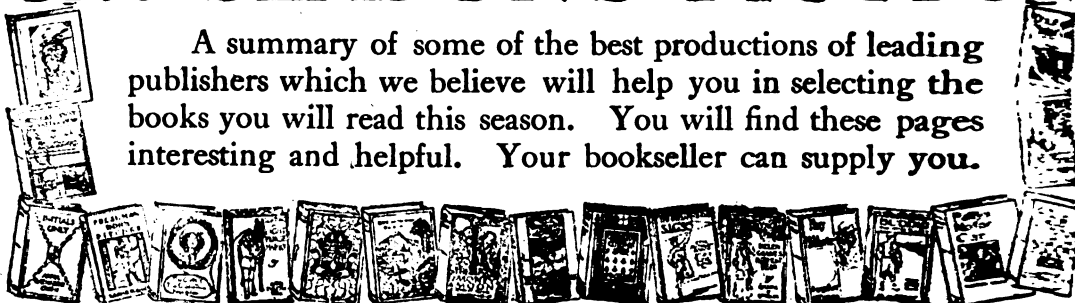
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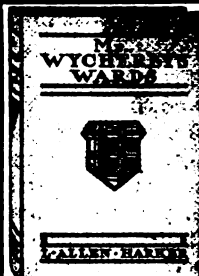
"In every whir of insects' wings, in every whispering breeze that passed, he heard Billy's soft, sweet voice. He stared up at the stars and likened them to Billy's eyes, twinkling points of light as far above him as Billy was, for Billy was Billy, and he was a tramp, a hobo—a Weary Willie."

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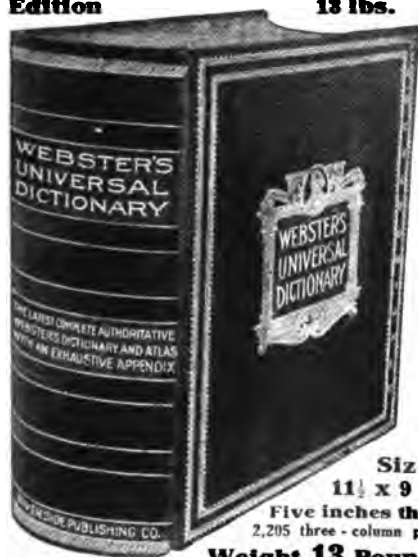
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# ARE YOU A MIND WANDERER?



WINDOW  
NEEDS  
WASHING

RAINING  
OUTSIDE

WILL  
PUT OFF  
LETTER

WOULD  
LIKE TO  
SMOKE

FORGOT TO  
TELEPHONE

WHEN  
WILL FRANK  
RETURN?

MUST  
FINISH THIS  
LETTER

I CANNOT  
CONCENTRATE

FILL THE  
INKSTAND

**A** YOUNG MAN was recently selected for promotion to the managership of his firm's Pacific Coast branch. At a directors' meeting he was called in and introduced by the President. Twelve pairs of sharp eyes took his measure. His personality was distinctive. The first impression was a favorable one.

"How much business did we do on the Coast last year," he was asked by the Chairman. "About,—er—well, I can't exactly remember," was the answer.

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who have developed their powers of Concentration, Attention, and Retention. Their minds are not garbaged with rambling, unrelated, disconnected ideas. They have learned to direct and control their thoughts, and so can you.

**Memory Training is not for a select few, it is for YOU. Let this thought encourage you, that YOU can attain your highest aims if you wish. HOW? Write NOW for my free booklet, "How to Remember," using coupon below, or drop a postal card.**



Prof.  
Henry  
Dickson

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**PROF. HENRY DICKSON**

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Explain, without further obligation on my part, how I can qualify for the position before which I mark X.

Automobile Running  
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Concrete Construction  
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Textile Manufacturing  
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Mechanical Draftsman  
Architectural Draftsman  
Electrical Engineer  
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Civil Service  
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Languages  
Commercial English  
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Commercial Illustrating  
Window Trimming  
Show Card Writing  
Advertising Man  
Stenographer  
Bookkeeper  
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Present Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Street and No. \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_



# INVESTMENT BUREAU LETTERS

## SAMPLES OF A SERVICE FREE TO READERS OF THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

**B**ELOW appear extracts from a few of last month's letters written by investors to the **REVIEW OF REVIEWS**, with the replies of the Investment Bureau. This service is rendered without charge. It is required only that readers treat all Investment Bureau answers as personal and confidential, just as all their own names and questions are treated by the Bureau itself. Address: *Investment Bureau, Review of Reviews Company, New York City*

### No. 335. A SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

I have investments as follows: Certificates of deposits paying 5 per cent., an industrial preferred stock paying slightly over 7 per cent., a mortgage on city property in the Northwest paying 7 per cent., a chattel mortgage paying 8 per cent., and a local school warrant paying 7 per cent. The local banks offer one per cent. premium on the school warrant. Would you advise selling it and investing in the stock offered by the firm whose literature I enclose?

This Department never undertakes to "advise" with reference to investment. It is glad to report facts when they are available. This isn't the case with the stock you name. Nor will matters change much in this respect until the organization is completed, and the company becomes a "going concern." Some of the people who are interested in this promotion are reported to us as thoroughly responsible business men. Their neighbors think they possess a sufficient amount of energy and ability to make a success of their enterprise. But they haven't proved it yet.

### No. 336. FROM ALBAY PROVINCE, PHILIPPINES

I have decided to divide my money among four companies that advertise in your magazine. Do these firms charge for their services, and if not, how do they make their money?

It would be hard to improve on the division and variety of your choice, and also the length of service and good standing of the banking houses represented. None of these firms makes specific charge for services. Yet all make a good profit. Take the mortgage company. It loans in sections where interest rates are high. It borrows from more thickly populated districts where people are satisfied with 5 or 6 per cent. It keeps the difference as its return for good management.

### No. 337. AN OHIO PASTOR

I don't want to spend time in worrying over some money that is coming due early this year. Your Bureau has rendered me excellent service in the past, and I appeal to you again. I enclose circulars relating to municipal bonds. Can I trust the firm which offers them?

The firm in question stands high in the estimation of the many investors who patronize it. It usually has on hand a good many municipal issues to net more than the customary 4 per cent. There is no question that such bonds are better for a Minister of

the Gospel, in your position, than the "industrial" which have been suggested to you as an alternative. If you want to diversify even further, farm mortgages, though not as convenient for you as the bonds, can be procured through brokers who will attend to all of the troublesome details that used to annoy the holders of these stable securities.

### No. 338. AN ARIZONA PHYSICIAN

I have been a gambler in mining stocks for the past seven years and after the usual ups and downs—mostly downs—I have concluded that I can't afford it any longer. I have about \$10,000. I must provide for life insurance premiums of \$700 a year. I have been writing to bond houses which advertise in the leading magazines, and have received a stack of circulars. I enclose four of the pile. Are these bonds and preferred stocks the right kind?

Two of your circulars tell about industrial preferred stocks. These issues are offered by long established and reputable bankers. The industries in question are large, yet not gigantic. As has frequently been said in these pages, such stocks are quite apt to be "the right kind." These two in particular are "preferred" as to both dividends and assets. They have first claim on the companies' earnings and properties. No mortgages "come in front" of them. Neither can any indebtedness be created by either company without the consent of the large majority of the shareholders. The third security offered you is a first mortgage real estate bond. It represents an unusually low ratio of indebtedness to the total value of the property mortgaged. There have been more than sufficient earnings to pay the interest on the issue, even aside from the additional income that the company hopes for, after making the improvements for which the bonds were issued. The fourth offering is a railway bond. It has been in excellent demand lately among experienced investors. It has many factors making for security of principal and regularity of income. An investment in these four securities would be a pretty well diversified one, and in that sense "scientific." It might not be convertible into cash as readily as the requirements of some investors demand, but we understand that you attach less importance to that feature than to safety and income.

### No. 339. A NOVICE IN STOCK PURCHASING

Is it safe for me to deposit money for the purchase of stock with brokers who are members of the New York Stock Exchange? Can such brokers pass off bad stock?

Your questions, on their face, indicate that you

*Continued on page 42.*

# The Review of Reviews Financial Directory

This directory will be made up of reputable banking houses, trust companies, savings banks, brokers and other financial institutions. The Review of Reviews Company makes inquiry concerning the institutions advertising under this heading and accepts none that it finds to be of questionable character.

## Who recommends the bonds you buy?

Experience, character and facilities of the dealer should be your first consideration. If you select the right investment banker, your investments are sure to be satisfactory.

### Advice Based on Knowledge

The business of N. W. Halsey & Co. was founded on an idea—service.

That idea has developed into an organization covering all American bond markets and reaching into other countries; an organization that possesses the best of financial, engineering, accounting, and legal connections; an organization skilled in the various departments of the business and which never forgets that its success has been due in a large measure to the policy of confining its recommendations to sound bonds only. N. W. Halsey & Co. accept no margin business and solicit no stock orders, but deal for their own account in sound investment bonds.

### Continued Service After Purchase

Every bond that is recommended has first been investigated by their experts. Nor does service cease when the issue has been distributed. That would not constitute complete service.

N. W. Halsey & Co. continue to deal in the

bonds they distribute, thereby providing a loan and sale market additional to other markets.

The organization also keeps in touch with the property back of the bonds in the interests of its clients and its own reputation.

It also endeavors to give continuous consideration to the investment needs of its clients and from time to time make such recommendations as enlightened judgment indicates. Bonds bought here are dependable and marketable investments.

### The Variety and the Return

N. W. Halsey & Co. at all times carry in stock a large variety of Municipal, Railroad and Public Utility bonds suited to the needs of its clientele and making possible selections conforming to a scientific plan of diversification.

At the present time bonds offered cover nearly every section of the country and range in yield from  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  to 6%, and in denomination from \$100 to \$5,000.

*Send for Circular No. R66. Correspondence invited.*

## N. W. Halsey & Co.

NEW YORK  
49 Wall St.

PHILADELPHIA  
1421 Chestnut St.

CHICAGO  
125 W. Monroe St.

SAN FRANCISCO  
424 California St.

## Investments Adapted To Your Particular Needs

THE business of investment banking is one of trust, reliance and good faith. It is a tradition of the business that those who would reap the full benefits to be derived from a responsible and experienced investment banking firm should be perfectly frank in explaining the nature of the money they may have available for investment.

Consequently, if you will let us know the nature of the money you may have for investment, we shall be pleased to submit for your consideration two or three bond issues that we regard as being well adapted to your particular needs. The following classification is submitted as a suggestion:

1. *Money that I am dependent upon for income, and which must yield me the highest rate of income compatible with safety.*
2. *Money that I am accumulating as the result of savings.*
3. *Money that I am accumulating from the profits of my business.*
4. *Money that I have for investment as executor or trustee.*
5. *Business money lying idle temporarily.*
6. *Business money accumulated as a reserve, and which must be so invested as to be available in the event of business contingencies.*

In communicating with us upon this subject write for our **Bond Circular No. 966**, "Investment Securities," which describes a carefully selected list of Railroad Bonds, Public Utility Bonds, Municipal Bonds, Industrial Bonds, and Preferred Stocks of High Standard.

**Spencer Trask & Co.**

Investment Bankers

43 Exchange Place, New York

Albany Boston Chicago  
Members New York Stock Exchange

are not ready yet to deal with the New York Stock Exchange at all. It's a much safer place than you think, as far as depositing of money with members goes, or getting exactly the stocks you demand. But to understand the danger in buying more stocks than you have money to pay for; to learn to choose just the issues that suit your case—all that calls for study and consultation. The help you need can be found in the "Investment Department" of one of the banking houses that is especially equipped to advise with beginners.

### No. 340. A NEW ENGLAND WOMAN

I am thinking of taking some money out of the bank to buy water bonds. I enclose a circular of a Boston firm. Are the bonds all right?

Yes—but this firm is making other offerings that include bonds a little more suitable to your needs. It has a branch in your city. Why don't you call there personally? The bankers would give you much better counsel if you tell them your affairs more fully than you do by letter. They have been handling extensively some of the best possible bonds for your purposes—the American "Tel. & Tel." Collateral trust 4s, for instance.

### No. 341. A TRUST COMPANY OFFICIAL

Would it be well to invest in St. Louis, Rocky Mountain & Pacific First Mortgage Bonds at the present time?

The records show that the St. Louis, Rocky Mountain & Pacific Company's first mortgage bonds, of which there are \$7,500,000, are secured largely on valuable coal properties. They are, therefore, independent of the railway proposition bearing the same name, which is but a comparatively short time out of the construction stage and not yet earning its interest charges. The deficit, which has been growing less each year, is advanced by the Rocky Mountain & Pacific Company. We know of authorities who consider that the bonds in question have promise.

### No. 342. A TRUSTEE IN CAMAGÜEY, CUBA

I wish to lay by a certain amount of money at compound interest in your country, to be turned over to a certain person on becoming of age. What sort of institution shall I employ?

Your choice might include a savings bank in one of the States like New York, which has careful laws governing such institutions; and one of the companies that has made a good reputation for itself in the business of accepting deposits to be loaned on real estate. There are several companies restricted by local laws and by their charters, and with the proper record. You could get 4 per cent. the first way, and 5 per cent. or perhaps more the second.

### No. 343. FROM A MEXICAN RUBBER PLANTATION

I have seen certificates based on "commercial paper" advertised as an investment. Is this a good kind of investment?

Yes—one of the best. What you most need to know is the standing of the particular people you deal with. Our own reports concerning them are favorable. They have been active for some time, and are well spoken of by large, sound financial institutions with which they deal regularly.



# City Bonds

The laws under which *Cities in Georgia* can issue bonds *are second to none* in the United States. Such bonds can be had to pay 4% to 5%.

I have been dealing in these bonds since 1886, and will give you the benefit of my experience. Send for information and bond list.

**JOHN W. DICKEY, *Broker***  
**ESTABLISHED 1886**      **Augusta, Ga.**

## Short Term Investments

Investment bonds and notes issued to mature in from one to five years are favored by many investors as yielding a somewhat better income than long time obligations. In addition, such securities, particularly of the larger issues, usually command a ready market and are less subject to wide fluctuations in price.

We have prepared a booklet giving brief descriptions of the principal issues of such securities, which we will be pleased to furnish on request.

Ask for circular 8-645.

## Guaranty Trust Company of New York

28 Nassau Street

Fifth Avenue Branch,  
5th Ave. & 43d St.

London Office,  
33 Lombard St., E. C.

Capital and Surplus,	-	-	-	\$23,000,000
Deposits,	-	-	-	156,000,000

## An Example

### The Problem:

West Point, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1911  
Geo. H. Burr & Co., N. Y.  
Gentlemen:

Please send me Circular 817. I have \$7,100 in the Newburgh City National Bank which I would like to invest to obtain an income of 6%.

Very truly yours,  
Signed, H. S.

### The Solution:

After a careful study of the client's problem from all angles the \$7,100 was invested as follows:

	Paying Annually
\$2,000 First Mortgage 5% Bond	\$100
\$2,000 Public Utility 5% Bond	100
\$2,000 First Mortgage Corporation Bond	120
\$1,100 Guaranteed Preferred Stock	77
Actual Annual Return—5.6%	

### The Appreciation:

West Point, N. Y., Jan. 2, 1912  
Geo. H. Burr & Co., N. Y.  
Gentlemen:

Your letter and book, "Investment Insurance," received. I am in perfect agreement with you.

A specialist is required in the investment field the same as in any other field and I think the firm that goes into it will make out well as quickly as the firm gains the confidence of the public. You know the dear public has been fooled so often and so well that they are kind of shy on any proposition now.

But as for me, whenever the interest on my investment amounts to \$100, I will let you know and ask you to please advise me in what to invest it.

Very truly yours,  
Signed, H. S.

### Our Service to You:

Let us demonstrate to you the meaning of real service in Investment Banking. Ask us to write you in detail how best to invest your \$100, \$1,000 or \$10,000. For personal attention and intelligent advice, your first letter must be explicit. When you inquire, ask for "investment insurance," a little booklet that solves a big problem.

The originals of the above letters have been read by the Financial Department of the Review of Reviews.

**George H. Burr & Co.**  
BANKERS

37 Wall Street  
New York

The Rookery  
Chicago

Boston Philadelphia St. Louis

San Francisco

## Seattle 7%

The Scandinavian American Bank in Seattle has the largest savings deposits in the Northwest. It invites Savings Deposits by mail, upon which it pays 4% interest, compounded semi-annually.

The Scandinavian American Bank loans money on improved Seattle Real Estate, and always has good 7% First Mortgages from which the investor may choose at par and accrued interest Coupon form; interest half yearly.

Sent if desired to your home bank with draft for collection.

No inconvenience—the bank receives and forwards the interest and principal as due without charge.



Write for list and particulars—also list and prices of

Seattle Improvement Bonds  
Bearing 5%, 6%, 7%

**Scandinavian American Bank**

Resources \$10,000,000

**SEATTLE**

**U. S. A.**

D. ARTHUR BOWMAN & CO., INVESTMENT SECURITIES, ST. LOUIS

## Springfield Railway & Light Co.

SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI

### First Lien Fifteen-Year Five Per Cent Sinking Fund Gold Bonds

Dated May 1, 1911 Due May 1, 1926

Interest payable May 1 and November 1 in New York, Boston and Chicago

Callible, as a whole or for the Sinking Fund, at 102 and accrued interest on any interest date

Coupon Bonds of \$500 and \$1,000

With privilege of Registration as to Principal only

Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, Trustee

Outstanding - - - - \$2,000,000

Reserved for additions and improvements at 80% of cash cost - - - - 5,000,000

Total authorized, \$7,000,000

From official information furnished by the Company we summarize as follows:

Net earnings are more than 2½ times all interest charges.

Gross and net earnings have shown steady increase as follows:

	Gross	Net
Year ended December 31, 1908	\$330,506	\$134,463
" " " " 1909	376,354	174,878
" " " " 1910	444,152	194,419
Twelve months ended October 31, 1911	504,548	227,945

These bonds are secured through collateral by substantially a first lien on entire electric street railway, light and power and gas properties in a prosperous and growing community of about 40,000 population

The sinking fund retires 25% of all bonds issued under this mortgage. Satisfactory franchises exist: electric light charter is perpetual, while others expire in 1944, 1936 and 1929.

PRICE ON APPLICATION

"The Trend of Investment," our new illustrated book on investments, tells why bonds of this class are attractive. We shall be glad to send a copy of it to you upon request.

**D. ARTHUR BOWMAN & CO.**

620 Third National Bank Building

ST. LOUIS, MO.

# A 5½% Investment

In the

## Business Center of Chicago

A bond issue of \$700,000 in \$500 and \$1,000 denominations secured by first mortgage on 21-story modern fire-proof office building being constructed on one of the principal corners in the heart of the city of Chicago. This investment combines these strong points:

- 1st.** The security is valued by us at \$1,550,000 or more than twice the entire bond issue.
- 2nd.** The actual cost of the building according to a conservative estimate will be in excess of \$1,300,000.
- 3rd.** The bonds are serial and the debt will be rapidly reduced by substantial payments.
- 4th.** The net income will show a substantial surplus over the annual requirements for interest and serial installments of the principal.
- 5th.** The bonds are the personal obligations of responsible men having an aggregate net worth of several times the bond issue.



Full information in Circular No. 753-N

## Peabody, Houghteling & Co.

(Established 1865)

105 S. La Salle Street, Chicago

## Wanted

Swift & Co. 1st 5's 1914  
Hutchinson Wtr. Lt. & Pwr. 4's 1928  
Central Union Telephone 5's 1919  
American Steel Foundry 1st 6's 1920  
Detroit Roch. Romeo & L. O. 5's 1920  
Louisville & So. Indiana 5's 1923  
Hudson River Ele. Pwr. 5's 1944  
National Light Heat & Power pfd.  
U. S. Envelope Co. 5's 1934  
Central Colorado Power 1st & 2nd 6's  
Shreveport Gas & Elec. 5's 1922  
Roanoke Gas & Water Co. 5's 1936  
Indian Refining Co. 6's 1913  
Westinghouse Machine Co. 6's 1914  
Oneonta Light & Power Co. 5's 1922  
Muncie & Union City Tract. 5's 1936  
Tagona Light & Power Co. 5's 1914  
New Orleans Great Northern 5's 1955  
American Investment Securities com.  
Indiana Columbus & Eastern Trac. 5's 1926

## For Sale

California Gas & Elec. 5's 1937  
Kansas City Stockyards pfd.  
Pere Marquette R. R. pfd.  
W. L. Douglas Shoe Co. pfd.  
Omaha Water 2nd pfd.  
Pacific Mills  
Atlantic Birm. & Atlc. 5's 1936  
Buffalo & Susquehanna 4's 1951  
American Glue Co. pfd.  
Nevada California 6's 1927  
Cudahy Packing Co. 5's 1924  
Western Electric Co. 5's 1922  
Sealship Oyster com. & pfd.  
Armour & Co. 4½'s 1939  
U. S. Worsted Co. pfd. & com.  
Draper Manufacturing Co.  
Lackawanna Coal & Land 5's 1958  
Burlington Gas Light 5's 1955  
Syracuse Rapid Transit 5's 1945  
Superior Wtr. Lt. & Pwr. 4's 1931

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1897  1912

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(64)

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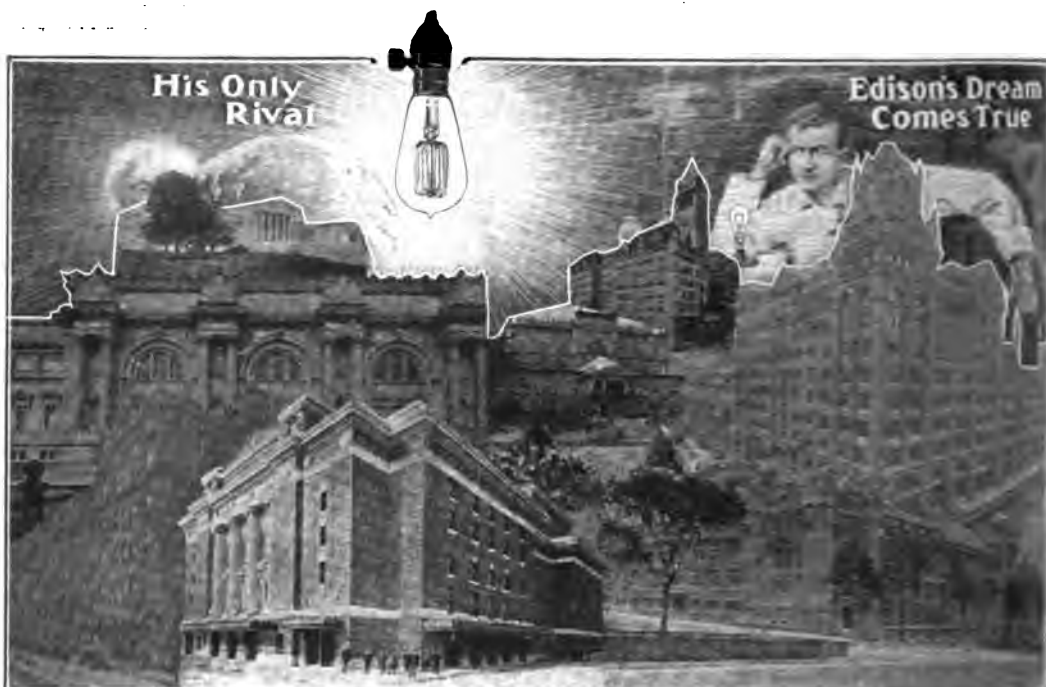
Here is 4c for "Helpful Hints in English." I would like to examine sample pages of the 1911 Standard Dictionary and have information about the Free Atlas offer in connection with the dictionary, and easy terms.  
Review of Reviews, 2-12.

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STATE .....



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The above illustration (from photograph) is designed to show the surprising reduction in bulk and weight that has been effected by printing the new Encyclopædia Britannica on thin India paper instead of as heretofore, on ordinary book paper. The volume printed on ordinary paper is 3 inches in thickness (weight 8 pounds 8 ounces), that on India paper but 1 inch in thickness (weight 2 pounds 10 ounces). Both are printed from the same plates and are identical in contents.

*A letter from the former Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York, the Rev. CHARLES F. AKED, D.D.: "It is a joy to see and feel and handle the new Encyclopædia Britannica. The change from the ponderous, forbidding volumes of the past to this charming India paper issue represents nothing less than an inspiration of genius. The Britannica was a work of reference—now it is a book which one takes down for the pure pleasure of reading it."*

**T**HE employment of India paper, the use of which has hitherto been restricted to the printing of Bibles and small volumes, for so extensive a publication as the new Encyclopædia Britannica is a revolutionary departure. It is characteristic, indeed, that the bold suggestion to use India paper for the printing of 29 quarto volumes, each containing 1000 pages, should have proceeded from the *Editorial Staff*, concerned only with the thought that, in the traditional form of cumbersome volumes, the new work might not be used as frequently and thoroughly as its merits deserve. Previous editions of the Encyclopædia Britannica were open to the objection that they occupied a great deal of room, and that their bulk and weight rendered reference laborious and reading wearisome. Now, instead of sitting at a table, or requiring the support of a stand, the reader who uses the India paper impression finds a volume of the Encyclopædia Britannica light enough to hold in one hand as he sits

## The Employment of India Paper

back at his ease, while the flexible leather binding permits him the convenience of doubling the volume back so that it is no more troublesome to hold in the hand than an open novel. To read an Encyclopædia is now a temptation, not a task. The experience of more than one purchaser of the old Encyclopædia Britannica has been that, while its contents were satisfactory, a certain physical laziness and shrinking from handling the cumbersome tomes made the occasions on which he referred to them disappointingly, unexpectedly rare. For no book is better calculated to remain in constant use than one which holds between its covers a description of the whole world, of all its activities and accumulated experience. The obstacle was a purely physical one, and it disappears with a change of material.

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Printed upon ordinary book paper, such as was used for previous editions, the 29 volumes occupy a width of over 7 feet, and weigh 240 lbs.

Printed upon India paper, the 29 volumes, shown in the front of this photograph, occupy a width of only 30 inches, and weigh less than 80 lbs.



## A BOOK WITH A UNIQUE MISSION

**I**N the letters received from those who have already purchased the new Encyclopædia Britannica the work is frequently referred to as a "necessity," or as "indispensable." The words are used, without any sense of exaggeration, as appropriately conveying the valuable nature of the service performed by a resource to which the reader may confidently turn for accurate information upon any subject. Other books appeal only to a certain class of readers—and to them, perhaps, but for a short while, or on certain occasions, or only in part. The new Encyclopædia Britannica, on the other hand, appeals as a permanent possession to every kind of reader. It is a device such as no one would willingly be without. It is useful to its possessor at all times and in every part. In order to arrive at an estimate of its usefulness, indeed, one would have to calculate the sum of all the occasions upon which the possession of information is preferable to the lack of it.

The great advance which knowledge has made since the first edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica appeared has been effected by specialisation, and the multiplication of special studies renders the Encyclopædia Britannica more of a necessity today than it has ever been at any previous period of its existence. Even the best read man of our day must constantly find his information wanting, save in respect of some field in which he is a specialist, and it is only to a specialist in another field that he would care to apply for the information of which he feels the need. It might have been thought that a century of ever-growing specialisation would have produced a generation whose interests were narrow; but whatever other charge may be brought against the times in which we live, it can hardly be said that, as a community, we are not alive to the interest of a great many different things.



The India Paper Prospectus contains representative extracts from the original work, besides many plates, diagrams and cuts

Complete sets of the Encyclopædia Britannica (of which more than 35,000 copies have already been sold) are now coming from the binders and are available for immediate applicants, on payment of \$5.00 down. Admittedly the

Fullest and most authoritative work of reference in any language, the new Eleventh Edition of this celebrated work comprises 28 volumes of text, containing 44,000,000 words, 40,000 articles, 7,000 text illustrations, 450 full-page plates, 500 maps. Volume 29 is an Index to the whole work and contains 500,000 references.

£300,000 (\$1,500,000) has been the cost of preparing the new edition, as against £100,000 in the case of the Ninth. This \$1,500,000 includes the cost of illustrations, maps, typesetting, and the making of electrotypes, as well as payments to editors and contributors; but it does not include the costs of production, *i. e.*, paper, printing, leather, binding. By common consent of scholars and critics,

A great tradition has been maintained in the present issue—a tradition which in ten successive and successful editions during the past 140 years has made the name of Britannica a household word for the highest ideal of a work of reference. The service which it performs, alone of all books, is to deal fully and adequately with the

Aggregate of recorded knowledge, not in the sense that it is the possession of scholars of any one country, but in the sense that scholarship knows no nationality, and that a truly authoritative work of universal reference can only be produced by co-operative effort on the part of writers without regard to country. The contents of the new Encyclopædia Britannica represent the work of 1,500 specialist authorities, men of action, and practical experts in 21 countries (including 202 Americans)—by men who are identified professionally or by experience with the progress of learning, research and achievement, and who may be said to have paused in their activities to contribute to this new edition. It is therefore a work of



## RENDERED POSSIBLE BY A UNIQUE FORMAT

Cosmopolitan scholarship to a degree never before realised. An American editorial office was established at New York, and the editors drafted its contributors to a far larger extent from America than in the case of any previous issue. Because of the simultaneous plan of its editorial execution, by which the contributors were all at work at the same time, the 28 volumes of text are of practically even date (1910) throughout. While its authority in matters of controversy is virtually that of

An international tribunal of final recourse, the new edition is at the same time a work to which nothing of human interest is alien; *it deals with everything that can possibly interest or concern a member of a civilised community.*

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SO it comes about that the production of this truly popular book, which appeals to every class of reader as a desirable, an "indispensable," possession, has called forth such an organisation of scholarly effort as no other book, however learned, would have required.

The new Encyclopædia Britannica, then, has a unique mission to perform in the activities of the present day. To the due fulfillment of this mission, the physical form in which it now appears is calculated to contribute not a little. The convenience and compactness gained by the employment of India paper is not to be regarded as one among many advantages possessed by the new Encyclopædia Britannica, but rather as a quality which affects the value of the whole book, rendering every one of its 40,000 articles of greater service. The Encyclopædia Britannica is not a book for occasional use, but for constant reference and reading, and the convenience of its volumes is a question of the more importance since, by the greater number of its possessors, it will be used in hours of relaxation, in spare time when the day's work is done. It is especially at such hours that the attraction of the matter contained in a book is likely to be modified by the merely physical consideration of whether it is convenient and easy to read. In its novel form of slender volumes, light enough to be comfortably held in one hand while the reader sits back at ease in his chair, the new Encyclopædia Britannica tempts the reader. Whether he pursues some subject with which he already has an acquaintance, or makes voyages of discovery in their pages, the volumes offer him a form of recreation not easily to be surpassed; and even in the desultory reading of such a book he may fairly feel that he is making, without effort, a profitable addition to the day's work.



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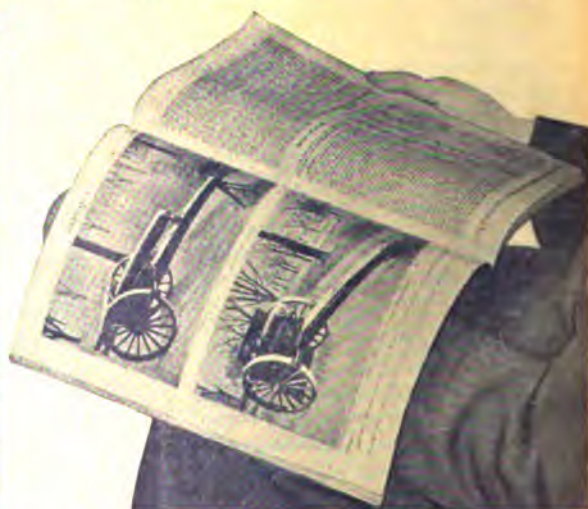
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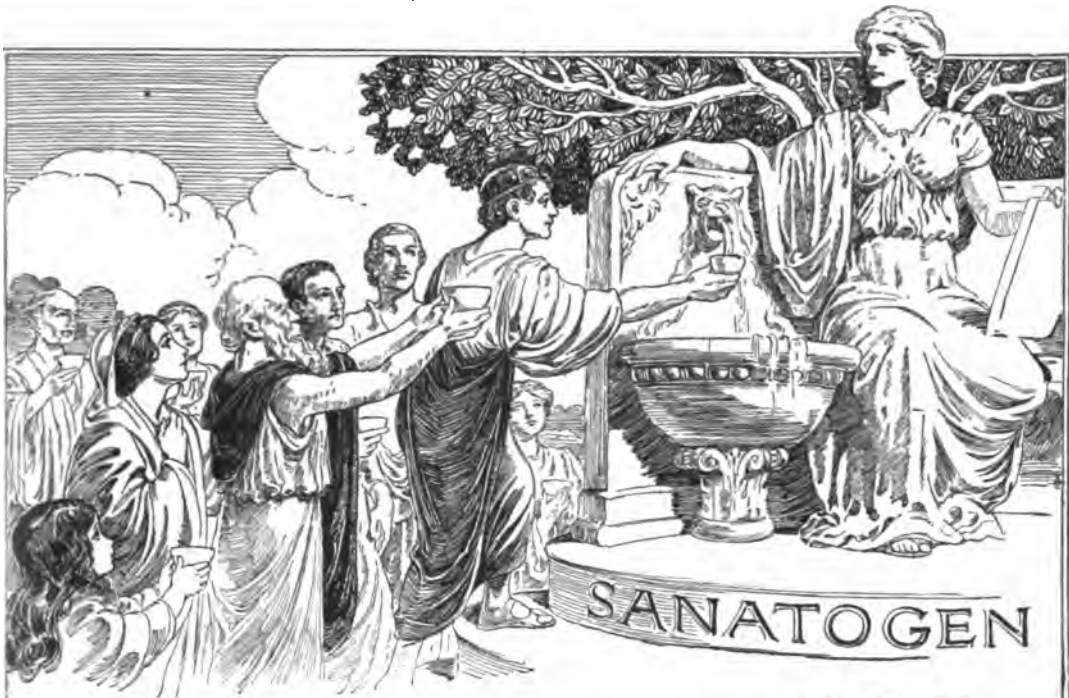
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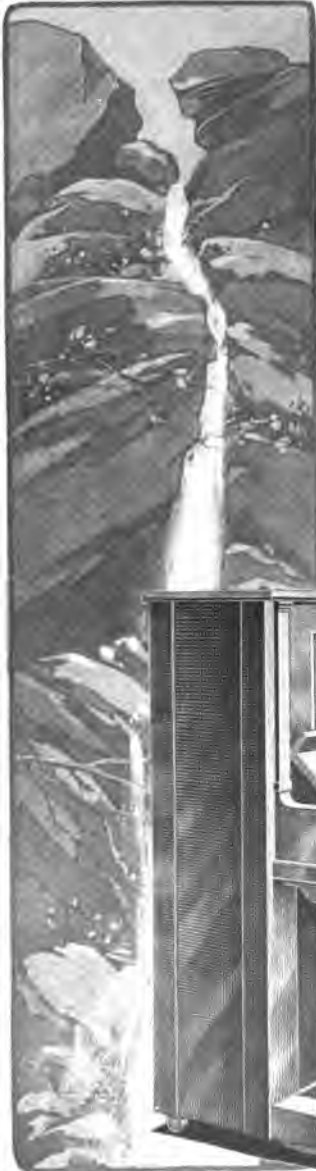
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The illustration at the top shows four men in suits and bowlers hats at a bar. One man is holding a glass of Welch's, another is holding a book. In the background, a bar with various bottles and a sign that says 'Welch's' is visible. On the right side, there is a large bunch of grapes. On the left side, there is a large bottle of Welch's Grape Juice with a label that reads 'Welch's Grape Juice'.

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EDITED BY ALBERT L. CLOUGH

## Lubrication (Concluded)

**T**HIS article is a continuation of the series which appeared several months ago and which dealt with the lubrication of the motor, its auxiliaries and control devices, of the clutch and its operating devices, and of the gearbox.

### THE UNIVERSAL JOINT

In some cars, a single universal joint is employed, located between the front end of the drive-shaft and the gearbox or between the front end of the drive-shaft and the clutch, when the gearbox is supported by the rear axle. In others, two universal joints are used respectively at the forward and rear ends of the drive-shaft. Whichever construction is used, the joint or joints require careful lubrication and are very likely to be slighted. As a rule, the housing of the joint is made nearly grease-tight and is adapted to hold a considerable quantity of non-fluid oil which wastes away rather gradually. Such joints require refilling only at rather long intervals and the instruction book should be followed on this point. Too stiff grease should not be used as it is likely to be pushed away from the moving parts against the walls of the housing and fail to lubricate them, and some manufacturers recommend a thick but fluid gear oil instead of grease except, perhaps, for use in the hottest weather. It is better to use a lubricant which works out slightly and requires more frequent replenishing than a too stiff one which, while cleanly, may not lubricate properly. On some joints, compression grease-cups are provided, by means of which grease is forced through ways in the pins of the joint, and these should be screwed down rather frequently. The fact that the universal joints are out of sight under the car tends to put them "out of mind," but as they are subjected to heavy wear they are likely soon to become very noisy unless properly lubricated. The bearings of the drive shaft may well be inspected as to their lubrication when the joints are attended to.

### THE REAR AXLE

The lubricant contained in the rear axle housing is usually relied upon to oil the driving gear faces, the gear faces, and pinion bearings of the differential gear, the bearings of the main gears of the differential and usually the propeller shaft bearings in the neck of the rear axle housing, although the latter may be lubricated partly by oil or grease which runs down inside the drive shaft housing from the universal

joint or special grease cups, may be provided for the purpose. Unless the lubricant supplied to the casing is of suitable consistency and present in the correct amount the results may not be satisfactory. On some cars the axle housing is packed with a non-fluid oil and in others a fluid lubricant is employed and instruction books should be followed as to this point. In general, caution should be observed in using a stiff grease in this or any other housing because there is always a doubt as to whether it will cover all bearing surfaces, especially in cold weather. It is too likely to be pushed away from the very moving parts which most require it. Perhaps it is a safe rule never to use a grease in a housing of this kind which will "stand alone," and the test of its stiffness should be made in the coldest weather to which the car is to be exposed. Of course the stiffer the grease used the more cleanly the results are likely to be and the less liability there is of too much of it working out through the axle housing to the brakes and overlubricating them. As most modern axle housings are provided with large covers or inspection plates, which are readily removable, it is possible to look into the housing and observe the conditions within and this should be done occasionally. If the instructions call for the use of a fluid oil in the housing, it will be necessary to maintain such a depth of it therein that it may be splashed over all the moving parts and still not be present in so large an amount that the whole tubular portion of the casing is flooded, for if this is the case, it is pretty likely to leak out at the ends of the housing and distribute itself upon the wheels and tires as well as upon the brake bands, the grip of which it may reduce to a dangerous extent. A fluid gear oil of sufficient body to keep the gears quiet, but which is not solidified by any temperatures to which the car is likely to be exposed, should be used. The height of the oil level in the casing may be specified in the instruction book and, in some instances, a test cock or plug may be provided in the housing at a height near which the level should be maintained. Whatever lubricant is used, it should be entirely cleaned out and replaced by a fresh supply at not too long intervals, the parts being washed off with kerosene before the casing is refilled. The end bearings of the rear axle shafts are usually separately oiled, either by means of compression grease cups or through oil retainers in the wheel hubs, or set into the tubular portion of the casing over the bearings. These should be attended to frequently as the lubricant supplied is likely to work out of the bearings into the casing where it is no longer effective.

While the motor, the clutch, the gearbox, the rear



SILENCE

*Peerless*

COMFORT

ALL THAT THE NAME IMPLIES

A fine motor-car gives such a sense of security and confidence that the occupant is conscious only of perfect comfort and exhilarating enjoyment.

Two characteristic features of Peerless 1912 equipment are the Dynamo Electric Lighting System, which furnishes brilliant, economical illumination for all lamps; and the Power-driven Tire-pump, which obviates the labor and annoyance of tire-inflation.

The Peerless Motor Car Company  
Cleveland Ohio

Makers also of Peerless Commercial Cars

"60-SIX" SEVEN PASSENGER



# My Farewell Car

*By R. E. Olds, Designer*

**Reo the Fifth**—the car I now bring out—is regarded by me as close to finality. Embodied here are the final results of my 25 years of experience. I do not believe that a car materially better will ever be built. In any event, this car marks my limit. So I've called it My Farewell Car.

## My 24th Model

This is the twenty-fourth model which I have created in the past 25 years.

They have run from one to six cylinders—from 6 to 60 horsepower. From the primitive cars of the early days to the most luxurious modern machines.

I have run the whole gamut of automobile experience. I have learned the right and the wrong from tens of thousands of users.

In this Farewell car I adopt the size which has come to be standard—the 30 to 35 horsepower, 4-cylinder car.

## Where It Excels

The best I have learned in

25 years is the folly of taking chances. So the chiefest point where this car excels is in excess of care and caution.

In every steel part I use the best alloy ever proved out for the purpose. And all my steel is analyzed, to prove its accord with the formula.

I test my gears with a crushing machine—not a hammer. Thus I know to exactness what each gear will stand.

I put the magneto to a radical test. The carburetor is doubly heated, for low-grade gasoline.

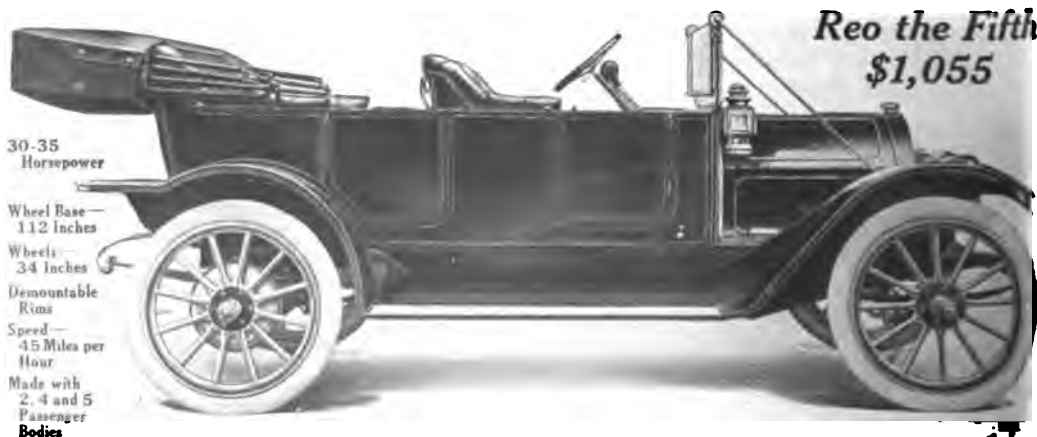
I use Nickel Steel axles of unusual size, with Timken roller bearings. I use Vanadium Steel connections.

So in every part. Each device and material is the best known for the purpose. The margin of safety is always extreme.

## In Finish, Too

I have also learned that people like stunning appearance. So my body finish consists of 17 coats. The upholstery is deep, and of hair-filled, genuine leather. The lamps are enameled, as per the latest vogue. Even the engine is nickel-trimmed.

The wheel base is long—the tonneau is roomy—the wheels are large—the car is over-tired. In every part of the car you'll find the best that is possible—and more than you expect.



Top and windshield not included in price. We equip this car with mohair top, side curtains and slip cover, windshield, gas tank and speedometer—all for \$100 extra. Self-starter, if wanted, \$25.00 extra.



# Initial Price, \$1,055

This car—my finest creation—has been priced for the present at \$1,055. This, final and radical paring of cost will stand, I believe, as my greatest achievement.

It has required years of preparation. It has compelled the invention of much automatic machinery. It necessitates making every part in our factory, so no profits go to parts makers.

It requires enormous production, small overhead expense, small selling expense, small profit. It means a standardized car for years to come, with no changes in tools and machinery.

It requires, in addition, that we make only one chassis. By that we save nearly \$200 per car.

Thus Reo the Fifth gives you more for the money than any other car in existence. Any

man can prove that for himself.

But this price is not fixed. It is the uttermost minimum. We shall keep it this low just as long as is possible. But if materials advance—even slightly—our price must also advance.

No price can be fixed for six months in advance without leaving big margin, and we haven't done that. So the present price is not guaranteed.

## **No Skimping**

Men who know me won't think that in fixing this price I have skimmed on this Reo the Fifth. Others should consider what I have at stake—my 25 years of prestige.

If there is one device, one feature, one material better than I here employ I don't know it. Better workmanship I regard as impossible. More

care and caution cannot be conceived.

I ran one of these cars for ten thousand miles—night and day, at full speed, on rough roads. And the vital parts hardly showed the least sign of wear.

## **Catalog Ready**

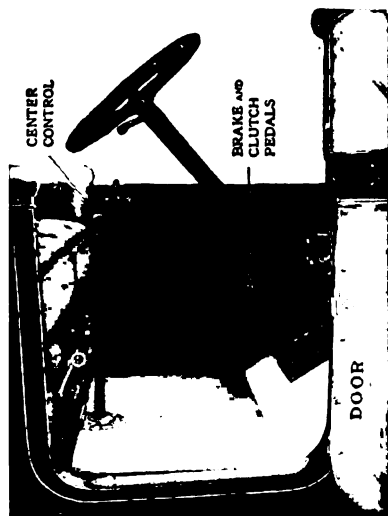
Our catalog tells all the materials, gives all specifications. With these facts before you, you can make accurate comparisons with any car you wish.

We ask you to do that. In buying a car for years to come, make sure of the utmost value. Here is the best car I can build after 25 years of experience. You ought to find it out.

The book also shows the various styles of bodies. With two-passenger Roadster body the price is \$1,000.

Write now for this catalog, then we'll tell you where to see the car. Address

**R. M. Owen & Co.** General Sales Agents for  
**Reo Motor Car Co., Lansing, Mich.**  
Canadian Factory, St. Catharines, Ont.



## **New Center Control No Levers—No Reaching**

Note this new feature—the center, cane-handle control. This handle moves but three inches in each of four directions. That very slight motion does all of the gear-shifting.

Note the absence of levers. The driver's way is as clear, on either side, as the entrance

to the tonneau. Both brakes are operated by foot pedals. One pedal also operates the clutch. The driver sits as he should sit, on the left-hand side. Heretofore this was possible only with electrics.

Those are a few of the ways in which Reo the Fifth shows its up-to-dateness.



*Made With or  
Without this  
Double-Thick  
Non-Skid Tread*

*The Only  
Winter Tread  
With a  
Bulldog Grip*



*Note the  
Double Thickness  
Note the  
Deep-Cut Blocks*

*Note the  
Countless Edges  
and Angles*

## **No-Rim-Cut Tires**

### **10% Oversize**

### **1911 Sales—409,000 Tires**

Stop for a moment, Mr. Tire Buyer, on this verge of 1912.

Consider how motorists are coming to Goodyear No-Rim-Cut tires.

Six times the demand of two years ago—800,000 sold. Enough sold last year to completely equip 102,000 cars. Now the most popular tire in existence.

Just because one user says to another—"These tires avoid rim-cutting, save overloading. They've cut *my* tire bills in two."

For the coming year, 127 leading motor car makers have contracted for Goodyear tires. We've increased our capacity to 3,800 tires daily.

Now make a resolve—to save worry and dollars, to give perfection its due—that you'll make a test of these patented tires.

(464)



# Upkeep Reduced \$20 Per Tire

These are the facts to consider:

No-Rim-Cut tires now cost no more than other standard tires. The savings they make are entirely clear.

And those savings are these:

Rim-cutting is entirely avoided.

With old-type tires—ordinary clincher tires—statistics show that 23 per cent. of all ruined tires are rim-cut.

All that is saved—both the worry and expense—by adopting No-Rim-Cut tires.

Then comes the oversize.

No-Rim-Cut tires, being hookless tires, can be made 10 per cent. over the rated size without any misfit to the rim.

So we give this extra size.

That means 10 per cent. more air—10 per cent. added carrying capacity. It means an over-tired car to take care of your extras—to save the blowouts due to overloading.

And that with the average car adds 25 per cent. to the tire mileage.

All that without extra cost.

Tire expense is hard to deal with in any general figures.

It depends too much on the driver—on proper inflation—on roads, care, speed, etc.

But it is safe to say that, under average conditions, these two features together—No-Rim-Cut and oversize—cut tire bills in two at least.

We figure the average saving—after years of experience with tens of thousands of users—at \$20 per tire. This varies of course with different sizes.

Whether more or less, it means something worth saving. It totals millions of dollars every year to users of these tires.

And you get your share—without added cost—when you specify Goodyear No-Rim-Cut tires.

## 13 Years of Tests

Here is the final result of 13 years spent in tire making.

Year after year—on tire-testing machines—we have proved out every fabric and formula, every method and theory, for adding to the worth of a tire.

We have compared one with another, under all sorts of usage, until we have brought the Goodyear tire pretty close to perfection.

These are the tires made in No-Rim-Cut type—made 10 per cent. oversize. And they represent what we regard as finality in tires.

In the test of time they have come to outsell every other make of tire.

Our new Tire Book is ready. It is filled with facts which every motorist should know. Ask us to mail it to you.

# GOODYEAR

## No-Rim-Cut Tires

With or Without Non-Skid Treads

### THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO., AKRON, OHIO

Branches and Agencies in 103 Principal Cities. We Make All Kinds of Rubber Tires, Tire Accessories and Repair Outfits  
Main Canadian Office, Toronto, Ont. Canadian Factory, Bowmanville, Ont.





# O-AT-KA

These illustrations show a wonderful device which is designed to remove pneumatic tires from quick detachable rims, and to replace tires with perfect ease for the inexperienced operator. It saves annoyance, time and dissatisfaction in motoring.



## Women Operate It with Ease

A woman can operate an O-AT-KA with ease, removing and replacing a tire within a few minutes without particular effort. The simple and easy action of the tool thus removes the dread of punctures that women have always felt in motoring. A Chicago motor enthusiast wrote us recently that she was driving her car almost constantly, now that she was equipped with an O-AT-KA, because she had no fear of being hung up on the country road with a puncture and have to run on the rim to the next town and have it repaired. The O-AT-KA enables her within few minutes' time to remove the tire herself and replace it with another. This will be the universal experience of every woman motor enthusiast in the United States before the year closes.

## It Clamps on the Rim

The tool is designed to act on the rim alone, thus making it practical to change tires whether

the rim is on or off the wheel. As with the mountable, it does not come in contact with the felloe or the spokes, and will not mar the paint or bruise the wood. It can be applied instantly between any of the spokes (see figure 2) should the removable flange become rusted, frozen or stuck. It can be reversed on the wheel to force the inner clinch loose if necessary.



The O-AT-KA in Position.

## How It Acts

The ring is forced back by means of a plunger which acts at right angles to the plane of the wheel, and locks at the extreme inthrow of the plunger, which gives the operator freedom of both hands to remove the outer ring (see figure 3).

There is an extension or protrusion of the yoke which comes in contact with the under side of the rim extending behind the felloe. This acts as a shoulder and prevents the plunger from slipping off the rim.



Flange Forced Back—Locked.

## Will Not Slip Off

This is the one strong point of the O-AT-KA, it's guaranteed not to slip off the rim like other tools, sold for less money.

## O-AT-KA Tire Remover

Can be applied to Clincher Tires the same as any quick detachable by the use of our special device that is fast



# TIRE REMOVER

tened on the plunger and will force off the shoe by applying the two between the spokes and adjusting the set screw full directions for using O-AT-KA, in Clincher Tire sent with every tool.

## Standard Quick Detachable Rim vs. Demountable Rim, With and Without the O-AT-KA Tire Remover

Ask the automobile agent if the demountable rims on the 1912 cars have the quick detachable rims. If he says no, he is selling you a cheaper rim which is open across or lengthwise of the rim, and will let in water. Ask the agent what he would do if he had more than one puncture the same trip. He would explain to you how simple it is to change the rims, you having the extra one on your car.

If you have a demountable with the quick detachable features you can remove the tire with the O-AT-KA tool without removing the rim. Without the quick detachable features you are compelled to first remove the rim and then take the tire off the rim, making you just three times as much work.

Insist on having a demountable rim with the quick detachable features, or have simply a quick detachable rim, thereby saving yourself annoyance and unnecessary labor and time, besides securing a rim that is solid in the middle, keeping out the water. Water rots the canvas in the tire and doubles your tire cost. The rubber in the tire not only gives resistance, but coats and protects the canvas from wet, thus preserving it. The canvas holds all the strain and must be protected if you wish long life in the tire.

Standard quick detachable rims with the O-AT-KA

## Our Guarantee

We will refund your money and all costs, if the O-AT-KA Tire Remover fails to do all we say or give you entire satisfaction. We have never had one



The Man Without an O-AT-KA.

come back yet or a single complaint; on the other hand every sale brings in four or five more.

## Adjustable to Any Tire

The O-AT-KA Tire Remover is provided with an adjustment for different size tires within the limit of the tool. The O-AT-KA is made in two sizes, No. 1 fits tires up to and including four inches. No 2 size fits tires four inches and over. (In ordering specify the size of your tire.)

## Dollars and Cents

The O-AT-KA costs \$5.00 in aluminum finish and \$7.50 with beautiful nickel finish. Where is the man or woman who would not pay double the price to avoid the difficultism, the struggles, the dirt, the irritation, the hours of time, all of which are incidental to the removal of a tire without the O-AT-KA. If you cannot get the O-AT-KA Tire Remover from your dealer or garageman, we can make delivery to you through our distributing points in your state.

**J. W. Grumiaux, Sales Agent**

Main Street,

LE ROY, NEW YORK

**CUT OUT AND MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY**

### SPECIAL OFFER FOR 30 DAYS

If your dealer does not handle the O-AT-KA, send us your check for only \$3 dated 15 days ahead. We will ship you one O-AT-KA; try it out on a tire that has not been off the car for a year, if it does not do as we advertise stop payment on check and advise us. We will send you an Express Check for its return. If it's satisfactory and you sell one to a friend we will allow you yours for \$3, providing you send us the order for your friend and the name of your dealer.

Send one O-AT-KA Tire Remover.

Size of tire.....

Name.....

Enclosed please find Three Dollars as per your offer.

Address.....

**J. W. GRUMIAUX, SALES AGENT.**

**MAIN STREET, LeROY, NEW YORK**

Write for Proposition for Exclusive Territory. Agents Wanted in every Town and City

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# Fisk Tires

**The Tires That Made Good  
Everyday—Everywhere**

THE UNIFORMLY STRONG TIRES  
THAT HAVE MAINTAINED THE  
consistently high average mileage for the  
past year.

THE TIRES that are offered with an  
urgent request to investigate their record  
for service and economy.

THE TIRES that are backed with direct  
factory representation in 35 cities and a  
personal interest in every casing and  
tube sold.

THE TIRES for ANY RIM in the famous  
FISK HEAVY CAR TYPE construction.

**THE TIRES  
For Your 1912 Car**

**THE FISK RUBBER CO.**

DEPT. R

CHICOPEE FALLS, MASS.

axle, and the universal joints are, in a way, the chief vital parts of a car, and any failure properly to lubricate them may prevent its operation and involve disastrously abnormal wear and heavy repair expense. There are a great many so-called minor parts any failure to lubricate which, causes wear that makes a car old and "rattly" before its time, although it does not, as a rule, prevent its operation. Such parts, if neglected, will simply wear out prematurely in the performance of their functions but, if attended to conscientiously, will remain in good condition for years.

## THE STEERING GEAR

Take, for example, the steering gear. The steering knuckle pins, upon which the front wheels turn in steering, are usually provided with compression grease cups which should be screwed down very frequently, as the parts are subjected to heavy pressures, severe shocks and to almost constant motion while a car is in operation. The connections between the ends of the steering knuckle arms and the tie rod that joins them requires very frequent lubrication or they soon develop looseness and rattle badly. A compression grease cup is usually provided at each of these points, as it is almost impossible to satisfactorily lubricate these bearings with oil. The ends of these rods are usually covered with mud and are under heavy pressure and always in slight motion, so that there is hardly any part of the gear which receives harder usage. The two ends of the drag rod which connects the lower end of the steering column mechanism with one of the knuckle arms, are usually packed in grease which is held in place by leather grease boots laced around each of the ball joints which form the connections. Although the lubricant thus supplied lasts for a considerable length of time, these joints are likely to be allowed to run dry, on account of the bother of taking off the boots and repacking them. If they are allowed to wear unduly, they may rattle and even become dangerously unreliable and they should be inspected at not too infrequent intervals.

At the lower end of the column is the steering device which communicates the motion of the steering wheel to the steering linkage and the front wheels. This usually is in a tight housing and this should be kept packed full of a not too stiff grease, one or more plugged holes being provided through which it can be supplied with a grease gun. One filling will usually last for several thousand miles, but if the grease escapes so that it is no longer in contact with the moving parts they wear out rapidly under the heavy pressures, severe shocks, and nearly constant movement and so much lost motion develops between the steering wheel and the linkage that steering becomes uncertain and even dangerous. This is true of all other parts of the steering gear and careful attention to lubrication is thus extremely necessary. At the bottom of the steering column is found the mechanism by which the spark and throttle linkages are operated from the levers at the top of the column, consisting of small bevel gears or some equivalent arrangement. These parts occasionally require a little oil. Running the whole length of the column, within its tubular casing, are the shafts which connect the spark and throttle levers to their linkages under the hood, and there is usually an oil hole at the top of the column for oiling them, into which thin oil should occasionally be squirted in order that the shafts may not stick.



# TEXACO MOTOR OIL



**C**OLD weather brings trouble to the car owner —trouble in the form of freezing water which may be remedied by the use of denatured alcohol, trouble in the form of congealed lubricants which may be remedied by the use of Texaco Motor Oil.

Texaco Motor Oil absolutely will not congeal at any temperature down to zero. We guarantee this.

Take your car out on the coldest day. It will crank easily and your motor will deliver its full power because it will get perfect lubrication if you are using Texaco Motor Oil.

You will find that you *always* get perfect lubrication when you use Texaco. There are three reasons why. All troubles due to carbon deposits are eliminated. The highest lubricating quality has been obtained after exhaustive and thorough tests. Lastly, as has been said, Texaco Motor Oil shows an absolute zero cold test.

Texaco Motor Oil is sold in one and five gallon cans by all good supply shops and garages.

Write for booklet, "About Motor Lubrication," that tells fully about proper lubrication.

Address Dept. A, 3 West St., New York City.

**THE TEXAS COMPANY**  
HOUSTON NEW YORK

Branch Offices:  
 Boston St. Louis New Orleans Pueblo  
 Philadelphia Norfolk Dallas Tulsa  
 Chicago Atlanta El Paso





Untouched Photo by Prest-O-Lite at Night

## Wherever you find Automobiles— There you will find Presto-O-Lite

Your Prest-O-Lite Tank is like a store of condensed daylight. It furnishes the only safe, efficient, dependable and economical light for the automobile.

That fact combined with its universal service explains why 350,000 experienced owners insist upon it.

Experience quickly proves the weakness of the "unreliable" generator or imitation gas tank, with their poor and unsatisfactory service and light.

### When You Buy Your Car

Insist upon Prest-O-Lite. If you find the manufacturer has included a cheap generator or imitation tank in the equipment, trade for Prest-O-Lite. Without Prest-O-Lite service your car is not of full value.



Makers of Prest-O-Lite Gas Tanks, Prest-O-Tire Tubes, Prest-O-Tire Tanks, Prest-O-Liter, Prest-O-Welder and Prest-O-Starter. Ask for literature.

### THE PREST-O-LITE CO. EAST SOUTH ST., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Branches at: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago (2), Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas, Detroit, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Denver, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Francisco, Seattle.

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Foreign Agencies: Honolulu, H. I.; Manila, P. I.; San Juan, P. R.; Toronto, Can.; Vancouver, B. C.; City of Mexico; London, Eng.; Berlin, Germany; Australia.

**Exchange Agencies Everywhere**

### DISTANCE AND TORQUE RODS

Many cars are provided with two distance rods which extend from each side of the frame back to the rear axle and the connections of these require constant lubrication or they will become the seat of annoying rattling. Grease cups are usually provided at these points and they should be screwed down frequently. Oil retainers are sometimes used and require very frequent refilling as liquid oil soon escapes from such joints.

There is sometimes a torque rod running from the rear axle housing forward to one of the middle frame members and this usually has bearing surfaces which should not be allowed to run dry, as wear and rattling will then result.

### FRONT WHEELS

The front wheel bearings may either be packed in grease, supplied with grease from a compression grease cup on the hub or oiled through a spring oil retainer thereon. They run a long time without attention if they are packed, but, as the wheels have to be removed to repack their bearings, the operation is sometimes put off too long and the bearings run dry. An inspection, after each 500 to 1000 miles, is usually sufficient. When the other methods of lubrication are employed, it is well to feed enough lubricant so that it begins to work out at the inside ends of the hubs.

While attending to the front wheel bearings it is well to ascertain whether the speedometer gears that drive the flexible shaft are sufficiently lubricated. There is usually a hole in their housing through which grease can be forced.

### OPERATING LEVERS

A little lubrication is required by the shafts upon which the gear shifting and emergency brake levers act and there are usually several spring oil retainers, or grease cups mounted at points on this double shaft, which should be attended to from time to time, as the levers may otherwise work hard and possibly stick. It is even worth while to apply a little oil to the parts of the emergency brake latch and to the slides in which the gear shifting lever moves. These are small matters, but attention to them pays in the end and conduces to the smooth and easy operation of a car.

### BRAKES

The brake mechanism is one of the first parts of a car to rattle annoyingly if its bearings wear out from lack of lubrication. The forks or devices which attach the brake operating pedal and brake shaft bellcrank to their rods, which fasten the rods to the equalizer bars and secure the pull rods to the mechanism of the brakes themselves, all require to be oiled occasionally, with the squirt can. The bearings of the brake shafts and the joints and bearings of the brake equalizers should also receive similar attention and the pins upon which the engaging mechanism of the external brake are secured should not be neglected. In some of the highest grade cars, a good many of these last-named points are provided with compression grease cups. Where oil has to be supplied from a squirt can the parts should be carefully wiped off before oiling, as otherwise grit will be car-



Model 35—Price \$1000.  
With Top, Glass Front,  
Prest-O-Lite Tank, \$1060



# Buick

## Motor Cars

### Power and Silence

The Buick has always been known as a car of great power. This power, or to be more exact, *economy of power*, has been for seven years the central idea in the construction of Buick Cars. During that time stability of frame and parts, to support this power with steadiness and silence, has been the object of endeavor at the great Buick Plant.

This has been accomplished—the Buick today, besides being a car of giant power, operates as smoothly and silently as it is possible for a motor to run.

To bring about the perfect workmanship and adjustment that make this possible—all parts except magnetos, carburetors, coils, lamps and tires are manufactured at the Buick plant. No essential parts of running gear or motor, chassis or body are entrusted to outside makers.

Every Buick is a harmonious piece of machinery from rear axle to radiator, designed and built under one engineering and constructive supervision.

Five models, priced according to power and size—\$850, \$1000, \$1075, \$1250, \$1800. One-ton Buick Truck, \$1000. Catalogue showing the various models sent on request, also the name of nearest dealer.

**BUICK MOTOR COMPANY, Flint, Michigan**



## SPECIFY Fabrikoid Leather

### for Auto Tops

- ❑ Fabrikoid Leather does not crack, split, or peel. Is waterproof, wind-proof and sunproof.
- ❑ Grease and dust are easily removed without affecting its durability.
- ❑ A Fabrikoid Leather Top adds to the appearance of the auto, affords ample protection to passengers and satisfaction to owners.
- ❑ We have a superior line of Mohair Mackintoshes Cloths for those preferring this class of fabrics for auto tops.
- ❑ Ask Dept. No. 226 for samples and name of manufacturer using our Auto Top Fabrics.

FABRIKOID WORKS, Wilmington, Del.  
(E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co., Owner)

## Some things every motorist should know

Why his car needs to be overhauled every season.

How abnormal wear leads to this expense.

What causes abnormal wear.

How to prevent it.

We have prepared a booklet, full of vital facts—which shows the part that *granular* minor shaft bearings play in increasing your repair bills and decreasing the life and efficiency of your car.

The whole question of minor shaft bearings is explained in a simple, non-technical manner; the structure of the different classes of bearing alloys, as shown by the photographic illustrations, tells the story.

Before you buy a new car—before you put your present car in the repair shop for overhauling—send for this booklet F. It has dollars and cents value for you.

AMERICAN BRONZE COMPANY, Berwyn, Pa.



ried into the bearing with the oil and very little good will result. There is often no means provided for oiling the mechanism of the internal brakes, but in many cars sufficient lubricant escapes from the axle housing to effect this purpose. Brake bands which chatter may properly be sparingly oiled.

### SPRINGS

So long as a car is in use the springs are constantly in action, and thus the eye-bolts which secure the ends of the springs to their hangers upon the frame and which connect the spring ends to their shackles and the shackles to other spring members or to hangers, require continuous lubrication. If it is not supplied, the pins wear in their bushings and the vehicle rattles badly. Compression grease cups are generally provided upon all eye-bolt ends and these should be screwed down a little as often as every 100 miles. If spring oil retainers are used instead, they should be frequently filled. In some cars the rear spring seats are free to turn upon the axle casing and it is important that the grease cups which supply these bearings be turned down frequently.

Lubrication of the starting crank shaft in its bearing in the bracket at the front of the radiator should not be forgotten, as looseness and a tendency to rattle will be the result.

### CONCLUSION

Every automobile owner has it in his power immensely to prolong the useful life of his car by thorough and conscientious lubrication and, on the other hand, to greatly curtail its usefulness by failure to do so. If the former course were chosen by more owners motoring would be much less expensive than it usually is, the operation of the average car would be smoother and more satisfactory than at present and there would be fewer second-hand cars glutting the market.

## Automobile Tops

THE average person, when buying a car, devotes altogether too little attention to the character of the top with which it is to be equipped. This is to be regretted, as the top is one of the most important factors bearing upon the degree of satisfaction to be derived from the use of the car. It is to the motor car what the roof is to the house.

A top of almost any grade is likely to be rainproof at first and look fairly well, but the inferior top, after it has been subjected to folding and creasing, to baking sun, intense cold, dust, sleet, heavy wind pressures and drenching rains, for a while, is likely to begin to show signs of weakness such as cracks or opened seams which cause it to leak.

Nothing can be more annoying than a top which allows water to drip upon the persons and clothing of the passengers.

A top in inferior quality also becomes shabby in appearance much sooner than one of first-class material and workmanship. The material loses its lustre and becomes covered with spots and creases to such a degree that it gives an unkempt aspect to a car which may otherwise be in a state of fine preservation, causing it to resemble a well-tailored man with a battered derby upon his head.





The Man on the Right—"I CAN'T GET THIS TOP CLEAN."

The Man on the Left—"So I see."

The Man on the Right—"I've dusted and brushed and scrubbed—I'm afraid to use any strong cleanser, because I ruined my last Top with benzine and gasoline. *Your* Top always looks brand new—How do you do it?"

The Man on the Left—"That answer's easy. My Top is made of genuine

# Pantasote

leather. Its surface is so smooth that dust and dirt *can't* get ground in—or *brushed in*. Every couple of weeks or so, while the car is being washed I play the hose on the Top—that's all."

The Man on the Right—"Gee, that sounds good to me."

The Man on the Left—"It not only sounds good, but it *is* good. I suppose I have folded

my *Pantasote* Top two or three hundred times and there's not a single crack anywhere on its surface. I quit fussing long ago with Mohair and near-Mohair imitation Tops. They leak and as for looks! This spic-and-span looking car of mine used to look like a '49 prairie-wagon three-quarter ways across the desert till I got a genuine *Pantasote* Top."

*Pantasote* is sun-proof, heat-proof, cold-proof, sleet-proof, snow-proof, rain-proof, crack-proof, grease-proof, dust-proof, and dirt-proof—pretty nearly fool-proof.

That's why it is the best material for an automobile Top. It wears like iron and it always looks new.

## THIS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT AUTO TOPS

We have just published a complete handbook called "The X-Ray on Automobile Tops." It goes clear thro' the Top question from A to Z. Literally tears them apart for your

understanding of hidden facts. Illustrated with many actual photographic reproductions. It takes you underneath the surface of Top coating materials—not only *Pantasote*, but

practically all the other kinds of materials that are used on Tops. After reading this book, you can intelligently hold your own against any dealer, who, not being posted, tries to substitute,

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Although the construction of a top is a matter of great importance, the character of the material used is of much more vital significance and there is danger that the motorist who has not carefully investigated the subject of top materials may be deceived in the quality of goods which he is buying.

Motorists who are about to buy tops are urged, in their own interests, to seek information from unprejudiced sources, as to the materials entering into the different kinds of top materials, the methods of their manufacture, their relative resistance to the elements and to usage and their general fitness. There is considerable looseness as to the naming of top material which may have the effect of deceiving the uninitiated and lead to serious disappointment by causing a motorist to acquire a top which is altogether inferior to the rest of his car or even one which does not even keep out the wet.

## The Small Private Garage

THE advantages of keeping an automobile upon one's own premises rather than in a public garage are numerous. It is always at hand when required and not subject to unauthorized use; the garage keeper's profit is saved to the owner, and the owner, if he has time, can personally care for his car and give it much more conscientious attention than he can be assured of at a public garage.

The ground space required for the storage of a single car is so small that most motorists, with the exception of some who live in large cities, can find a site for a private garage in connection with their residences and the minimum cost of a suitable building is not very great. A one-story building, measuring 14x18 feet inside, will house an ordinary touring car, but a floor area of 16x20 feet is much preferable, as affording more clear space and room for garage fittings and apparatus of various kinds. Ordinary frame construction is cheap and a good serviceable wooden garage of the above dimensions can be put up for around \$200. If such a building is metal sheathed, the fire risk is greatly decreased and the cost of construction is not inordinately increased. Concrete construction is probably the nearest to ideal, and either the monolithic system or the concrete block method may be used, at an expense which is not excessive considering the substantial nature of such a building and its strictly fireproof character. Brick construction can hardly compete with concrete, everything considered.

A garage floor should invariably be of concrete and it should be gradually sloped to some one point where a sewer connection should be provided. A concrete foundation is desirable whatever the material of the building. As ample light is required when working about a motor car, very numerous windows should be provided and a wire glass skylight is a luxury. Where the conditions permit, a double door at each end of the building is very desirable as then the car can be driven in at one and out at the other and the inconvenience of backing out avoided. The approaches to the doors should be on an easy grade.

The problem of heating is a rather difficult one unless the garage is so close to the steam or hot water heating plant of another building, and at such a level as to permit of the extension of piping therefrom and the installation of radiators. It is possible



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however to heat by means of a stove or similar heater located in a small, strictly fireproof addition to the garage, the only communication from the heater compartment to the garage proper being by the flue through which the hot air is delivered. While an unheated garage is perfectly practical a properly heated one is altogether preferable.

As to garage appointments one can go as far as one wishes in this direction.

It is highly desirable that there be installed a gasoline measuring pump, with hose delivery, which draws from a good sized underground tank, placed at a little distance from the building, but this is not a necessary adjunct as an underground tank, located a short distance away, with a simple form of pump attached directly to it will serve, although not so conveniently. An oil cabinet with measuring pump forms a very desirable feature. One of the overhead vehicle washers, with swinging arm carrying the hose and suitably connected to a water service, is almost a necessity if the car is to be washed on the premises, but it is of little use to install this unless the garage is heated.

Plenty of shelf and cupboard room should be provided along the walls of the private garage as it conduces to orderliness and there should be plenty of hooks upon which to hang articles which might otherwise litter the floor. Space can usually be found for a work bench which should be provided with drawers for tools and spare parts and with a substantial vise.

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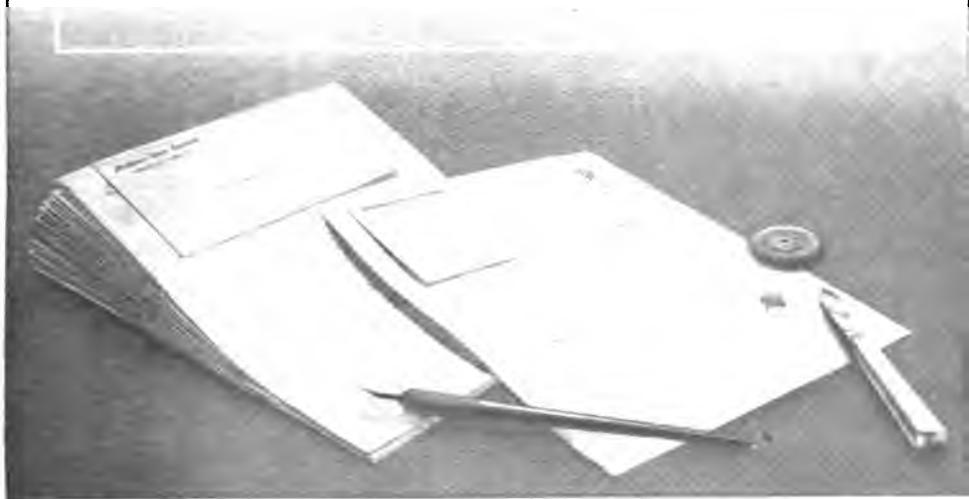
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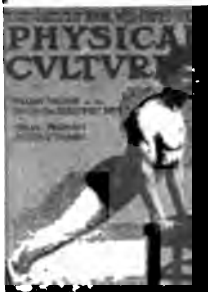
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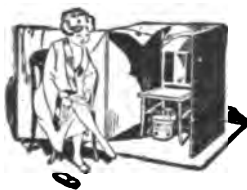
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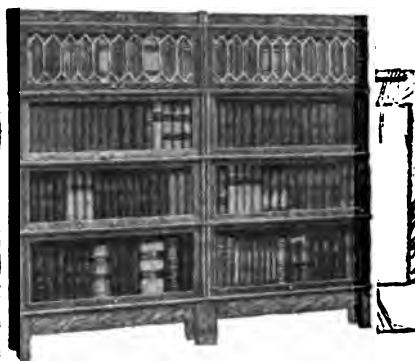
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# New Industrial Openings

## ALONG THE Chesapeake & Ohio R'y

### The Pittsburg District of the South

The tremendous deposits of coal along the C. & O. R'y, in West Virginia and Kentucky, are not surpassed and have probably never been equalled by the famous Pittsburg District.

And as both coal and raw material are beginning to be exhausted in the Pittsburg District the intelligent manufacturer would do well to look into the precisely similar advantages, now but in their infancy, along the C. & O. Lines.

In addition to cheap fuel, there is an abundance of raw materials, the principal of which being iron ore. From 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons are mined annually, but there are still numbers of attractive openings, which cannot be exhausted for years to come.

The C. & O. Lines parallel and cross an unusually large number of rivers. Owing to the mountainous nature of the country traversed, there are water power sites at almost every turn.

These and numerous other advantages are outlined in detail in our attractive **Industrial Booklet**. It describes our territory from Newport News (the best natural harbor on the Atlantic Coast) to Louisville, Cincinnati, Chicago and the Great Lakes. Make memorandum to dictate a request for it. Address

K. T. CRAWLEY, Industrial Agent C. & O. Lines, Room 76, Richmond, Va.



## Come to Florida and Farm all the Year



Be your own master. Get health, strength and financial independence in working for yourself out of doors every day in the year. You can do it on Terrell Lands in South Florida. Cost of living goes down instead of up. No rent to pay. No heavy fuel bills. No winter clothing to buy. Advancing prices of food stuffs mean more instead of less ready cash for you. Living becomes a daily delight. You can work better, feel better, be better amid the beautiful surroundings in this perfect climate.

### Ten Acres Will Make You Independent

You can work them every month in the year, raising annually two to four crops which will return you \$150 to \$1,000 per crop per acre. You can insure the future of yourself and your family with a pecan nut grove. It will bear for more than 100 years and the returns exceed those from almost any other crop. Terrell Lands are in the heart of the nation's "truck garden" and the finest citrus fruits in the world are grown here. Four railroads cross them and eight growing towns are on or adjoin them. All stockholders of this Company have bought lands from it; many of them will develop their properties and live at Rerdell.

Every purchaser has six months in which to investigate the land, either personally or through an authorized representative, and if not entirely satisfied money paid will be refunded.

We have a beautifully illustrated book for you. It will tell you all about Terrell Lands and how you can obtain a permanent or a winter home there at little cost. It will tell you of a safe, sound investment that will net you large returns. We will send you a copy FREE for the asking. Write today.

**TERRELL LAND & DEVELOPMENT COMPANY**

Box 106, Rerdell (Via Terrell), Florida



## Some fine day you'll come West

Yes sir, yes ma'am, you'll come right into this garden land of *yours* where the birds sing and the flowers bloom year around; *where winter is but a name!*

You'll come into your *own* out here in California—and in the wonder-States of the Pacific Coast.

**Life's worth living** to sit by the winter night's blaze and read about *your* California and plan what you will do, not this year perhaps, but before many years.

For the call of the far-West *is in your blood*, be you young or old; it should be the solution of your life's problem.

And it will be if you'll listen to 51,000 men and women—members of the Sunset League—who want to make you as enthusiastic as they are about this West country of *yours*.

**Will you kindly** get a pen and sign the accompanying coupon? Will you enter into the spirit of good fellowship, good living and sunshine and gladness by mailing your name and address.

Because we want to send you pictures and booklets; we want to tell you about a family in *your own neighborhood* who know all about California and the great Pacific Coast States who'll want to help you know, too.

We want you to meet that family and talk it over; to get the spirit that has made the West *your land* of the open hand and

open heart, where it's good to live and know life at its best!

**A 2 cent stamp** will bring to your door immediately a Panama Exposition Booklet; a sample copy of "Sunset—The Pacific Monthly" Magazine, with its magnificent four-color photographs of western scenes; a booklet describing the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915; and entertaining and informing volume on "California's Famous Resorts" and one of our descriptive booklets about California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona or New Mexico.

Besides, that 2 cent stamp will put at *your command* "Sunset—The Pacific Monthly" Information Bureau. It will tell you everything you want to know. Use it to your heart's content.

**We'll send** information about the Sunset League, that has *no dues, no obligations*, except that you pass on to your neighbor what you learn about California and the West. Does all that interest you?

Are you the manner of man or woman who would live life at its best?

### "GET ACQUAINTED" COUPON

SUNSET—THE PACIFIC MONTHLY MAGAZINE INFORMATION BUREAU, San Francisco, Cal.

Gentlemen:—Enclosed find 2c stamp. Please send, fully prepaid, California literature, the Panama Exposition booklet, marked copy of Sunset—The Pacific Monthly

Magazine, and booklet about \_\_\_\_\_  
without any further obligation on my part.

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Street \_\_\_\_\_

City or town \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ H-3





**Come  
to Florida  
and  
Live Like a Prince**

among the grapefruit and the palms and the perpetual sunshine of beautiful North Tampa.

On one of these rich 10-acre fruit or truck farms, you can build up a real bank account. Your harvest is not merely an annual crop, mind you, but several crops a year. And the cost is only 3½ cents a day on each acre—less than a single carfare up in the shivering North.

Year after year you've envied your wealthier neighbors their winter trip to balmy Florida. Here's your chance to go them one better—to make your money under smiling skies instead of just running down here to spend it.

#### North Tampa at a Glance

This one county alone, as shown by the U. S. Government reports, produces over \$680,000.00 worth of grapefruit in a year. Fruit and Vegetables thrive amazingly here; several big crops every year. The highest priced markets in the world lie at your door, ready and waiting for your crops of fruit, truck and poultry. Demand exceeds supply.

The bustling city of Tampa, within easy walking distance, gives you the advantages of the metropolis with the comfort of the country. Merchandise in the local stores is cheaper than in the North. Transportation such as few modern farming communities can show: 3 important railroads cross the property, 8 railroad stations already on it. Schools, churches, soil, water, climate—you must read our free book on Florida to thoroughly grasp all these advantages. Ask for specimen letters from those who have bought and already settled on this tract—they're as full of inspiration as a Florida grapefruit is of juice.

Your money back if you want it. Take ample time for investigation, but make your reservation now.

#### There's a farm waiting for you in Florida TODAY

Don't let your chance slip by you this time! Send us today (protected by our broad, straightforward Money-Back Guarantee) your remittance for \$1 per acre on as many acres as you think you want. Or fill in and mail the attached coupon. It entitles you, as a reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, to one of the most accurate and interesting books on Florida ever published.

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## Virginia Apple Orchards



Exhibit of Valley Fruit—Roanoke County Fair

### \$350 On Long Time and Easy Payments

buys a 10-acre apple orchard tract in "The Beautiful Shenandoah Valley of Virginia." Other fruit and farm lands, \$15.00 an acre and up.

Numerous large undeveloped tracts available, which will net easily 200% on the investment.

Write now, while you think of it, for latest issue of "The Southern Homeseeker," other interesting literature and low excursion rates.

Address:

**F. H. LA BAUME**

Agr'l Agent

Norfolk & Western Ry.

Box 4,011 Roanoke, Va.



## California

FREE—A beautiful map of California, showing location famous Owens River Valley and our apple orchards, describing plan of development and sale on small monthly payments. You can live at home and receive guaranteed interest until your orchard comes into bearing, or if desired we continue to care for property. California orchards pay big profits. Reliable local and district agents wanted. Write today AQUEDUCT LAND AND ORCHARDS CO.

902 Trust and Savings Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

Let us turn your spare time into money.  
We have two propositions that will do it

### THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO.

13 Astor Place

Room 330

New York

## \$750 an Acre from Pecans

This is a fair average profit from a Pecan grove fifteen years old, and by our plan you can secure a farm in the heart of the paper shell pecan belt and share in the profits of our company until you are ready to take possession of your own land.

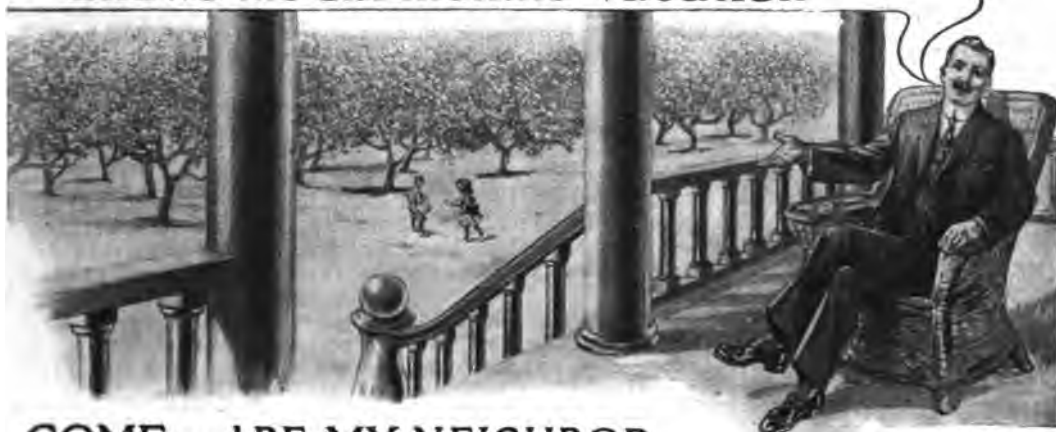
### A Farm for the Future With Fine Profits in the Meantime

If you should **never** want to take possession of your farm, you will have the land as security for your investment anyway, and receive big returns on your money right from the start. Only \$240.00 will secure one of these farms, where you can live out of doors every day and mature three crops a year on the same land. Larger investments also accepted.

You place yourself under no obligations by writing for full particulars, and if you care to tell us how much you want to invest we make you a definite offer by return mail.

Georgia Farm, Fruit and Pecan Co., Box 103, Waycross, Ga.

My Orchard pays me \$5000<sup>00</sup> a year and allows me six months' vacation



## COME and BE MY NEIGHBOR

Such an invitation is worth YOUR careful consideration.

Every intelligent man and woman with a thought for their own future or of those dear to them should investigate the statements we make—every one of which we are prepared to prove.

\$50. down enables you to accept our proposition and start upon the road to a sure and liberal income for life.

### Our plan of selling

#### Improved Orchard Tracts

practically amounts to loaning you \$2,500 to \$5,000 with which to buy and cultivate a 5- to 10-acre orchard on improved, well irrigated land, in the most famous apple growing region in the world!

The Sunnyside Beach Lands on which our tracts are located, are the very garden spot of the Bitter Root Valley! They are the best situated as to city advantages, schools, universities, churches and amusements. Big game abounds in the adjacent mountains, fine fishing is found in the waters of the valley.

You must get our printed literature, and read to appreciate the full details of the ideal soil and climatic conditions which make this region the finest apple growing region in the world; together with statistics of undoubted facts of production, all endorsed and supported by the highest authorities in the world, including government reports, horticultural experts and practical orchardists.

#### Everything Conducive to Perfect Fruit

Our tracts are abundantly irrigated from a great irrigation system costing nearly \$4,000,000. The drainage is perfect. The apples grown there are hardy and perfect—as one government official observed, "not one worm in a hundred thousand boxes," big, bright, sound, toothsome fruit, ideal for export as well as domestic markets.

There are no destructive frosts; wormy fruit and crop failures are unknown. Transportation facilities splendid, social atmosphere and living conditions ideal, climate perfect, cool nights and long, sunshiny days. Everything that tends to health, happiness and prosperity.

#### \$5,000 Yearly for Life from 10 Acres

A Bitter Root apple orchard bears commercially in its fifth year. Ten acres, fully developed, will return you during early maturity, strictly net, a profit of from \$2,000 to \$5,000 yearly. Beginning with the tenth year from planting, judged by experience of others, 10 acres will net you an income of \$5,000 yearly and employ only half your time.

Write today for our free illustrated book—for here's a proposition it will certainly pay you to investigate.

## BITTER ROOT VALLEY IRRIGATION COMPANY,

R. S. LEMON, General Sales Manager

850 to 854 First National Bank Building, Chicago, U. S. A.

If you have a fair-sized income now and are willing to improve your condition, you do not need capital to possess one of these big-paying orchards.

### Our Proposition and Plan

briefly stated, is this: We will sell you a choice 10-acre Orchard Home Tract, already planted (spring of 1911) to best standard varieties (all apples, or apples and cherries)—with the Company's definite, written contract to care for and develop your orchard under expert horticultural supervision for 5 years from date of planting, including all land taxes and irrigation charges—for \$500 an acre.

The land will easily be worth, conservatively stated, in fair comparison with other improved lands, \$1,000 an acre. There's a clean profit to you of 100% on a 5-year investment, at the outset. Only a \$50 cash payment required now to secure your orchard tract—balance in easy payments divided over a ten-year period. Your payments for the next few months are practically all the cash outlay you will have, as your orchard tract will pay for itself during the buying period and yield you a handsome profit besides!

Fractional orchard tracts of 5 acres and over at proportionate prices and easy terms—(\$25 monthly for 5 acres.)

Our orchard contracts contain the fairest and most liberal features ever offered you.

### Responsibility of Our Company

We are the largest orchard planters and growers in the Northwest.

Our guarantees and contracts are as good as bonds for we have assets of over \$5,000,000; our lands are paid for; we are not hampered with debts, encumbrances or other "promotive" needs. We have plenty of money to finance both ourselves and our buyers. Buying these Bitter Root Valley Orchard Home Tracts is like buying government bonds on easy payments—except that the returns are infinitely larger, and you are at the same time making a future ideal home for yourself and family!

## Raising a Roof For a Rainy Day

By FRANKLIN O. KING

"Into Each Life Some Rain Must Fall," said Longfellow, and I believe You will agree with Me, Mr. Reader, that it is a Wise Man who Knows enough to Come in out of the Wet. If You haven't the Prudence and Foresight to take advantage of Good Weather and Raise a Roof for Your Family that will Protect them when the Storms come, it will be Up to Them to Find Shelter where Best They may. The wisdom of "Laying By Something For a Rainy Day," was never Better Exemplified than it is at Present, and if that *Something* is properly Invested in an Income-Producing Farm Home in Gulf Coast Texas, Your Children some Day Will Rise up and Call you Blessed.

How much Better off are You than Last Year, or the Year before That? How Much have You Actually Got that You could call Your Own? A little Furniture? A Piano, perhaps? A Few Dollars in the Bank? And how many Weary Years has it taken You to get Together that little Mite? Don't You see how Hopeless It is? You come Home each Night a little more Tired, and Your good Wife can see the gray coming into Your Hair—if It isn't already There. Chances for Promotion grow Less and Less, as each Year is added, but Ever and Always Your Expenses seem to Grow.

The Systematic Saver Accumulates slowly, unless His Savings are Put to Work where They can Earn Something Worth While. Fifteen Hundred Dollars put into the Savings Bank will, in One Year, at 3 per cent earn You less than Fifty Dollars. Half of Fifteen Hundred Dollars invested in One of our Ten-Acre Danbury Colony Farms, in convenient Monthly Payments (Protected by Sickness and Insurance Clauses) will Earn Freedom from Care, and that Comfort which comes from the Ability to Sit under One's "Own Vine and Fig Tree," with a certain Income Insured.

*The Best Incentive to Persistent and Systematic Saving is the Desire to Get a Home.* The Best Place I Know of to Get a Home is in the Rain Belt of Gulf Coast Texas, where You can Grow Three Big Money-Making Crops a Year, on the Same Soil, and where Irrigation and Fertilization do not Eat up the Profits Your Hands Create.

If every Man who reads this Article would Take the Time to THINK, and the Trouble to INVESTIGATE, every Acre of our Danbury Colony

Land Would be Sold Within the Next Three Months. If Every Woman who glances through this Advertisement but Knew the Plain Truth about our Part of Texas, You Couldn't Keep Her away from There with a Shot-Gun, because the Woman is Primarily a Home-Seeker and a Home-Maker, and the Future of Her Children is the Great Proposition that is Uppermost in Her Mind and Heart.

Do You Know that Growers of Figs, Strawberries and Early Vegetables clear a Net Profit of \$300 to \$500 an Acre in Gulf Coast Texas? Do You Know men have realized more than \$1,000 an acre Growing Oranges in Our Country? If You Do Not know these things, you should read up on the subject, and you must not fail to get our Free Book, which contains nearly 100 photographs of growings Crops, etc.

What would You think of a little Town of about 1,200 People situated near our Lands, where they ship on an average of \$400,000 worth of Fruit, Vegetables, Poultry, Eggs, etc., a year? During 1910 this Community shipped nearly \$100,000 worth of Strawberries alone.

We are situated within convenient shipping distance of Three Good Railroads, and in addition to this have the inestimable Advantages of Water Transportation through the Splendid Harbors of Galveston and Velasco, so that our Freight Rates are Cut Practically ~~in~~ Half. The Climate is Extremely Healthful and Superior to that of California or Florida—Winter and Summer—owing to the Constant Gulf Breeze.

Our Contract Embodies Life and Accident Insurance, and should You die, or become totally disabled, Your Family, or anyone else You name, will get the Farm without the Payment of another Penny. If You should be Dissatisfied, we will Absolutely Refund Your Money, as per the Terms of our Guarantee.

Write for our Free Book. Fill Out the Blank Space below with Your Name and Address, plainly written, and mail it to the Texas-Gulf Realty Company, 1304 Peoples Gas Building, Chicago, Illinois. Read It carefully, then use Your Own Good Judgment.

\* \* \*

Please send me your book, "Independence With Ten Acres."



The Man with the Hoe—and the Bank Account

# The Greatest Florida Book Ever Written—Yours for the Asking

you want to know just why thousands upon thousands are flocking to Florida—want to know just what has turned the tide of capital and labor to this state—if you want to **ALL** about Florida and the great Ocala Palatka Colony, where for 17 cents a day you may farm home worth \$5,000 a year—write today—now—for this great book, "Ten Acres and

Freedom"—the greatest piece of literature written about Florida.

## This Great Book Tells You Everything You Want to Know About FLORIDA

It tells you (and furnishes the proof directly from this great colony) of the enormous profits of a single acre of this land which is

startling the whole world. The "fact stories" it gives you about the wonderful climate and rainfall, of the limitless opportunities will astonish you—convince you at once that *here is the place for you to make your home.*

This great book tells all about Chas. H. Sieg, the man who is directly responsible for this great Florida land rush. It tells all about his great colony and its hundreds of model little truck and fruit farms—how the people here are becoming wealthy and independent—just as you can do. It gives actual photos of their farms and homes. And, besides, these people tell you *in their own words* just how they have succeeded—the most interesting and inspiring stories you have ever read.

In this great book, you will also learn all about how these new settlers carried away 10 first premiums on their products at the Marion County fair. It explains about the vast amount of money that is being expended in developing and building up this colony—it tells about the new million dollar railroad which runs directly through these colony farms.

Here in the great Ocala Palatka colony, you have the finest of roads—unequaled rail and water transportation—a most delightful climate, schools, churches, daily papers, rural mail routes, local and long distance phones—just an ideal community with the charm of the pleasure resort closely bound, with the ability to earn an independent living as long as you live.

A thousand families are here on their colony farms now—five new towns have been established—merchants with well stocked stores are here—everywhere you see cozy bungalows, everywhere you see growing fields.

Learn the truth about Florida—learn of the opportunities here for YOU. Sign, detach, and mail coupon at once.

### FREE FLORIDA BOOK COUPON

New South Farm & Home Company,  
683 Duval Hotel Bldg., Jacksonville, Florida.

Please send me your big free book "Ten Acres and Freedom," and proofs, actual photographs and other literature describing your colony farms in the proven districts of Marion and Putnam counties, Florida. I do not bind myself to buy, but will gladly read your free literature.

R. of R.-12

Name .....  
Address .....

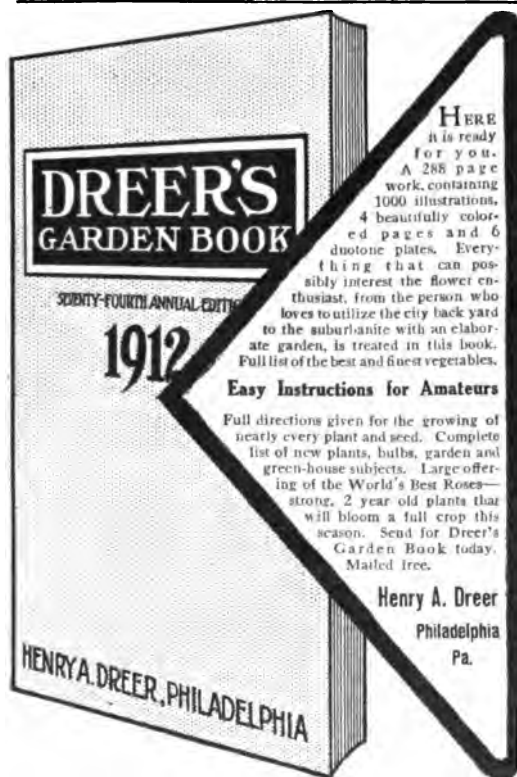


### The Evolution of a Ten Acre Colony Farm

These are not pen pictures—but actual every day scenes. The first second are the same day in Michigan and Florida—March 10th, 0. The next—a colonist's cozy bungalow. Eating oranges fresh from the trees—prize sweet potatoes raised by a colonist. Look into these pictures—certainly here is the charm of the pleasure at closely bound with the ability to earn an independent living.

# FOR THE GARDEN

REVIEW OF REVIEWS readers are the sort of people who have gardens, or want to have them. A most interesting, profitable and pleasant occupation for men, women and children is the planting of seeds and making things grow,—good for the body and for the mind. Below are the announcements of producers of, and dealers in, seeds and plants. They issue catalogues, a perusal of which will furnish a liberal education in gardening. Each of these concerns is a specialist in some one line at least, and a number of them have originated varieties of flowers or vegetables that have given their names a prominent place in horticultural history.



HERE it is ready for you. A 288 page work, containing 1000 illustrations, 4 beautifully colored pages and 6 duotone plates. Everything that can possibly interest the flower enthusiast, from the person who loves to utilize the city back yard to the suburbanite with an elaborate garden, is treated in this book. Full list of the best and finest vegetables.

**Easy Instructions for Amateurs**

Full directions given for the growing of nearly every plant and seed. Complete list of new plants, bulbs, garden and green-house subjects. Large offering of the World's Best Roses—strong, 2 year old plants that will bloom a full crop this season. Send for Dreer's Garden Book today. Mailed free.

Henry A. Dreer  
Philadelphia  
Pa.

HENRY A. DREER, PHILADELPHIA



**Plant Your Garden Seeds in It Now**  
**\$250 Buys It**

It will pay you to buy this greenhouse right now and start your flower and vegetable plants going. Your garden then will be 6 weeks ahead this year. Next fall you can bring plants in before frost and have a flower garden all winter. No hobby is more delightful—none so inexpensive. House shipped ready for immediate erection. Price includes everything—even the boiler. Send at once for complete booklet.

**Hitchings & Company**  
1175 Broadway, New York

## Burpee's Seeds Grow!

THE truth of this famous "slogan" is attested by thousands of the most progressive planters throughout the world,—who rely year after year upon Burpee's Seeds as The Best Seeds That Can Be Grown! If you are willing to pay a fair price for **Quality-Seeds**, we shall be pleased to mail, without cost, a copy of **Burpee's Annual for 1912**. Long known as "The Leading American Seed Catalog" this Bright New Book of 178 pages tells the plain truth and is a safe guide to success in the garden. Do you want it? If so, write to-day! Address

**W. ATLEE BURPEE & CO., Philadelphia.**

# EVERYTHING for the GARDEN



is the title of our 1912 catalogue—the most beautiful and complete horticultural publication of the day—really a book of 204 pages, 5 colored plates and over 800 photo engravings, showing actual results without exaggeration. It is a mine of information of everything in Gardening either for pleasure or profit and embodies the results of over sixty-four years of practical experience. To give this catalogue the largest possible distribution we make the following liberal offer.

## Every Empty Envelope Counts As Cash

To everyone who will state where this advertisement was seen and who encloses Ten Cents we will mail the catalogue

And also Send Free of Charge

### Our Famous 50 Cent "HENDERSON" COLLECTION OF SEEDS

containing one packet each of Ponderosa Tomato, Big Boston Lettuce, Scarlet Globe Radish, Henderson's Invincible Aspers, Mammoth Butterfly Parsnips and Giant Spencer Sweet Peas, in a coupon envelope which, when emptied and returned, will be accepted as a 25-cent cash payment on any order amounting to \$1.00 and upward.

In addition, all ordering from this advertisement will receive a copy of our new Garden Guide and Record. This is a hand book of general garden information, planting tables, cooking receipts, cultural directions, etc., etc., and in all is one of the most necessary and valuable of our many publications.

**PETER HENDERSON & CO.** 35 & 37 CORTLANDT ST. NEW YORK CITY.

## DAHLIA ROOTS

GET the best direct from the grower. We will send you the most exquisitely beautiful pure pink Dahlia in the world, DOROTHY PEACOCK, strong dormant root; 75c postpaid. 5 beautiful and distinct named Dahlias, 40c postpaid. Or we will send DOROTHY PEACOCK and 5 varieties as above; 6 in all, 75c field roots, all carefully labeled, true to name, for \$1.00. One the largest Dahlia growers in the world and make this remarkable offer to their customers our "Quality Dahlias that Bloom." Illustrated descriptive catalogue free.

**PEACOCK DAHLIA FARMS, Berlin, New Jersey**

## ONION SEED

There is Money in GROWING ONIONS

We are extensive growers of and dealers in the choicest varieties.

Write for price.

**Childer Bros. Chillicothe, Ohio.**

## GET A FOSTER HIGH DUTY RAM

Pumps water from stream, pond or spring. No expense for power, no trouble, no repairs, water raised to any height in any quantity. It gives you

Running Water When and Where You Want It

No trouble or expense to maintain. High in efficiency; low in cost. Write for free book of helpful suggestions and important information.

**POWER SPECIALTY CO.**

2145 Trinity Building, New York



## FERRY'S

Plant breeding and selecting has been our business for years. We market the results in the shape of thoroughbred vegetable and flower seeds. They grow good crops.

1912 Seed Annual Free on Request  
**D. M. FERRY & CO., Detroit, Mich.**

## SEEDS

### PLANT THE QUALITY GRAPE CATAWBA—CONCORD

The grape for everybody everywhere

A cross between the Catawba and the Concord—so scientifically made that it unites all their merits with none of their defects. Equal in quality to the finest hot-house grapes, and as easily grown as the Concord. For ten years, it has proved its superiority. Has received awards wherever shown.

Write at once for large descriptive catalog of Raspberries, Blackberries, Grapes, Strawberries, Currants, Gooseberries, Garden Roots, Hardy Perennial Plants, Shrubs, Vines, Roses, etc. It tells how to plant and grow them—free to everybody.

**J. T. LOVETT, Box 178, Little Silver, N. J.**



## "REECO"—Dependable Water

For over half a century "Reeco" Rider and "Reeco" Ericsson Pumping Engines (operated by hot air) have been considered the most efficient, economical and dependable equipment made for domestic water supply.

Water service that is abundant for all needs, that is constant in all seasons and all weather conditions, is assured by "Reeco" equipment—in connection with pressure or elevated tanks.

No other pumps are so simple to operate, so safe and reliable, so free from breakdowns, as "Reeco" Pumps. A child can operate them.

Over 40,000 "Reeco" Pumps are now in use.

### RIDER-ERICSSON ENGINE CO.

New York. Boston. Philadelphia. Montreal. P. O. Sydney. Australia

## Supply Systems

Write nearest office for Illustrated Catalog





# 61

## FLOOR VARNISH

provides a tough wearing surface on wood floors and ~~linoleum~~ because it is mar-proof, heel-proof, water-proof. Prove it.

**Send for Free Sample Panel**

finished with "61." Hit it with a hammer and prove *you may dent the wood but the varnish won't crack.* "The Finished Floor" tells how to finish and care for floors. Send for it—free.

If your dealer hasn't "61" address 127 Tonawanda St., Buffalo, N. Y.;  
In Canada, 73 Courtwright St., Bridgeburg, Ont.


**PRATT & LAMBERT VARNISHES**

AMERICAN FACTORIES  
New York Buffalo Chicago  
BRIDGEBURG CANADA

ESTABLISHED 63 YEARS


FOREIGN FACTORIES  
LONDON PARIS  
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TRADE  
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## The Efficiency of a Utica Plier



TRADE  
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is greater than any other tool made. The handles are scientifically designed to fit the hand so that great leverage is possible without great effort. The cutting edges are tempered by special Utica process. The material and workmanship are the best. Utica Pliers for the householders, milliners, mechanics, jewelers, electricians, plumbers, linemen, railroad men, metal workers, aviators, autoists and everybody who has anything to fix. Utica Pliers are guaranteed. Do not accept a substitute. Get your money's worth. Write for Plier Palmistry.

**UTICA DROP FORGE & TOOL CO., UTICA, N. Y.**



## KEYSTONE

FOR WALLS AND CEILINGS

GOES ON LIKE PAINT; LOOKS LIKE WALL PAPER; YOU CAN WASH IT

A beautiful illustrated book of 24 colors and Photographs sent free. Send your name and address to the KEYSTONE VARNISH CO., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Folding BATH TUB



Costs little, no plumbing, requires little water. Weight 15 pounds, and folds into small size. Full length baths, far better than the tubs. Lasts for years. Write for special agents offer and full description. **ROBINSON BFG. CO., 2929 Adams Street, TOLEDO, OHIO.** Manufacturers Turkish Bath Cabinets.

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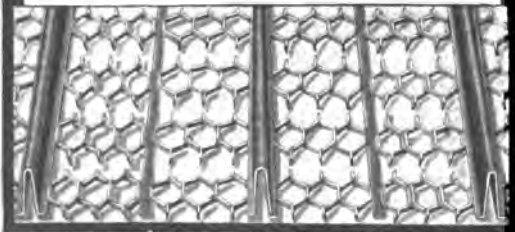
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J-M Asbestos Roofing is literally a pliable rock. It consists of several layers of solid *Asbestos rock* fibres cemented firmly together with genuine Trinidad Lake Asphalt. It is *all* mineral. No perishable material in it.

This roofing contains nothing that can rot, melt, crack or be affected by water. And fire that will melt iron won't burn it.

## J-M ASBESTOS ROOFING

is still in service, without any painting or graveling, after more than a quarter of a century of wear.

Get this roofing from your dealer—or send your order direct if he can't supply you. Sample of the curious Asbestos Rock sent free, if you write our nearest Branch for Book W 47.

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WRITE FOR NEW CATALOGUE NO. 10

THE C. J. LUNDSTROM MFG. CO., LITTLE FALLS, N. Y.

Manufacturers of Sectional Bookcases and Filing Cabinets  
New York Office: Flatiron Building

# Two Important Features of The MUNSEY For February

## A Vitally Illuminating Article on a Criminally Corrupt Condition in the Republican Party

By Judson C. Welliver

Paradoxical as it may seem, half the votes necessary to control the Republican Party in the next National Convention represent the political machines of eleven states, no one of which has cast an electoral vote for a Republican Presidential candidate for 36 years. The charge is made that these machines live through the grace and patronage of the Republican administration, and that the alliance is vicious and corrupt. Mr. Welliver presents evidence of vital interest to voters of every party.

The Opening Chapters of a New Novel by

## George Barr McCutcheon

Author of "Graustark," "Beverly of Graustark," "Truxton King," etc.

### "The Hollow of Her Hand"

"The Hollow of Her Hand" is the most fascinating of all McCutcheon's powerful stories. It deals with the mysterious death of a rich New Yorker. He has been murdered, apparently by a woman, but the perpetrator of the deed has disappeared without leaving a clue. The story develops through complications of growing emotional intensity to a most dramatic climax. "The Hollow of Her Hand" is McCutcheon at his best.

### Other Notable Features

"Barring Out the Stock Thieves," by Isaac F. Marcossion,—a timely article setting forth Kansas' unique plan of safeguarding her people's investments.

"Disarming New York," by Charles E. Van Loan. This tells how the so-called "gun law" is working to end the reign of terror caused by the "gangs" of the East and West Side of the metropolis.

"A Million American Stockholders," by John S.

Gregory. The Financial Department with its usual safe and sane suggestions to investors. Stage Comment, that discusses theatre folk and their presentations from the viewpoint of the general public, and the usual able and informative Editorials.

Another instalment of the absorbingly interesting serial "The Bandbox," by Louis Joseph Vance, and eleven short stories.

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**W**HEN a watch factory not far from Chicago decided in opening a new plant that electric drive was the only thing for the modern watch works, they called our engineers in consultation.

We advised them that in their particular case the apparent extra expense of individual motor drive with Westinghouse Motors over group drive with electric motors was not an expense at all, but an investment.

After going over with them the advantages of individual motor drive in ease of control, in economy of factory arrangement, in efficiency of operation because no current is consumed in turning shafting enough for a dozen machines when only one is needed; they agreed with us and installed the individual Westinghouse Motors.

For comparison this plant had as a neighbor a plant turning out the same class of work but applying power to its

This service has in mind, not the installation of a motor, **BUT EFFICIENT MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION BY MEANS OF THE MOTOR.** To that end the motor is designed to do its particular work with the least lost motion or expenditure of energy. And to that end we give the customer the full benefit of our wide experience in industrial power application.

**YOU ARE INTERESTED IN THE WESTINGHOUSE MOTOR** if you are interested in any of the great industries in this country. The Westinghouse Motor has bettered some operation in every one of them.

machines through shafting and belts by means of two large electric motors. **ON A YEAR'S COMPARISON THE POWER BILL PER MACHINE FOR THE SAME AMOUNT OF WORK IS ONE THIRD LESS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL DRIVE.**

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A Barrett Specification Roof will cost less than any other permanent roof, will last upwards of twenty years and will need no painting or coating or care. Such roofs are fire-retardant and take the base rate of insurance.

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### SPECIAL NOTE

We advise incorporating in plans the full wording of The Barrett Specification, in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

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ROOFING—Shall be a Barrett Specification Roof laid as directed in printed Specification, revised August 15, 1911, using the materials specified, and subject to the inspection requirement.





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The "Standard" guarantee label removes every element of speculation from your plumbing expenditure and makes it a guaranteed investment. The years of comfort, convenience and healthfulness which the installation of "Standard" guaranteed plumbing fixtures assures, quickly repays their cost and adds permanently to the value of your home.

Genuine "Standard" fixtures for the Home and for School, Office Buildings, Public Institutions, etc., are identified by the Green and Gold Label, with the exception of baths bearing the Red and Black Label, which, while of the first quality of manufacture, have a slightly thinner enameling, and thus meet the require-

ments of those who demand "Standard" quality at less expense. All "Standard" fixtures with care will last a lifetime. And, no fixture is genuine *unless it bears the guarantee label*. In order to avoid the substitution of inferior fixtures, specify "Standard" goods in writing (not verbally) and make sure that you get them.

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*From a Photograph Showing the Last Step in Locating the Exact Center of Population of the United States.*

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### ***A Title that Fits Every Bell Telephone***

From the census of 1910 it is found that the center of population is in Bloomington, Indiana, latitude 39 degrees 10 minutes 12 seconds north, and longitude 86 degrees 32 minutes 20 seconds west.

“If all the people in the United States were to be assembled in one place, the center of population would be the point which they could reach with the minimum aggregate travel, assuming that they all traveled in direct lines from their residence to the meeting place.”

—*U. S. Census Bulletin.*

This description gives a word picture of every telephone in the Bell system.

Every Bell telephone is the center of the system.

It is the point which can be reached with “the minimum aggregate travel,” by all the people living within the range of telephone transmission and having access to Bell telephones.

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***One System***

***Universal Service***



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After systematic shampooing with Packer's Tar Soap the scalp feels loose and relaxed, not tight and drawn. It frees the pores of all foreign matter, establishes hygienic conditions and aids Nature in maintaining the vitality, lustre and color of the hair.

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



JUNE, 1912

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when the appetite needs to be coddled with fresh fruits that nourish and strengthen without disturbing the digestion. There is nothing so deliciously satisfying as

## Shredded Wheat Biscuit

### With Strawberries and Cream

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Heat one or more Shredded Wheat Biscuits in the oven to restore crispness; then cover with strawberries (or other berries) and serve with milk or cream, adding sugar to suit the taste.

The Shredded Wheat Company

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# Thoughtful people in every State are turning to the POSTAL LIFE

The Company saves them *money*  
and helps safeguard their *health*

## VIGOROUS POSTAL GROWTH

Recently a big business man out West arranged a POSTAL policy for \$50,000, paying a premium in advance—all by correspondence.

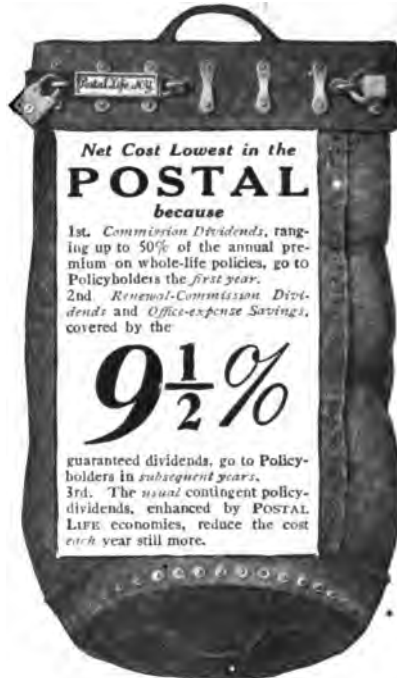
He found the POSTAL to be sound, well-managed and a money-saver for him.

He saves \$613. at the start—the agent's commission on his *first-year's* premium; in *subsequent* years he receives the agent's *renewal-commission* and an *office-expense saving*, amounting to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of his premium, or \$163.50 each year, *guaranteed in his policy*.

This seemed good to the man out West and it seems good to many others taking out *smaller policies*, throughout the United States and the Provinces of Canada.

Our first quarter's new business in 1912 has *doubled* that for a like period in 1911.

February just past was 17% larger than January, March was 44% larger than February and April was larger still.



No company, new or old, can, we believe, match this record of comparative increase—an increase due to the fact that "*thoughtful people in every State are turning to the POSTAL LIFE.*"

## STRONG POSTAL POINTS

**First:** *Old-line legal-reserve insurance*—not fraternal or assessment.

**Second:** *Standard policy reserves*, now more than \$10,000,000. *Insurance in force* more than \$50,000,000.

**Third:** *Standard policy provisions*, approved by the State Insurance Department.

**Fourth:** Operates under *strict State requirements* and subject to the United States postal authorities.

**Fifth:** *High medical standards* in the selection of risks.

**Sixth:** *Policyholders' Health Bureau* provides one free medical examination each year, if desired.

The POSTAL LIFE conducts an interstate business but with offices in New York only; it does not "*enter*" other States and is therefore not subject to State licenses, fees, and taxes for occupying territory and for other State exactions, thus *making substantial savings for all policyholders wherever they may live.*

"I will pay you to find out just what you can save, the first year and every other, by arranging with the POSTAL.

The Company will send no agent to visit you. To get official information, simply write and say: "*Mail insurance-particulars as mentioned in THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS for June.*"

And be sure to give:

1. YOUR OCCUPATION

2. THE EXACT DATE OF YOUR BIRTH

## POSTAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

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Mothers say: We want to give our families the right food. We want to be sure that everything which they eat is pure and wholesome, but HOW CAN WE KNOW?

## What Women Ask About Crisco



**T**HE discovery of Crisco has awakened a truly remarkable interest. Finding it hard to believe that its many advantages were possible, hundreds of people have written us, asking question after question about it.

### Is Crisco economical when used as you would lard?

Crisco goes further, lasts longer than lard. Foods fry in Crisco so quickly that a crust forms instantly, and prevents absorption. Often after using Crisco for deep frying, when pouring the Crisco back, it looks as if it will overflow the can, so little has been absorbed. Crisco does not absorb either odors or flavors, does not discolor or burn. Strain Crisco through cheese cloth and it can be used and re-used, two or three times as often as lard. Letters have been received from over a hundred women in one month commenting on the improvement Crisco has made in their doughnuts.



The vegetable shortening makes shortcake as digestible as it is delicious

### Is Crisco healthful?

Crisco, on account of its pure vegetable origin, is more healthful than any animal or partially animal fat.

### Has Crisco a disagreeable odor?

One of the most pleasing features of Crisco is its delicate aroma. Crisco biscuits or Crisco shortcake, served hot, will be most convincing proof.

### How should Crisco be used?

Do not keep Crisco in a refrigerator. The best results are secured when it is kept at the ordinary temperature of a room. Then it will be firm, neither too soft nor too hard, but of just the proper consistency

to work into flour. When used where you would lard, use one-fifth less. When used where you would butter, use a little less. Then be sure to add salt.

### How hot should you heat Crisco for frying?

Heat the Crisco until a bread crumb will become golden brown, as follows:

In 60 seconds for	doughnuts, fritters, etc.
" 40 "	" croquettes, fishballs, etc.
" 20 "	" French fried potatoes, etc.

Seconds can be counted thus: one hundred and one, one hundred and two, etc.

Should your results not be wholly satisfactory, vary your way of using Crisco. Crisco has been tested so exhaustively, that it reasonably can be said that unsatisfactory results will not be the fault of the product. Most women follow their usual recipes and secure remarkable results.

If your grocer does not yet keep it, you probably will find it in other stores in your neighborhood; if not, on receipt of 25c in stamps or coin, we will send you, charges prepaid, a regular 25c package. Write plainly your name and address, and also let us have the name of your grocer. No more than one package will be sent direct from us to any one customer.

On request, we will mail an illustrated book of Tested Crisco Recipes. These show you the best ways of using Crisco in your everyday cooking, and explain many other advantages of Crisco. Write for a copy. Address The Procter & Gamble Co., Dept. C, Cincinnati, O.



The evidence in favor of a vegetable fat is overwhelming

**CRISCO—For Frying, For Shortening, For Cake Making**  
 Packages 25c, 50c, and \$1.00, except in the Far West



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The Civil War is the only great war that ever has been or ever can be photographed. It was the first war ever photographed, because photography was in its infancy then. And it was the last big fighting where the photographer could get near enough to the real action to get photographs of the whole thing. So it was fortunate that these 3800 lost photographs were recovered—for they give most of us our only chance to see a real war in the

## PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR

Modern field guns are deadly at three miles—often the cannoneers are out of sight.

Above all—the war correspondent today becomes virtually a war prisoner. He is suspected as a possible spy. He is kept away from the headquarters, and from the firing line as well; from any scene that might betray losses suffered, or the lay of the land, or the disposition of forts and earthworks.

But in '61 Brady and Gardner for the North, Cook and Lytle for the South, penetrated to the very storm centers. There was no "censor," no orders restricting photographers, no suspicion in '61. Why should there be? The camera was thought a toy. Photo-engraving had not been dreamed of. Brady and his fellow pioneers were allowed behind the very scenes of war, close to life and death.

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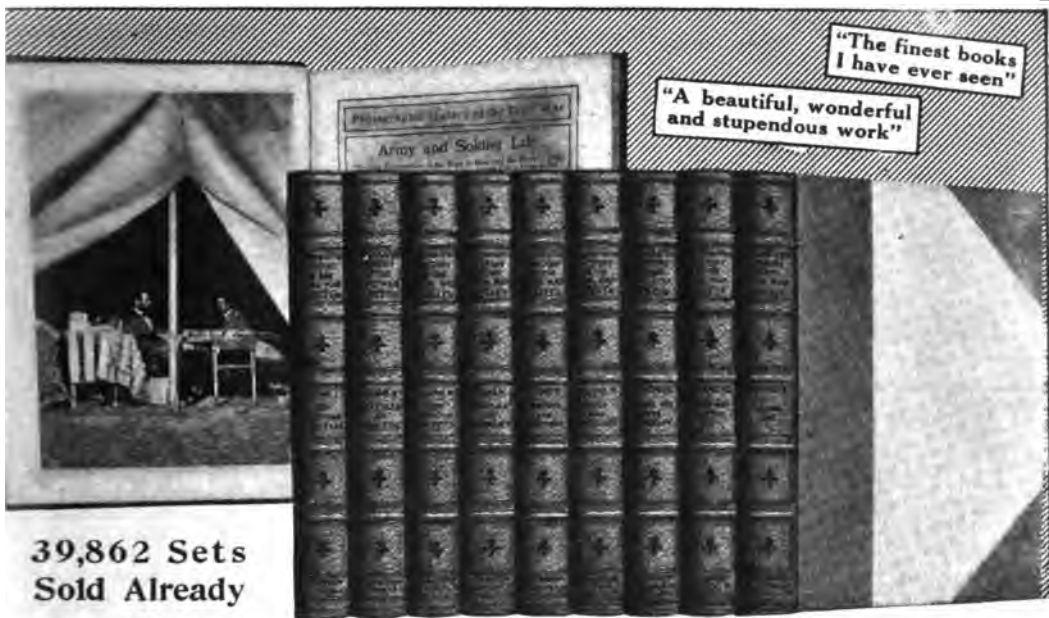
tion) were valued by President Garfield at \$150,000 and that you can have the whole 3800 including the astounding western and confederate views—and pay for them at the rate of 7 cents a day, and

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Surely any lingering doubt will leave your mind, and you will realize this opportunity is at least worth investigating—that you must send the coupon on the next page today, especially since it costs you nothing to do so.

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There is a power and a wonder in these ten volumes that we can't describe in words. Old men weep as they see them—young men grow eager with amazement—children become fascinated. They are not only a million words and 3800 photographs on thick lustrous paper, bound in rich blue and gold. They are that—but they are more. They are life—the life of 50 years ago swung back before our eyes, the strange war life we never really knew before transported into our peaceful homes.

That is one reason why 34,400 Americans have already ordered sets;

**that is why everybody rejoices in it, from General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff (who knows all about war), to the school teacher of Mt. Healthy, Ohio (who wants to know all about war).**

That is why the volumes sold within four months after publication, laid side by side, would cover the ground from New York to Philadelphia. That is why 1,023,000 pounds of the beautiful enamelled paper have already been used up to satisfy the first demand for sets—and that is why the volumes already ordered piled up make a mountain 32,300 feet high. But ever higher reaches the value of each individual set. From the day that the first daring photographer

risked his life and his fortune to get a precious negative to this day, when the beautiful ten volumes lie before you, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent, devoted labor beyond measuring has been given. And now the result of all this is yours at the price of an ordinary book, for free examination—to be paid for at your leisure—accurate enough to delight the late Gen. Frederick Dent Grant and Secretary of War Stimson—fascinating enough to make you hold your breath in astonishment.

### FREE Sample Pages and the Whole Story

Send the coupon without money for beautiful book of sample pages from the set, including reproductions of the wonderful photographs. With them you will get a profusely illustrated book telling the whole story of the taking, loss and recovery of the photographs.

Send the coupon and learn how to get your set of the Photographic History at the present low price and little payments. Mail the coupon today and avoid disappointment.

NEW YORK

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO.

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Send me FREE sample pages of the Photographic History of the Civil War and tell me how I can get a set, charges prepaid, and pay for it in small monthly payments.

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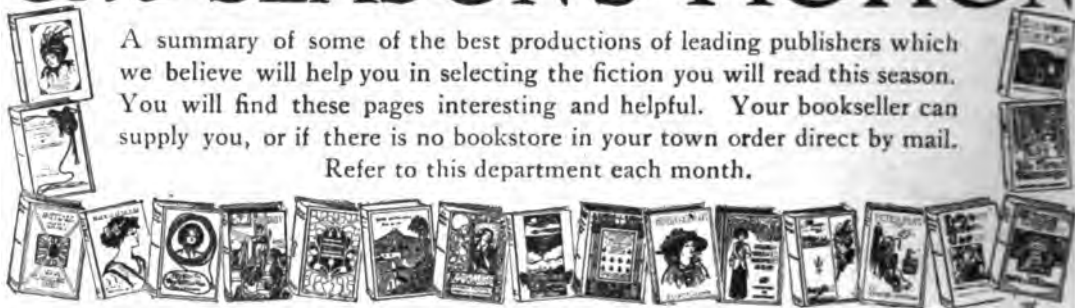
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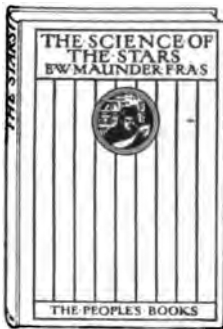
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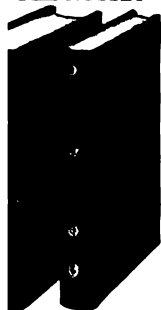
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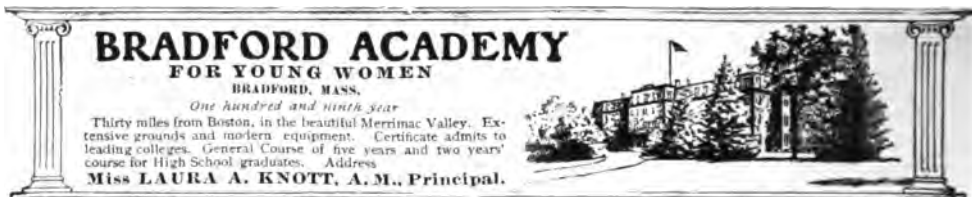
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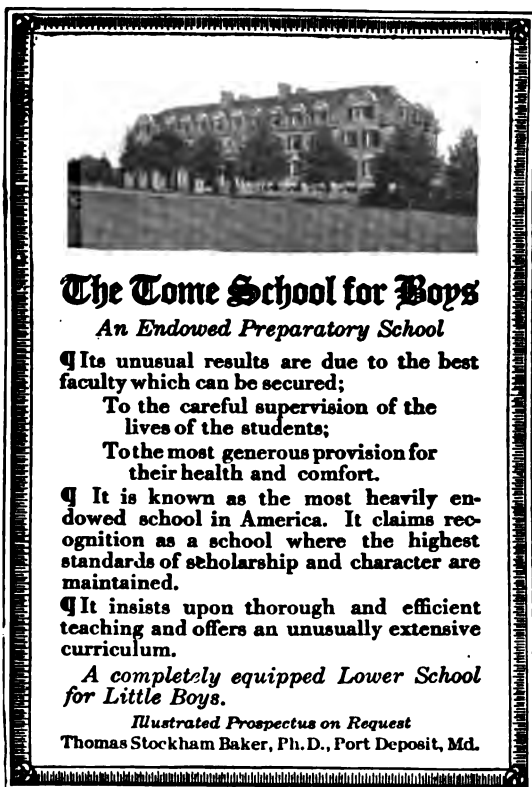
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1909-10	133
1910-11	164
1911-12	231

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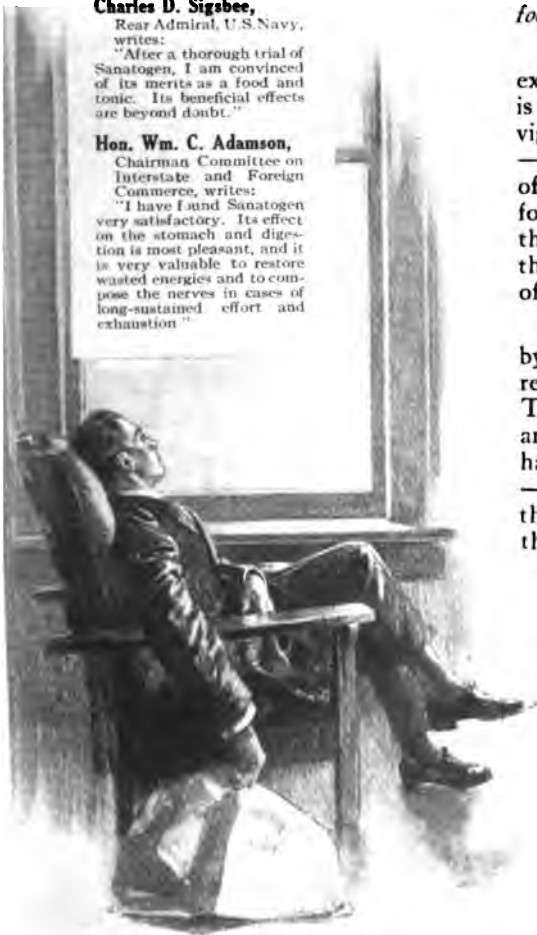
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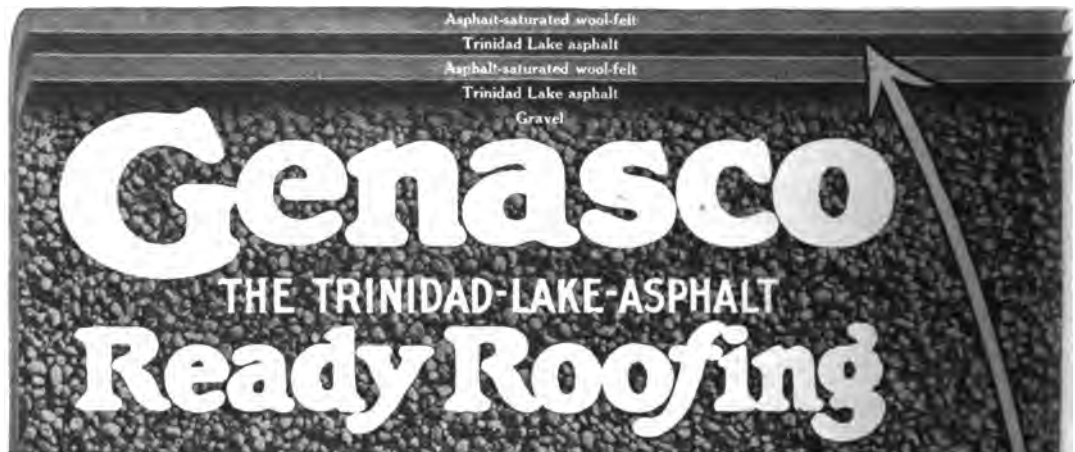
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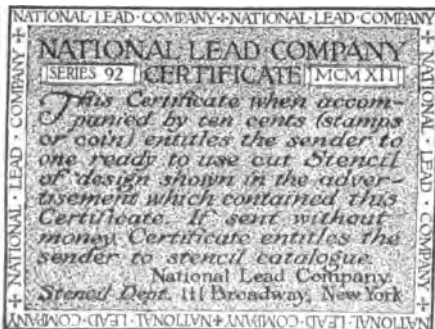


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You can always afford to use the best varnish. And you can always

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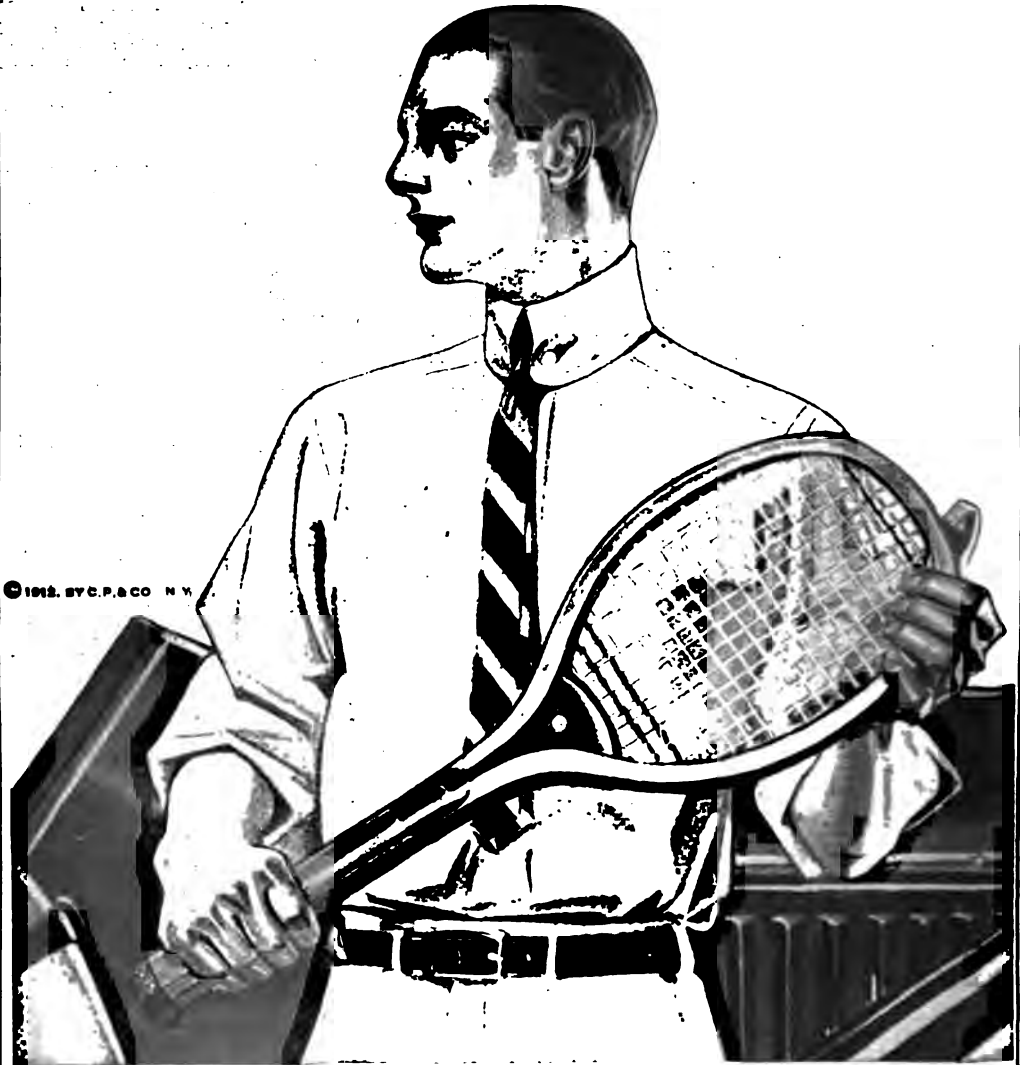
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*This Red Woven Label*



(Trade Mark Reg. U. S. Pat. Off. and Foreign Countries.)

B. V. D. Coat Cut Undershirts and Knee Length Drawers, 50c, 75c, \$1.00 and \$1.50 the garment.

B. V. D. Union Suits (Pat. U. S. A. April 30th, 1907.) \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$3.00 and \$5.00 the suit.

THE B. V. D. COMPANY,  
NEW YORK.

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**"YOU  
CAN'T  
FORGET  
TO MAKE IT  
SAFE"**



This allows you to put a COLT in your pocket, hand-bag or other convenient place **LOADED AND COCKED—READY FOR INSTANT USE** without risk of accidental discharge. The **SLIDE LOCK SAFETY** can be thrown on *if desired* making the COLT **DOUBLY SAFE**. This is an additional rather than an essential protective device. The COLT is always safe—it takes care of itself—and you.

The COLT **HAMMERLESS AUTOMATIC PISTOL** has **no** working parts exposed—no hammer to catch in the pocket. The **COLT SAFETIES** indicate whether or not the pistol is cocked. Remember COLTS have *proved* their superiority over all others. Catalogue No. 11, mailed free. It's full of interest.

**COLT'S PATENT FIRE ARMS MFG. CO.  
HARTFORD, CONN.**



The Genuine has this Label

TRADE MARK

**Porosknit**

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DESIGN PAT. DEC. 19, 1905

and  
is

**Guaranteed**

**Imitated, but Not Duplicated**

There are plenty of imitations, but there's none like the genuine "Porosknit"—*guaranteed* without time-limit or condition.

Examine genuine "Porosknit" and see the *difference* in the way it is made. Turn the garments inside out and note how strongly the seams are re-inforced, seamed and cover-seamed. Notice the tape re-inforcement of seat seam and opening of drawers. Observe the *large double seat*. Look for the actual "Porosknit" label as shown here and the Guarantee Bond—*proof of quality*—with each garment.

There's wonderful comfort and pleasure in wearing "Porosknit" Union Suits—only one thickness at waist, you know—and made to *stay* buttoned while on. Light, cool, elastic and durable. Try it.

For **50c** Any Style Men's Union Suits, \$1.00  
For **25c** Any Style Boys' Union Suits, 50c

Handled by Good Dealers Everywhere

Write for Illustrated Booklet of Styles

CHALMERS KNITTING COMPANY

6 Washington St.  
Amsterdam  
N. Y.



Get this  
when  
you purchase



# Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen



The  
*Vacation Necessity!!*

C. COLES PHILLIPS.

*For Your Home*

*A 7 x 11 reprint of this C. Coles Phillips  
girl, for framing, mailed upon receipt of  
five cents postage.*

Sold by leading Stationers, Jewelers, etc., everywhere. Avoid the substitutes.

L. E. Waterman Co., 173 Broadway, N. Y.

Boston

Chicago

San Francisco

Montreal

London

Paris



# *The SPECIAL* KODAKS

They take what you want  
when you want it.

Snap-Shots on cloudy days, snap-shots in light shade—even in-door snap-shots when conditions are right—all these are easily possible with the *Special* Kodaks.

They are pocket cameras, so light that you carry them where you will; they are *Kodaks*, so simple that you readily learn to use them; they are capable instruments, so efficient that they take what you want, when you want it.

IN DETAIL:—Zeiss Kodak Anastigmat lenses, speed *f.* 6.3. Compound shutters, with variable indicated speed—from 1 second to  $\frac{1}{100}$  of a second on the No. 2 and to  $\frac{1}{250}$  of a second on the Nos. 3 and 3A. Also time and "bulb" exposures. Right and sliding fronts, rack and pinion for focusing, reversible brilliant finder and sockets. Load in day-light with Kodak film cartridges. Made of aluminum covered with finest Persian morocco. Black leather bellows, heavily nickered fittings. Correct in design and accurate in every detail of construction.

No. 1A	Special Kodak, for pictures,	-	-	-	2½ x 4¼ inches,	\$50.00
No. 3	" " " "	-	-	-	3¼ x 4¼ "	52.00
No. 3A	" " " "	-	-	-	3¼ x 5½ "	65.00

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY,

Kodak Catalogue free at the  
dealers or by mail

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *The Kodak City.*

# Touch-Operating

# Dalton

## Adding Machine

**T**EN keys to finger is the simple concern of the Dalton operator. The ten-key key-board makes touch operation possible and easy—makes the Dalton 25 to 40 per cent speedier than any other adding machine. The hand obeys the eye instantly—mechanically. Your clerks and bookkeepers become expert touch operators in short order—without special training. Their proficiency means a big time-saving in handling the dead-loss details of accounting. That is why we figure the speed of the Dalton in dollars as well as hours.

## The machine of all-around usefulness

The Dalton is not a plain adder or simple calculator—but an all-around adding, listing and calculating machine. Better than any single purpose machine performs its solitary function the Dalton attends to its many duties with amazing rapidity and wonderful ease.

It multiplies, divides, adds and subtracts—handles fractions as readily as whole numbers. Cross-foots, computes interest, figures payrolls, extends bills, pro-rates, verifies invoices, foots trial balances and checks postings with unfaltering accuracy and wonderful speed. Is a visible writer. Like the best typewriters it prints in plain sight. Prints without adding—adds without printing. Has a designating key.

### "Half a Hundred Reasons"

Here is a booklet of untold interest to the man with an accounting problem of his own. It tells specifically what the Dalton means to him—what it will save his business. No matter what your business is—or what your capacity with the firm,

"Half a Hundred Reasons" is a need. It is as full of meaty interest for bookkeeper, clerk and accountant as for the executive, department manager and business owner. It shows the way to more money and better work for the employee just as it points out the many time-saving economies of the Dalton to the manager and employer. "Fastest for the expert, fastest for the novice." If you are interested in the application of the Dalton to your particular problem, write for copy—**TODAY.**



**The Dalton Adding  
Machine Company**

526 Water St., POPLAR BLUFF, MO.



THE ONLY STANDARD  
**5-DRAWER** Correspondence  
And **6-DRAWER** Invoice  
STEEL FILING SECTIONS

(NOTE CONVENIENT HEIGHT)

This Combination gives  
(in filing inches)

96 Inches for 3 x 5

Cards

216 Inches for letters

144 Inches for invoices

AND OCCUPIES ONLY

27 x 41 INCHES

OF FLOOR AREA

**No Other  
Sections  
Give Such  
Capacity  
In So  
Limited a  
Floor Space**

Maximum use of every  
filing inch guaranteed  
by a "follower block"  
that always prevents  
papers from sagging.

Sections interlock—only  
one pair end panels needed.



*Most Complete Line of "READY TO SHIP" Steel Filing Sections Made*

**Baker-Vawter Company**

(Devisers and Manufacturers of Accounting Systems)

CHICAGO

HOLYOKE

# ASK OUR MOTOR DEPARTMENT



Write to this department about your motor, or the type of motor you think of buying,—any automobile problems that confront you, technical or otherwise. Write also as to the suitability or whereabouts of any kinds of accessories, or motoring literature.

We have added to our staff the most competent technical authority we could find to give this service to readers of the REVIEW of REVIEWS. *No charge for answers*, which will come promptly by mail.

Such answers as we consider of special interest to other readers will also be printed below.

Address, Motor Service Bureau, The Review of Reviews Co., New York City

## CORRESPONDENCE FROM MOTOR SERVICE BUREAU

CONDUCTED BY ALBERT L. CLOUGH

No. 1090.—Please tell me if it is practicable to apply an arrangement for spark starting to a car having high tension magneto ignition only, and no dual system, so that a self-starter of the acetylene type can be used.—*Worcester, Mass.*

It seems to us that under these conditions the best plan is to install an entirely separate, and distinct system of battery ignition upon which the motor can be started on the spark. The great advantage in doing this is that the car then has a complete reserve system of ignition and can be operated satisfactorily in case the magneto fails and can still be used if the magneto has to be sent away for repairs. The presence of the complete reserve system enables one to tell at once whether defective running of the motor is caused by faulty ignition or by defective carburetion or some other cause. The expense of installing such a system may be objectionable but it is a great satisfaction to have a reliable reserve ignition system. There are some engines which have no shaft on which a timer or distributor can be located, and there may be some instances in which another set of spark plugs cannot be provided for, but these are quite rare. A combined timer and distributor with a single coil and a second set of spark plugs with a battery of five dry cells and the proper switch connections constitute a complete reserve system. If it is not desired to go so far as to put in a new system, we think that the manufacturer of the magneto which happens to be in use should be consulted as to whether the magneto system can be modified into a dual system in any way. If this cannot be done in a practical manner it may be possible to install an ordinary vibrator coil, set of dry cells and starting button so connected that the secondary current of the vibrator coil will be distributed by the magneto distributor to the cylinder which is in firing order when the button is pressed. The manufacturer of the magneto should be consulted as to whether this can be done and as to the method of making the connections.

No. 1100.—Can you tell me anything concerning the so-called tire fillers which are on the market?—*Cornell, Illinois.*

While we have little firsthand knowledge concerning these fillers, because of their being comparatively little used, we understand that they are compositions of such materials as glucose, glue and glycerine which are of a somewhat springy nature. The mixture is forced into a pneumatic tire, when in a melted condition, by means of air pressure and solidifies therein remaining, however, in a somewhat resilient condition. A tire so filled, it is claimed, cannot de-

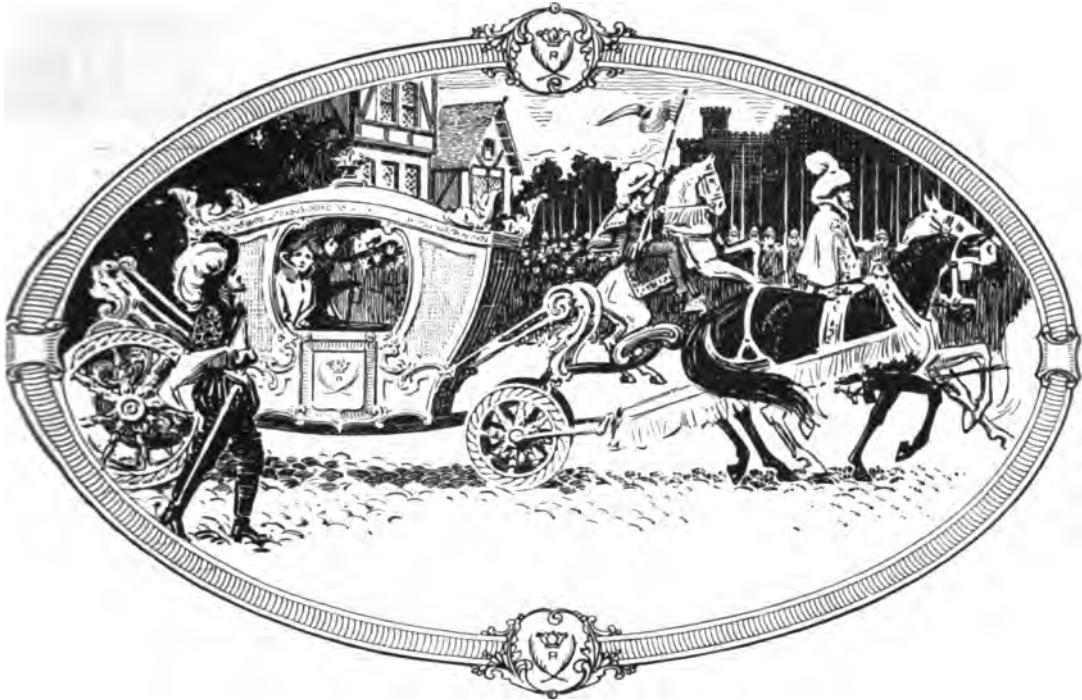
flate through puncture and of course requires no pumping up. Of course it cannot be expected that a tire thus filled with a semi-solid material can be as elastic as a tire inflated with air, and it cannot be expected that it should ride so easily as a regular pneumatic tire. Whatever lack of elasticity it possesses leads to more severe stresses in the axles and other parts of the running gear than are experienced in the use of pneumatic tires, and in the adoption of filled tires account should be taken of this fact just as it should be when solid rubber tires are substituted for pneumatics.

No. 1102.—What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of the long and short stroke motor, especially as regards durability and economy of fuel and oil? Can a car equipped with magneto but without batteries be depended upon to start promptly?—*Poland, Ohio.*

The bore being the same, the longer the stroke, within rather wide limits, the greater the output from the motor in the proportion of the 0.6 power of the stroke, approximately. The long stroke motor, however, is considerably heavier than the short stroke motor for a given output. While there is a general impression prevailing that the long stroke motor is more flexible than the short stroke motor, that is, that it will run satisfactorily, under load, through a wider range of speed variation, the question is by no means settled, particularly as there are a number of factors beside the ratio of stroke to bore upon which flexibility depends. The advantages of the long stroke motor are more apparent in vehicles intended for rather low speeds, such as town cars, than in touring cars, because the lower rotative speed of the long stroke motor makes it easier to effect the gear reduction required. Large bore motors cannot, in practice, be successfully given very large stroke-bore ratios. As to durability of the two types very little can confidently be asserted at the present time, but practice will determine whatever difference may exist in this regard.

The long stroke motor is more economical of gasoline because there is less cooling surface exposed to the ignited charge per unit of output than in the short stroke motor. As to oil economy we have no reliable information.

A vehicle motor can be depended upon to start reliably on the magneto, without battery auxiliary and this practice is extensively followed in Europe. Such a motor must usually be spun or at least cranked energetically in order to speed up the magneto sufficiently to give a good spark. With motors of large bore and high compression, considerable



## The Royal Coach—Then and Now

**D**URING the 16th and 17th centuries, only the nobility rode in coaches—hence the name *royal coach*, signifying the highest type of vehicle construction.

In the Electric Vehicle of today we have the modern royal coach; but there is more real comfort and luxuriousness in the Electric than ever was possible in those splendid equipages of the past.

¶ The Electric Vehicle is refined enough and exclusive enough in appearance to suit the most aristocratic, formal occasion. It is commodious enough for a family outing—dignified enough for the business or professional man.

¶ With all its niceties of design and equipment, the Electric is the staunchest, sturdiest specimen of carriage building. It has sufficient power to sat-

isfy every normal desire for speed, but even children may drive it with safety.

¶ The Electric does away with the necessity for a chauffeur—it takes scarcely any time to learn its simple operation. Its general serviceability in all sorts of weather and its extreme economy of maintenance make it the one car for every member of the family—the car desirable for *you*.

*Before you buy any car—consider the Electric*

**ELECTRIC VEHICLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA**

BOSTON

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

(2)





# Our Profit 8½ Per Cent

## No-Rim-Cut Tires 10% Oversize

The best way to judge a tire, perhaps, is to know what you get for the money.

And we believe that tire buyers are entitled to know. So we here announce our profit.

### The Tire That Outsell All Others

In the first place note that No-Rim-Cut tires now outsell all others.

Ours is by far the largest output ever known. Our present capacity is 3,800 tires daily. By July 1st it will be 5,000 tires daily—automobile tires alone.

We have also the most modern equipment. Our machinery is largely new. For the demand for these tires, in the past two years, has increased by 500 per cent. It has trebled in the past year alone.

So no concern in America has lower cost of production if it makes an equal tire.

### Last Year's Profit 8.57 Per Cent

With all these advantages, our profit last year on No-Rim-Cut tires was 8.57 per cent—close to 8½ per cent.

That is due to the fact that we use Up-River Para—the costliest rubber, but cheapest on the mileage basis.

It is due to the fact that we use costly long-fibre Sea Island cotton which, *in the end*, is cheapest for fabrics.

It is due to the fact that we make wrapped tires instead of moulded tires, because wrapped tires serve the user best.

It is due to giving oversize without extra cost.

It is due to making No-Rim-Cut tires cost the same as clincher tires. They used to cost one-fifth extra.

---

The point is this:

Tires can't be made more economically than in this mammoth, modern plant.

Men can't stay in this business on a smaller margin of profit. The business is risky, materials are fluctuating, and good tires are guaranteed.

In No-Rim-Cut tires you get as much for your money as any maker ever can give. And you know what you get.

If you consider that fair, it's another reason for insisting on these premier tires.



# Our Profit 8½ Per Cent

## The Truth About Cost of Tires

Tires can be made to fit any price which users want to pay. The only just comparison is **the cost per mile.**

Cheap tires may cost far more per mile than tires at twice the price. Tires may also be too costly—too fine in composition to endure.

The object of the expert is **the lowest cost per mile.** That has been our object for some 13 years.

### How We Know

We make our comparisons on tire-testing machines, where four tires at a time are worn out under all sorts of road conditions. Meters record the mileage.

There we have compared, by actual mileage, some 210 formulas and fabrics. There we have compared every method, material and process. There we have compared rival tires with our own.

Thus for 13 years we have ceaselessly aimed at the lowest cost per mile. And our sensational sales show how we have succeeded.

### Saving 48 Per Cent

Then we took up the question of rim-cut tires. Statistics show that 23 per cent of ruined old-type tires are rim-cut.

So we brought out a patent new-type tire—a hookless tire—which makes rim-cutting impossible. This patent tire—the Goodyear No-Rim-Cut tire—wipes out this loss of 23 per cent.

Then we made these tires 10 per cent oversize, to save the blow-outs due to overloading. This extra capacity, with the average car, adds 25 per cent to the tire mileage.

Thus the average tire bills were cut almost in two. Yet these oversize tires—these tires which can't rim-cut—are sold as low as standard old-type tires.

One result is a minimum profit—a profit of 8½ per cent. Another result is a larger sale than any other tire commands.



# GOODYEAR

AKRON, OHIO

## No-Rim-Cut Tires

With or Without Non-Skid Treads

Our 1912 Tire Book—based on 13 years of tire making—is filled with facts you should know. Ask us to mail it to you.

**THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER COMPANY, Akron, Ohio**

Branches and Agencies in 103 Principal Cities

We Make All Kinds of Rubber Tires, Tire Accessories and Repair Outfits

Main Canadian Office, Toronto, Ont.

Canadian Factory, Bowmanville, Ont.



# 90% Manufactured—Six Cylinders—48 h.p. Chrome-Nickel Steel—\$1850

¶ Whenever the EVERITT "SIX" enters a new neighborhood, it immediately becomes the storm center of a discussion which inevitably results to the advantage of the EVERITT.

¶ Everyone who examines it finds a score of features greatly in excess of existing standards of value.

¶ One of the first surprises—It is *manufactured* to an extent not exceeded by any other car in America.

¶ This fact alone, price considered, is rather remarkable—the more so since the majority of cars at or about \$1800 are not only four-cylinder cars, but assembled products to a greater or less extent.

¶ Here is a car which is 90% *manufactured* in the EVERITT plant—which sells for \$1850—and which has six cylinders instead of four.

¶ Investigation finds further that the motor construction is identical in principle with that of four other noted cars, none of which sell for less than \$4000.



¶ The examination into the ~~kind~~ of materials used, the manner of manufacture and generosity of proportions cannot fail to convince as to the value of the EVERITT.

¶ And then more surprises:

¶ The operating qualities are equal to the high-grade standard set by the materials and manufacture. The EVERITT is as fine in every

essential as the best cars in the six-cylinder field.

¶ From an engineering standpoint, the names of the builders of the EVERITT—B. F. Everitt, Wm. E. Metzger and Wm. Kelly—furnish positive assurance as to its excellence.

¶ The character of the workmanship and experience embodied throughout the construction of the EVERITT guarantees lasting and satisfactory service. Every EVERITT owner or driver absolutely confirms this statement. "Ask them."

**EVERITT "Four-36"—\$1500**—Wheelbase, 115 inches; Tires 34x4 inches; Demountable Rims; Equipment complete, including Top, Windshield, two Gas Lamps, three Oil Lamps, Speedometer, Prest-O-Lite Tank, specially designed Tire Irons, unusually high-grade tool equipment and Disco Self-Starter.



**EVERITT "Six-48"—\$1850**—Wheelbase, 127 inches; Tires 36x4 inches; Demountable Rims; Equipment complete, including Disco Self-Starter, Top, Windshield, two Gas Lamps, three Oil Lamps, Speedometer, Prest-O-Lite Tank, specially designed Tire Irons on rear, Horn, Tools, etc.

**STANDARD "EVERITT-30"—\$1250**—Wheelbase, 110 inches; Tires, 34x3½ inches; Quick Detachable Rims; Equipment complete, including silk Mohair Top, Windshield, two Gas Lamps, three Oil Lamps, Generator, Horn, Tools and Repair Kit.

## Everitt drivers know—"Ask them."

¶ In other words, the EVERITT is 90% *EVERITT-manufactured*; it has six cylinders instead of four; and those cylinders are cast on the mono-bloc principle—in a unit.

¶ But this is only the beginning.

¶ In addition to being unsurpassed in the extent to which it is manufactured, the EVERITT is not surpassed by any high priced car in costliness of materials.

¶ It is easy to talk in a vague and general way of "fine materials" and "high-grade construction"—but the EVERITT promptly furnishes specific information on this score that cannot be overlooked.

¶ A better steel than Chrome-Nickel is yet to be made. It is impossible to find a higher quality of steel in any car at any price.

¶ The proportion of Chrome-Nickel utilized in the EVERITT is as great as the proportion of high-grade steel used in any car in the world—and greater than the proportion used in most.

¶ With a full understanding of the EVERITT construction and value, it is not difficult to understand its onward march.

¶ A ride in this splendid car will strengthen every claim made for it. Arrange today with our nearest dealer for a demonstration.

Catalog on request.

**Metzger Motor Car Company,**  
109 Milwaukee Ave., Detroit, Mich.

— — — — Use this Coupon — — — —

**Metzger Motor Car Co.,**  
109 Milwaukee Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Send Catalog and Dealer's Name

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## The Can with the Inner-seal

**F**OR your protection, and for ours, Texaco Motor Oil is sold in a can with an inner-seal. Just under the screw caps of the vent and the spout are stretched paper-thin pieces of white metal. Your knife will cut them as if they were cheese. But they mean much to you, the car owner, and to us, the refiners.

To you they mean that when you buy Texaco Motor Oil in cans you get exactly what you ask for and pay for—an oil that has proven its quality, that is free from carbon impurities, that shows a zero test, that lubricates perfectly and *increases* the efficiency of your motor.

To us they mean that the oil on which we have staked our reputation as refiners reaches your hands in the same condition in which it leaves ours. Under such conditions Texaco Motor oil speaks for itself with sufficient eloquence.

For sale in one and five gallon cans at most good garages and supply houses. Colors of the can—green with red star. Every can furnished with long, detachable spout that makes pouring easy.

We have published a booklet, "About Motor Lubrication," that every car owner should read. For your copy address, Dept. F, 3 West Street, N. Y. City.

**THE TEXAS COMPANY**  
HOUSTON NEW YORK

Branch Offices:

Boston	St. Louis	New Orleans	Puebla
Philadelphia	Norfolk	Dallas	Tulsa
Chicago	Atlanta	El Paso	





# FIISK

The FISK HEAVY CAR TYPE Tire is made in every style, *to fit any rim*. All Fisk Tires are identical in construction and quality. FISK PURE PARA TUBES have a lasting quality and superlative element of economy that *cannot* be found in *any compounded tube*.



Send for Description of our Two New Anti-Skid Treads—the Bailey Tread, that has more buttons than any other on the market, and the Fisk Town Car Tread, an effective tread with an attractively substantial appearance that speaks for its non-skidding qualities.

## TIRES

BAILEY TREAD TOWN CAR TREAD

IF YOU ARE READY to select a new Tire Equipment it is worth while to do a bit of first hand investigating. Read the claims that Tire Manufacturers may put forth for individual makes ; then put aside for future reference special records, selected testimonials and broad statements. Find out from personal inquiry among many users what the actual everyday and present-day results are from any given make of tire.

We rest our case on the verdict of our customers—anywhere and everywhere—including thousands whose names we have never heard and will never know.

We do this because our records show that it is safe for us to take this stand.

It is the percentage of tires that the manufacturer never hears of after

they leave the factory that determines the real strength or weakness of any product.

FISK SERVICE MEANS *mileage, direct representation* in all large cities, *distribution* through the most reliable dealers and an *honest interest* that every tire that leaves the Fisk factory shall give its maximum value to the purchaser.

# The Fisk Rubber Company

Department R. Chicopee Falls, Mass.

Direct Factory Branches in 35 Cities.

# Peerless 1913

## THREE SIXES

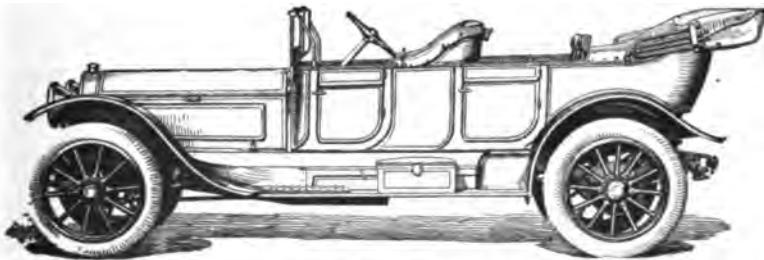
From the three six-cylinder models for 1913, "38-Six," "48-Six," and "60-Six," you may select a six-cylinder car suited exactly to your requirements in power and passenger capacity. Moreover, our dealers throughout the country can accept orders for immediate delivery.

## LONG STROKE MOTORS

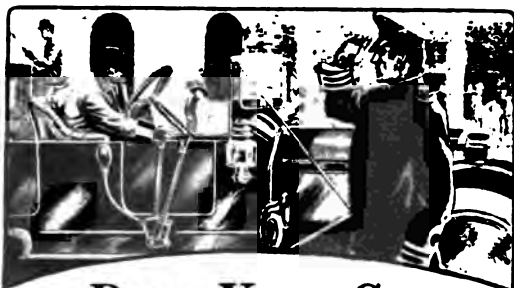
The 1913 Peerless six-cylinder motor has an exceptionally long stroke; it therefore possesses in an unusual degree the long-stroke advantages — flexibility, greater power and smoother action at low speeds.

## THE PEERLESS MOTOR CAR COMPANY

CLEVELAND, OHIO



"60-SIX" SEVEN-PASSENGER TOURING



## Does Your Car Command Respect?

They'll all take off their hats to your car if you keep it factory-new with **LIQUID VENEER**. Use it not only on the outside finish, but also on the leather seats, curtains, top and metal parts. It will make and keep everything bright and new and *will make the care of the car easier and more effective.*

# LIQUID VENEER

is used exclusively by many of the foremost automobile manufacturers and garages for giving an added touch of beauty to cars. It acts as a food to the costly varnished surface and prevents it from cracking, checking and blistering.



No fussy directions to follow—simply moisten a bit of cheese cloth and go over your car with it. No drying to wait for. No separate operations—**LIQUID VENEER** cleans *all* of your car at one "lick."

## Trial Bottle Free

Write for generous bottle of **LIQUID VENEER**. It will win respect for your car.

**BUFFALO SPECIALTY COMPANY,**  
253-D Liquid Veneer Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Keep a bottle of **HOME OIL**, our new product, in the kit for general oiling purposes.

strength is required to start on the magneto but with small bore motors no serious exertion is required.

No. 1103.—Please inform me as to the proper method of cleaning out the radiator and jackets of a vehicle motor with a soda solution. Just what preparation of soda should be used and in what manner?—*Washington, D. C.*

The preparation of soda used is caustic soda, sodium hydrate,  $\text{NaOH}$  and the solution is usually made by dissolving two and one-half pounds of caustic soda in water to make one gallon. It is well to measure the capacity of the cooling system and then make up the required amount of the solution, and as it is highly caustic it should be made, if convenient, in an iron receptacle and care should be taken not to spill it upon the clothing or any other perishable material. It has some corrosive action on aluminum and brass and a little upon rubber and if the circulating pump is of brass or has an aluminum housing it may be well to cut the pump out of the circulation by removing the connections which go to it and temporarily joining them together. It is customary to put the solution in the radiator and jackets at night and to draw it off next morning, flushing out the entire system thereafter with pure water supplied from a garden hose or some other convenient source. This treatment should remove the scale from all parts of the system and, if the solution is not left in too long, ought not seriously to injure any rubber connections that there may be nor damage the system in any way. As the nature of the incrustations in the jackets and radiator differ in different localities on account of the nature of the waters there used, we think it is a very good idea to consult a steam engineer who has charge of stationary boilers in the vicinity and ascertain what he uses to remove the scale from his boilers. As the problem of cleaning out radiators and jackets is very similar to that of cleaning the scale from steam boilers, the same methods are usually applicable to both problems.

No. 1106.—The radiator fan of my car runs upon ball bearings and one end of the bearing is supported by the radiator, which seems to act as a sounding board and gives forth a roar of greater or less intensity, depending upon engine speed and lubrication. Can you give me any hint as to how to obviate this noise?—*Salem, New Jersey.*

We suspect that your fan is out of running balance or it would not set up the vibration which causes the noise and we suggest that you have the fan taken off and let a good mechanic attempt to balance it and also to see whether any of the blades stand at angles different from the rest which might set up a violent shaking. We do not know the construction of this fan but you may find that by having a wire guard brazed or otherwise fastened around the tips of all the blades its stiffness would be so much increased that the tendency toward vibration would be greatly reduced. If the fan is not a good one and is weak or of an obsolete shape, we think perhaps you would do well to get a new one. We suppose that the ball bearing is adjusted without more than enough looseness to enable the fan to run free. If it is loose this would intensify the vibration. Possibly some little relief could be obtained by placing a cushion of rubber or some other soft material between the brace which runs to the radiator and the radiator itself, thus preventing the transmission of the vibration into the radiator.





# Diamond TIRES

## After All, the Acid Test of Tires is Touring

**Y**OU may take chances in the city within a block or two of a tire repair shop, but out in the country, touring, eighty miles from nowhere, you must have a tire that you can depend upon.

The Diamond Safety Tread Tire is the ideal touring tire. It is staunch, rugged, reliable and troubleless. It is safe in ticklish places and under all conditions. It has life insurance built into it—and it won't skid either forward or sideways.

And it gives you mileage—more even than the Diamond Smooth Tread Tire, which is greatest in mileage among smooth tires.

The Diamond Safety Tread Tire is an economical all the year round tire. Diamond Safety and Smooth Tread Tires are made to fit every style of rim.

*In addition to dependable dealers everywhere there are FIFTY-FOUR Diamond Service Stations. Diamond Service means more than merely selling tires—it means taking care of Diamond Tire users.*

**The Diamond Rubber Company**  
AKRON, OHIO

We Could Build Them Cheaper, *But We Won't*  
We Would Build Them Better, *But We Can't*



## Save The Old Tires

**Y**OU can *double* the life of your new tires—and save the old ones—with Security Reliners. They mean 1000 to 3000 more miles out of the tires you've practically decided to throw away. Cut down your tire expense now with

## Security Reliners "2 TIRES FOR 1"

Security Reliners mean 3000 to 5000 more miles out of new tires—about twice their life otherwise. Do not affect resiliency. That's as good as two tires for one. Reinforce them now. Don't wait for blow-outs.

We guarantee to refund your money if you're not completely satisfied with Security Reliners. Prices very reasonable for all size tires. Ask the progressive dealer nearest you.

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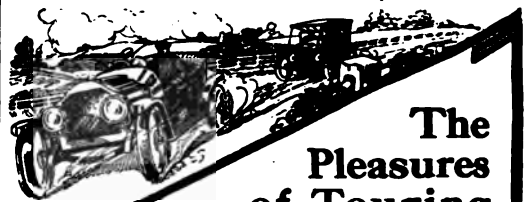
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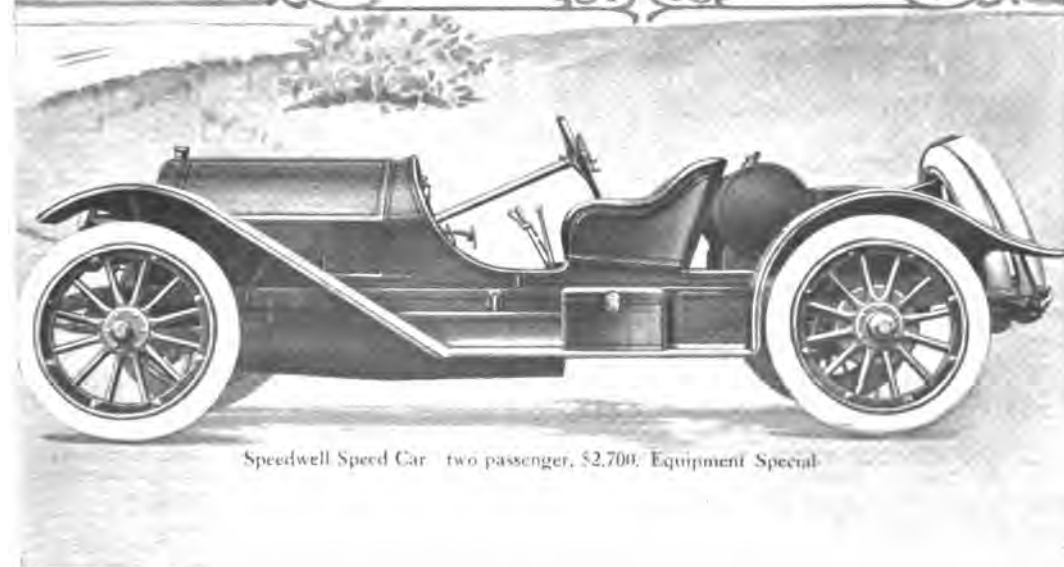
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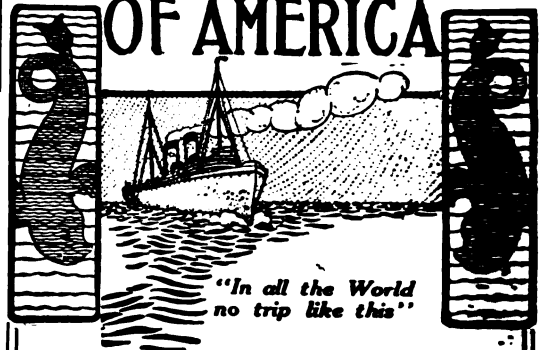
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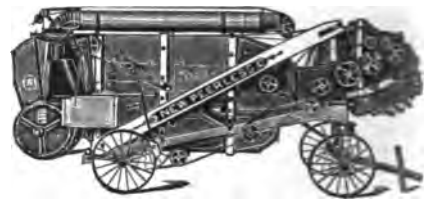
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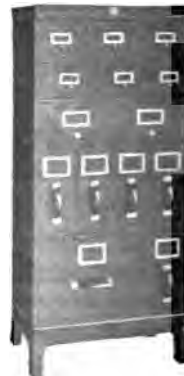
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President

This is for the man who wants a Home Farm or for the man who wants a Business Farm—a Home Farm that will yield him an independent living, or a Business Farm that he can operate as he would a department of his business, without giving it all his time and attention.

Write your name and address on the coupon below and mail it to me. I will mail you plain and conclusive proof that 35 acres of Southeast Georgia All-Year Land can be made to yield crops that will net between \$1,000.00 and \$5,000.00 per year. Now don't say to yourself that no man would sell for \$4.00 a week that

which has demonstrated earning power of \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 per year. That is exactly what I propose to do, and with the "Proof" will come a full explanation of the New Safe Land Plan whereby you can get immediate possession (and your fee-simple deed in 3 months) of land which I must first prove can be made to net \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 per year, by paying \$35.00 down and a few cents over \$4.00 per week, \$17.50 per month. A responsible bank acts as the independent agent of both of us, to guarantee fair play. There are good, sound business reasons why we sell land for \$4.00 a week which we can prove to be capable of earning \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 a year—and you will understand then when I put my proposition fully before you—which I cannot do in the small space of an advertisement.

You are dealing with a solidly founded, firmly established, responsible enterprise, and the land I want you to buy is ready for immediate delivery and you can have your fee-simple deed at once by paying \$175.00, or, in 8 months for \$35.00 down and \$17.50 a month. You can go and live on it, and by the application of reasonable industry and intelligence, earn a good living for yourself and family.

You won't have any "boss" to please in order to hold your job and keep your family supplied with the necessities of life. No man can deprive you of your living, for that you will own in your own little highly productive farm.

If you think you have to know a lot about farming or cannot bring yourself to make so great a change all at once, get one of these farms to fall back on if things should go wrong. Have it for a place to go to in case of need, or for rest and recreation.

The Southeastern Georgia All-Year Lands are within a few miles of Waycross and Valdosta, Georgia—the land lies between the towns and a little to the south, and is served by the Atlantic Coast Line and Georgia Southern and Florida Railroads.

But all this is the merest outline of what I desire to show you in detail. I am only attempting to make it clear to you that you can have an assured independent living income if you are willing to pay \$4.00 a week.

I want the name and address on one of these coupons, of every man or woman who is willing to save \$4.00 a week if I can prove that the result will be financial independence.

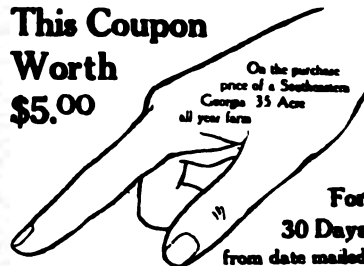
There is nothing philanthropic about this proposition, but I especially want to hear from wage earners.

I have worked for years to develop this opportunity.

The task has been a big one—it has taken a long time to test out each phase of the proposition, but it has been worth while and I will consider that I have been even more worth while if those who most need it are the ones to reap the benefit of my labor.

**This Coupon  
Worth  
\$5.00**

On the purchase price of a Southeastern Georgia 35 Acre all year farm



**For**

**30 Days**

**from date mailed**

**GEORGE L. WILLIAMS, President**

**GEORGIA-FLORIDA LAND CO.,**

857 Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Write your name and address on the coupon below and mail it to me. I will mail you plain and conclusive proof that 35 acres of Southeast Georgia All-Year Land can be made to yield crops that will net between \$1,000.00 and \$5,000.00 per year. Now don't say to yourself that no man would sell for \$4.00 a week that which has demonstrated earning power of \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 per year. That is exactly what I propose to do, and with the "Proof" will come a full explanation of the New Safe Land Plan whereby you can get immediate possession (and your fee-simple deed in 3 months) of land which I must first prove can be made to net \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 per year, by paying \$35.00 down and a few cents over \$4.00 per week, \$17.50 per month. A responsible bank acts as the independent agent of both of us, to guarantee fair play. There are good, sound business reasons why we sell land for \$4.00 a week which we can prove to be capable of earning \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00 a year—and you will understand then when I put my proposition fully before you—which I cannot do in the small space of an advertisement.

You are dealing with a solidly founded, firmly established, responsible enterprise, and the land I want you to buy is ready for immediate delivery and you can have your fee-simple deed at once by paying \$175.00, or, in 8 months for \$35.00 down and \$17.50 a month. You can go and live on it, and by the application of reasonable industry and intelligence, earn a good living for yourself and family.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

These latest data mailed \_\_\_\_\_

GEORGE L. WILLIAMS, President, Georgia-Florida Land Co., 857 Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo.

With the understanding that this coupon is worth \$5.00 on the purchase price of a 35 acre Southeastern Georgia All-Year Farm, if I decide to buy within 30 days from the date mailed, you may send me "Evidence—Proof—Verdict."

## REAL ESTATE

### WEST

**GOOD LAND, CHEAP, IN PROVEN DAIRYING** region. 2500 acres—only \$7.50 per acre. Splendid location on Sec Line in Wisconsin between Twin Cities and Duluth—superior. Frontage on beautiful lakes. Ideal tract for stock range or colonization. Easy terms. Baker, W. 32, St. Croix Falls, Wis.

### VIRGINIA

**VIRGINIA FARM LANDS** \$15.00 per acre and up—easy terms. We will send you our beautifully illustrated magazine one year free if you will send names of two friends who might be interested in the South. Address F. H. LaBaume, Agr'l Agent, Norfolk & Western Ry., Box 3086, Roanoke, Va.

### TEXAS

**TIRED OF RENTING** and want your own farm? Nothing down—9 years to pay—buys rich fertile land in the prosperous Texas Panhandle. Only \$20 acre—6 per cent. interest. Panhandle folder describing soil, climate, rainfall and crops, and 6 months Earth free. C. L. Seagraves, General Colonization Agent, A. T. & S. F. Ry., 1833 Ry. Exch., Chicago.

## REAL ESTATE MORTGAGES

**6% FREE BOOKLET** on Farm Mortgages 6%. \$500 upwards on North Central Texas farms. No better safe investment. Panics, strikes, trusts do not affect well-selected farm mortgages. Investigate us. Our methods guarantee the safety of your money. Write for valuable booklet. A. Y. Creager Co., Sherman, Texas.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

**WE START YOU IN A PERMANENT BUSINESS WITH US AND FURNISH EVERYTHING.** We have new easy selling Plans and seasonable leaders in the Mail Order Line to keep the factories busy. No canvassing. Small capital. Large profits. Spare time only required. Personal assistance. Write to-day for (copyrighted) plans, positive proof and sworn statements. M. Pease Mfg. Co.

544 Pease Bldg., Michigan St., Buffalo, N. Y.

**AUTOMOBILE SALES MANAGER WANTED.** To establish his own agency in cities where we are not represented. No capital required, except ability to purchase Demonstrating Car. Best references demanded. Carhartt Automobile Corporation, 479 to 487 Michigan Avenue, Detroit.

**Free sample goes with first letter.** Something new. Every firm wants it. Orders from \$1 to \$100. Nice, pleasant business. Big demand everywhere. Write at once for free sample and particulars. Metallic Sales Co., 421 N. Clark St., Chicago.

**I'VE MADE THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS** raising ginseng. You can do the very same thing. I'll teach you free and buy all you raise. Worth \$6 a lb. now. Grows about 5000 lbs. to the acre. Only your spare time and little capital necessary. Write now for my easy natural method. T. H. Sutton, 950 Sherwood Ave., Louisville, Ky.

## HIGH-CLASS SALESMEN AND AGENTS WANTED

**GASOLINE SELF-HEATING FLAT-IRON.** Pump and Sad-Iron Stand sell for \$6.00. Agents' price, complete outfit, \$3.50. Riches awaiting you. Agents, this is a money-earning proposition. A few of our best Agents are selling 135 outfits a month. It's wonderful how eager every family is to get this absolutely safe New Air-Pressure Self-Heating Sad Iron. Selling like wildfire everywhere. Rush your remittance, \$3.50, for the above described outfit. Town, County and State Agents wanted. Agents' Money-Making Catalog of many other articles free. New Process Mfg. Co., Sad Iron Room 26, Salina, Kansas.

**AGENTS—To sell the newest electric appliance on the market; sold everywhere; there is electricity in the home and office; liberal profit; sales-driving sample, weighs a pound, no experience or knowledge of electricity required; it shows how to use one light instead of two and get the same results; sells for \$3.50 and saves the purchaser an investment of \$25; write for particulars. The Handy Light Co., 735 East Eighth Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.**

**DODD, MEAD & CO.** desire representatives to sell the New Thin Paper Edition of The New International Encyclopedia. Full or part time. Special proposition. Big earnings for live canvassers. Clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and other educated men invited to communicate with us. Address Dodd, Mead & Co., 30th St. and 4th Ave., New York.

**YOUR SALES GUARANTEED. SAMPLE FREE TO HUSTLERS.** Men buy on sight. Only device that scientifically Hones and Strops any razor—old style or safety. Gives correct diagonal stroke. Famous Rubirundum Honing Strop in every machine. Sold on money-back guarantee. 100% profit. Write quick for particulars. Sales Manager, 710 Victor Bldg., Canton, O.

**LIVE AGENTS WANTED—HUSTLERS TO HANDLE** our attractive 1912 combination packages of soap and toilet articles with valuable premiums. One Michigan agent made \$65.00 in 47 hours; another \$21.00 in 8 hours; another \$22.50 in 10 hours. Write to-day. Davis Soap Works, 272 Davis Bldg., Chicago.

**SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION SOLICITORS** easily earn liberal commissions also can pick up extra prize money. For full particulars regarding commissions, prizes, free advertising matter, sample copies, etc. Address Desk 7, 155 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.

**AGENTS make big money selling our new gold letters for office windows, store fronts and glass signs.** Any one can put them on. Write to-day for free sample and full particulars. Metallic Sign Letter Co., 421 N. Clark St., Chicago.

**ACTIVE SALESMEN easily make \$300 monthly** selling our perfect dry Chemical Fire Extinguisher: 500% profit; buyers everywhere; exclusive territory assigned. District Managers wanted. United Mfg. Co., 1142 Jefferson, Toledo, O.

**HUSTLERS WANTED for a wonder selling line of sanitary household brushes.** Big profits; territory going fast. Write us at once. Fuller Brush Co., 15 Hoadley Place, Hartford, Conn.

**MANUFACTURER of new, exclusive linen heel and toe guaranteed hosiery wants agent in every county.** Sales enormous. Re-orders insure permanent, increasing income. Exclusive territory. Credit. A. Parker Co., 720 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MAKE MONEY HERE

**AGENTS! DROP DEAD ONES. AWAKE! GRAB THIS NEW INVENTION! THE 20th CENTURY WONDER**

LEARN the NEW WAY

Get started in an honest, clean, reliable, money-making business. Sold on a money-back guarantee

World's magical gift realized by this new invention. The BLACKSTONE WATER POWER VACUUM MASSAGE MACHINE for the home. No cost to operate. Lasts life-time. Price within reach of all. No competition. New field. New business. That's why it's easy. Removes blackheads, wrinkles, rounds out any part of the face or body and brings back Nature's beauty. Endorsed by leading doctors and masseurs. Listen: Parker, Okla., says, "8 orders first day." Margwarth, Pa., writes, "I am making \$19.00 per day." Shea, First order 12, second 36, third 72. Sehermerhorn, Pa., orders eight dozen machines first month. Shaffer, Va., "selling 4 out of 5 demonstrations." Vaughn, Wash., orders one dozen. Four days later wires "Ship 6 dozen by first express." Spain, Tenn., started with sample. Orders one dozen, then 2 dozen, next 3 dozen. Lewis, Ind., sells 3 machines first hour. Says "Best article he ever saw for merit and money-making." No experience necessary. Territory with protection given free to active workers. Nothing in the world like it. Best agent's article ever invented.

We own all U. S. and foreign patents. Big book entitled, "The Power and the Love of Beauty and Health" Free. Investigate now, today. A Postal will do. A big surprise awaits you. Address: BLACKSTONE MFG. CO. 501 Meredith Bldg. TOLEDO, O.

## LAWYERS, PATENTS, CHEMISTS

**PATENTS SECURED** or fee returned. Send Sketch for free report as to patentability. Guide Book and What to Invent, with valuable List of Inventions Wanted, sent free. One million dollars offered for one invention; \$16,000 for others. Patents secured by us advertised free in World's Progress; sample free. Victor J. Evans & Co., Washington, D. C.

**PATENT YOUR IDEAS.** \$9,000 offered for certain inventions. Book "How to Obtain a Patent" and "What to Invent," sent free. Send rough sketch for free report as to patentability. Patents obtained or fee returned. We advertise your patent for sale at our expense. Established 16 years. Address Chandlee & Chandlee, Patent Attorneys, 941 F St., Washington, D. C.

**PATENTS BRING RICHES** when of value. Our free books cover the subject in a thorough manner. We give personal service. Wide experience. Trade Marks Registered. Write to-day. Beeler & Robb, 255 McGill Bldg., Washington, D. C.

**MEN OF IDEAS** and inventive ability write Randolph & Briscoe, Patent Attorneys, 607 F St., Northwest, Washington, D. C., for list inventions wanted, and prizes offered by leading manufacturers.

## PHOTOGRAPHS

**SAMPLE PRINTS.**—Send negatives for free sample of our work. Films developed 10c. roll. Velox prints 2½x3½, 3c. Other sizes proportionately cheap. Photo enlarging a specialty. 8x10's, 20c. unmounted. Highest grade work. Columbia Photo Supply Co., Dept. L, Washington, D. C.

## TYPEWRITERS

**SENSATIONAL SALE:** Visible Underwoods, Oliviers, Smiths and others, \$18 to \$38; Sent on approval; write now; supply limited; Never such bargains; Old Reliable, Consolidated Typewriter Exchange, 245 Broadway, N. Y.

**NO. 6 Remingtons \$18.00, No. 2 Smith Premiers \$17.00,** and all other standard makes of typewriters at lowest prices. Many only slightly used. Fresh stock. Perfect condition. True bargains. Satisfaction guaranteed. Catalogue, specimens of writing and price list on request. N. Y. Typewriter Exchange, 92 Leonard St., N. Y.

**LARGEST STOCK OF TYPEWRITERS IN AMERICA.** All makes. Underwoods, L. C. Smiths, Remingtons, etc. ¼ to ½ Mfrs. prices. Rented anywhere—applying rent on price. Write for catalogue 97. Typewriter Emporium (Est. 1892), 34-36 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

**GENUINE TYPEWRITER bargains;** no matter what make, will quote you lowest prices and easiest terms, or rent, allowing rental on price. Write for big bargain list and catalogue 8. L. J. Peabody, 278 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.

**REAL Remington, Densmore, Jewetts, Manhattans, \$10 ea.** Franklins, Chicagos, Postals, Hammonds, \$7 ea. Oliviers, Underwoods, \$17.50 ea. Get our list before buying. Standard Typewriter Exchange, 23 G.G., Park Row, N. Y.

## PIANOS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, MUSIC

**BIG MONEY WRITING SONGS.** Hundreds of dollars have been made by writers of successful words or music. Past experience unnecessary. Send us your song poems, with or without music, or write for free particulars. Acceptance Guaranteed if available. Washington only place to secure copyright. H. Kirkus Dugdale Co., Dept. 254, Washington, D. C.

**SONG POEMS WANTED.** Send us your words or melodies. They may become big hits and bring fortune. Copyrights secured. Information Free. Marks—Goldsmith Co. Desk 13, 506 14th St., Washington, D. C.

## MOVING PICTURE PLAYS

**MAGAZINE WRITERS!**—Good, quick money for you in moving picture stories. Simple plot with one corking incident brings best price immediately upon acceptance. Will buy as many good ones as you can send in every month. Try your hand at it at once. Address Story Department, IMP FILMS CO., 102 W. 101st Street, New York City.

## INVALID FURNITURE

**ROLLING CHAIRS.** We make 70 styles. Carrying Chairs, Invalids' Lifts, Beds, Tables, Bed Trays, Back Rests, Commodes, etc. Catalog "B" illustrates—describes—free. Send for it. Geo. F. Sargent Co., 292 Fourth Ave., New York.

## SERVICES AND INSTRUCTION

**FREE TUITION** by Mail: Civil Service, Drawing, Engineering, Electric Wiring, Agricultural, Poultry, Normal, Academic, Bookkeeping, Shorthand Courses. Matriculation. \$5. Tuition free to first applicants. Apply to Carnegie College, Rogers, Ohio.

## MACHINERY

**RIFE AUTOMATIC HYDRAULIC RAM,** pumps water by water power—no attention—no expense—2 feet fall elevates water 50 feet, etc. Guaranteed. Catalog free. Rife Ram Co., 2191 Trinity Building, New York City.

## POSITIONS OPEN

**RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS WANTED—\$90.00 month.** Steady work. Thousands of appointments coming. May examinations everywhere. Common education sufficient. Sample questions and coaching free. Write, Franklin Institute, Dept. A16, Rochester, N. Y.

**FREE ILLUSTRATED BOOK** tells about over 360,000 protected positions in U. S. service. More than 40,000 vacancies every year. There is a big chance here for you, sure and generous pay, lifetime employment. Easy to get. Just ask for booklet A 13. No obligation. Earl Hopkins, Washington, D. C.

## Is Your Boy or Girl Going to School?

We call your especial attention to the Educational Directory which appears in the front section of the magazine regularly. This Directory is comprehensive and reliable.

You will find The Review of Reviews Educational Directory helpful in selecting suitable schools for your children. Consult it right now.

**THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS COMPANY**  
**30 IRVING PLACE, NEW YORK**

# BRAINY

## Popular Educational Food Campaign Striking Effects of Different Foods



**G. H. BRINKLER**  
Food Expert

**NOTE.** The New Brainy Diet System was originated by S. Leppel, the London dietitian, and is a science based on Dr. Bellows' standard work "The Philosophy of Eating."

**YOU** probably know something of the effects of different foods. For instance, an excess of starchy (paste making) foods produces sluggishness, dull, splitting headaches, lapse of memory and concentration, drowsiness and inertia. A change to digestible brainy foods, such as suitable meats, dairy produce, fish and game will produce a marked improvement. An excess of viscid foods, such as eggs, cream, butter, cheese, etc., causes catarrh, which frequently results in deafness and other complaints. Irritating or foreign elements, such as table salt, soda water, and some other drug-store beverages, and certain elements of foods, cause kidney and bladder troubles. Some foods specially affect the liver or the heart or the lungs and skin, according to the nature of the food. Accumulated waste, de-

posits of foreign elements and poisons from wrong combinations of foods cause diseases; right foods cure. Diseases supposed to be incurable and to bear no relation to foods and some diseases uselessly treated by surgery have yielded to the new dietary treatment. **I CAN TEACH YOU TO CURE YOURSELF.**

One group of foods, such as lean tender fresh meat, game, poultry, fish, curdled custard, curd cheese, apples, lemons, tomatoes, cucumbers, rice, bread, etc., when rightly combined and proportioned, generates great vitality and magnetism. Another group, including game, poultry, whites of eggs, almonds, pears, asparagus, spinach, celery, etc., is productive of superior intelligence and psychic development. Another group is chiefly productive of strong nerves, moral strength, presence of mind, strong eyes, an even temper and the strong will power which underlies success.

Undesirable foods, such as pork pies, bacon, rich and spiced dishes, grocers' cheese, alcohol, coffee, etc., make one irritable, violent tempered and even immoral; and still others, such as tea and wrong quantities of fatty, starchy and sweet foods, make one nervous, shy and low spirited and lead to premature old age.

Whites of eggs are the elixir of life for the toothless and aged.

Dried peaches and dried apricots are suited to society ladies who wish to be attractive.

Juicy fresh fruit is far more suitable than stewed fruit for business people who interview their clients and wish to be persuasive.

Brilliance as a speaker or writer is secured by eating green grapes, provided that strong brainy meals have previously been taken.

Knowing something about these effects, would you not like to know all about the influence of foods in your own case and for your own ambitions? No subject is more important—none strikes home more closely to your own welfare, and the welfare of your family.

No technical terms, such as "proteids," "carbo-hydrates," etc., are used. No foods for sale. No fasting, exercising nor drugs are required. **FULL NOURISHMENT IS ESSENTIAL.**

### To Increase or to Reduce Weight

Thin people after strengthening their nerves and digestive power by suitable brainy foods increase their weight by the proper use of cereal foods. Similarly in combination with a simple exercise women can develop the bust.

One chronic sufferer, weighing 415 pounds, unable to exercise, took correct combinations of ordinary daily foods and reduced over 150 pounds, gaining strength with firmness of flesh and losing rheumatism.

Eczema, other skin troubles, and all blood diseases yield to suitable diet.

### A Few Opinions

"Your criticism of osteopathy, physical culture, Fletcherism and fasting, in Booklet No. 2, is enlightening. Your recipe in Booklet No. 3, for clear complexion, bright eyes and alert brain, is worth dollars to every one."

"Your little books eliminated chronic catarrh from my system in about three weeks. To put it weakly, I was astonished."

"My brain power and general efficiency have been doubled this year by selecting brainy foods. I have made a fortune in real estate and the credit is honestly yours."

"The government should investigate and teach the Brainy Diet System for the good of the nation."

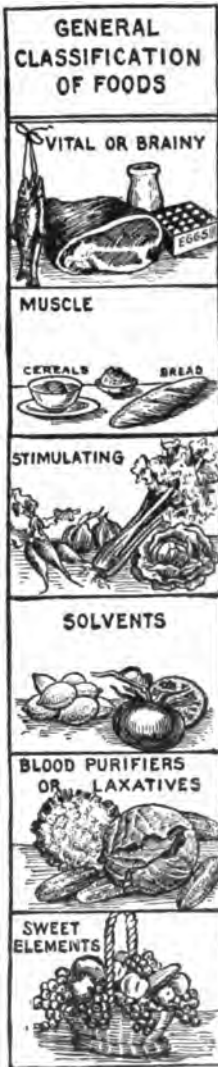
Send ten cents for mailing. Send addresses of sick friends to—

**G. H. BRINKLER, Food Expert, Dept. 26 F, Washington, D. C.**

*Memorize this address to give to friends in urgent need.*

327 W. BRINKLER, WASHINGTON, D. C. 200

# DIET



Four booklets  
which have  
taught many  
**TO CURE**  
themselves:

1. The New Brainy Diet
2. Diet versus Drugs
3. Effects of Foods
4. Key to Longevity

## Fifty Thousand Perfect Water Systems

Think of nearly 50,000 "Reeco" Water Supply Systems now in use and giving perfect service! Thousands of these have been in constant use 20 years and more. Only the

### "REECO" Water System

can boast such a record of actual performance. It is a guarantee of reliability and efficiency, carrying far more weight than mere words. **"REECO" HOT AIR PUMPS** and **"REECO" ELECTRIC PUMPS** provide unlimited water for factories, hotels, country residences, etc. Equipped with elevated or pressure tanks—any capacity. Simplest, most economical—safest and most dependable water systems in the world. We make complete installations—furnish all equipment when desired.

**RIDER-ERICSSON ENGINE CO.** Write nearest office for catalogue O.  
New York. Boston. Philadelphia. Montreal, P.Q. Sydney, Australia



## TRIM YOUR HEDGE—4 TIMES FASTER With The Unique Hedge Trimmer

Cuts a 13-inch swath. Saves energy. No skill necessary to operate. Blades cut both opening and closing. Unique Combined Hedge Trimmer and Cutter.



Cuts and trims. For heavy work. Has extra cutting tooth which cuts individual twigs up to 5-8 inch in diameter, besides blades for mowing the hedge. Either tool sent express prepaid on receipt of \$5.00 to any address in U.S. Money refunded upon return to us. If dissatisfied after one week's trial. Refer to any bank in Philadelphia.

Send for free booklet, "SUCCESS WITH HEDGES"

**FOUNTAIN CUTLERY CO., 2425 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.**  
New York Office, 1 W. 34th Street, opposite Waldorf-Astoria.

## Does Magazine Advertising Pay?

HISTORY OF DISPLAY ADVERTISERS IN 1911

670 advertised 1 year or more

480 advertised 2 years or more	124 advertised 9 years or more
373 " 3 " " "	102 " 10 " " "
304 " 4 " " "	79 " 11 " " "
262 " 5 " " "	65 " 12 " " "
228 " 6 " " "	50 " 13 " " "
194 " 7 " " "	35 " 14 " " "
145 " 8 " " "	20 " 15 " " "

During 1911 there were 670 display advertisers in the Review of Reviews. This statement shows display advertisers only and the number of years each concern has used the Review of Reviews, as far back as 15 years. We have taken all the display advertisers in 1911 and classified them according to the number of years they have used the Review of Reviews.

Isn't this convincing proof of the worth of a magazine as an advertising medium?

## Dutch Bulbs direct from Holland

Now—while your Bulb Beds are in bloom—is the time to get our **1912 BULB CATALOG** the real Dutch Bulb Book, issued by the largest quality growers in Holland. Full of vital facts, lists newest varieties, gives new bedding combinations proved successful in our unique testing beds. Comparisons prove our quality the best—our prices reasonable. Write today.

Gt. van Waveren and Kruijff  
American Branch House, 139 N. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Branches in Russia, Argentine Republic, Germany, England

# HARTSHORN

## SHADE ROLLERS

Original and unequalled. Wood or tin rollers. "Improved" requires no tacks. Inventor's signature on genuine!

*Stewart Hartshorn*

## WE WANT YOU

to have our catalogue of Garden Furniture beautifully modeled from Old World Masterpieces and original designs.

Our models are executed in Pompeian stone, an artificial product that is practically everlasting. Prices most reasonable and work guaranteed to be the best.

Write for catalogue J. Mailed free upon request.



**THE ERKINS STUDIOS**  
The largest manufacturers of Ornamental Stone,  
222 Lexington Ave., New York.  
Factory, Astoria, L. I.  
NEW YORK SELLING AGENTS,  
Ricceri Florentine Terra Cotta.

ORIGINAL—GENUINE

# HORLICK'S MALTED MILK

Delicious, Invigorating  
The Food-Drink for all ages.  
Better than Tea or Coffee.

Rich milk and malted-grain extract, in powder. A quick lunch. Keep it on your sideboard at home.

**Avoid Imitations—Ask for "HORLICK'S"—Everywhere**

Built any  
Size



## Cornell Sectional Cottages

Complete Painted Ready to Set Up

**GARAGES, STORES, CHURCHES, SCHOOL-HOUSES, PLAYHOUSES, STUDIOS, ETC.**  
Built in sections, convenient for handling and are quickly and easily erected simply by bolting sections together. Skilled labor is not necessary to set them up, as all sections are numbered and everything is fitted and is durable as it built on the ground by local contractors. Are hand-oner and COST MUCH LESS. We build houses to meet every requirement. We pay freight. Art catalog by mail on receipt of 4c stamps.  
**WYCKOFF LUMBER & MFG. CO., 412 Lehigh Street, Ithaca, New York**

Continuity of Impression Means Successful Advertising



## Ready For Work

**T**HE value of fire protection depends largely upon the readiness of the fireman to respond to any call and his willingness to face any danger. The value of fire insurance depends largely upon the readiness of the Company in which you are insured to respond immediately to your loss and its ability to meet any loss which may come to it. **The Hartford Fire Insurance Company** is always ready. It pays promptly every honest loss, big or little.

Its service to the American people is measured to date by a grand total of more than 150 millions in payments for losses. When you need fire insurance **INSIST on the HARTFORD**

**Agents Everywhere**



# Save the Trees



**JOHN DAVEY**  
Father of Tree Surgery  
COPYRIGHT 1912

The government recognized the urgent need of saving the trees on the capitol grounds at Washington, D. C., and employed Davey Experts to give these trees a new lease of life, after it was found they were slowly dying. The

## Davey Tree Experts Do

for trees what expert surgeons do for human beings—they prolong life. They are trained in the Davey Institute of Tree Surgery, founded by John Davey. They carry credentials proving themselves qualified. Demand to see these before you let any man touch your trees. All graduates are employed by the Davey Tree Expert Co. **We Never Let Good Men Go.** Many of your trees may appear sound and yet be slowly dying. They may have weak crotches. The first high wind will blow them over. Loss of property and life may result. Save your trees. Write to-day for our interesting book. Mention the number of trees and their kind. If agreeable to you, we will make an expert examination of your trees without obligation on your part.

**The Davey Tree Expert Company, Inc.,**  
300 Root St., Kent, Ohio  
New York, N. Y. Chicago, Ill.  
Canadian Address  
620 Conf. Life Bldg., Toronto, Ont.

**REPRESENTATIVES  
AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE**

**THE DAVEY TREE EXPERTS' WORK  
FOR U. S. GOVERNMENT WASH., D. C.**



# CORR MESH

A Ribbed  
Expanded  
Metal

of the highest  
type has solved  
the problem of



Light, Quick Fireproof Construction  
AT SMALL COST

**CORR-MESH** is the last word in ribbed expanded metals and marks the development of twenty years' experience. Its many uses for buildings of every character and description and its great economic features make it a universal building material.

**For Walls and Partitions,** Corr-Mesh is stud and lath combined.

**For Floors and Roofs,** Corr-Mesh saves the expense of centering.

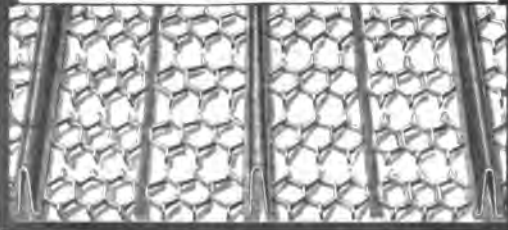
**CORR-MESH** is made in single units, in lengths up to 12 feet, and answers best every requirement for a metal lath.

If you are interested in building a factory, stucco residence, bungalow, farm outbuildings, etc., it will pay you to familiarize yourself with the advantages of Corr-Mesh.

Write on your business stationery, telling us the style of building you are contemplating, and we will send you FREE suggestions and our 48-page **CORR-MESH** handbook, containing complete plans and specifications showing the many economical uses of this material.



**Corrugated Bar Co.**  
212 Pearl Street, Buffalo, N. Y., U. S. A.



## Jersey Facts

1144 Jersey cows have been admitted to the Register of Merit on year's authenticated butter-fat records. Some say that entering the Register of Merit is too easy a stunt for the average Jersey cow, although the requirements are as high as those for any other of the dairy breeds.

471 of these Jerseys have records from 500 lbs. butter up to 1121 lbs. butter in a year, and the lot averages nearly 590 lbs. butter per year, very much above the minimum requirements for qualification.

Cows of any or of no breed may be able to produce just enough butter to qualify for the Register of Merit, but no cows of any other breed unite persistency in milk, richness of milk, economy of production, large yield, beauty of dairy type, breeding true to type, longevity and adaptability to different foods and different climates as do the Jerseys.

Consider the Jersey carefully, and she will look good to you from all standpoints of the dairy cow.

*We will gladly send you more facts in regard to her.*

**THE AMERICAN JERSEY CATTLE CLUB,**  
8 W. 17th Street, New York.

The Sohmer Cecilian The Farrand Cecilian

## The Cecilian Pianos

—that any one can play—



## The Cecilian Piano

The mechanism of the Cecilian is so direct; the touch so elastic; and the adjustment so delicate that the piano becomes a part of yourself. There is a subtle something which tells those who hear that you are *playing*—not manipulating a mechanism.

The Cecilian is the only player piano containing the metal player mechanism. An investigation will reveal its distinctive advantages. A postal will bring complete literature. Address Dept. N.

**THE FARRAND CO.,** Detroit, Michigan



# BLUE LABEL KETCHUP

Keeps when it is opened

Carefully prepared from selected red-ripe tomatoes, delicately spiced, and cooked very lightly, thus retaining the delicate, natural flavor of the tomato. Put up in sterilized bottles.

*Contains only those ingredients Recognized and Endorsed by the U. S. Government.*

Ask for goods bearing our label, — Soups, Jams, Jellies, Preserves, Meats, Canned Fruits and Vegetables; all as satisfying as Blue Label Ketchup; a trial will convince you.

*Write for our illustrated booklet, "Original Menus."  
It will aid you materially. Sent free on request.*

CURTICE BROTHERS CO. Rochester, N. Y.



## When You Buy a Refrigerator

look for these features—active cold air circulation—sanitary lining—perfect drainage—thorough insulation.

These and many more you will find in a McCray—the standard of refrigerators. Its features are exclusive and patented and because of these, it keeps food to perfection.

## McCray Refrigerators

are made in all stock sizes to suit a cottage or a mansion. They can be arranged for outside icing, thus avoiding the inconvenience and muss of the ice man. The perfect refrigeration of a McCray is due to its cold, dry air circulation, which reaches every nook and corner and keeps things fresh and sweet. Dry, cold air is nature's preservative and it prevents the mixing of flavors or odors. The thick, well-built heat insulated walls, lined with Opal-glass, enamel, porcelain, or odorless white wood—no zinc, the fine workmanship, the easily cleaned interiors, tight joints, the generous ice and provision chambers, make the McCray superior to all others.

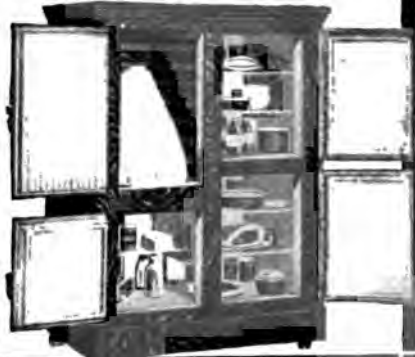
McCrays are used in the better class of residences, clubs and hotels and by the United States Government.

**Write for Free Book** "How to use a Refrigerator" and any of the following catalogs:

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| No. 68—For Groceries                   | No. 59—For Meat Markets             |
| No. 72—For Flower Shops                | No. 88—Regular sizes for Residences |
| No. A.H. Built-to-order for Residences |                                     |
| No. 49—For Hotels, Clubs, Institutions |                                     |

**McCray Refrigerator Co., 376 Lake St., Kendallville, Ind.**

*Branches in all Principal Cities.*



# You get a Quadruple Guarantee with J-M ASBESTOS ROOFING



Factory of the White Co., Cleveland, Ohio, covered with 160,000 sq. ft. of J-M Asbestos Roofing.

J-M Asbestos Roofing is guaranteed, by its *all-mineral* (Asbestos and Trinidad Lake Asphalt) construction, to be fire-proof, unaffected by gases, acid fumes, salt air, heat or cold, and to never need coating, gravel or other protection.

It is guaranteed, by the wonderful insulating quality of the Asbestos, to make buildings cooler in Summer and warmer in Winter.

It is guaranteed, by its record of over a quarter century of wear on buildings in all parts of the country, without coating, to *cost less per year of service* than any other roofing.

And it is guaranteed to give entire satisfaction by our half century of experience in the manufacture of roofings and our reputation to never break a promise or shirk an honorable obligation.

J-M Asbestos Roofing is suitable for any kind of building, anywhere. If your dealer doesn't sell it, send your order to our nearest branch.

Write for illustrated Book No. 1547, and we'll also send you a piece of the curious Asbestos rock from which we make this roofing, theatre curtains, etc.

## H. W. JOHNS-MANVILLE CO.

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1214

## Good Light in your store



brings trade and good will and avoids mistakes.

### Alba

Globes and Shades get the most and best illumination from your source of light.

*Alba* softens the piercing rays from high power lamps, but does not waste

the light like other diffusing globes and shades; neither does it change the true color of the illuminant.

Send for our illustrated catalogue which tells about all kinds of globes and shades for business or home. Send also for "Scientific Illumination".

Macbeth-Evans Glass Company  
Pittsburgh



Next to a good dentist, the best friend to your teeth is a

# Pro-phy-lactic

## TOOTH BRUSH

YOU cannot clean teeth by brushing over them. Nor can you properly reach the back teeth with an ordinary straight brush.

The Pro-phy-lactic is the only brush that thoroughly cleanses in and around all the teeth—its curved handle and irregular tufts are designed for this purpose. The individual yellow box protects against handling. Rigid or flexible handle. Prices—25c, 35c, 40c.

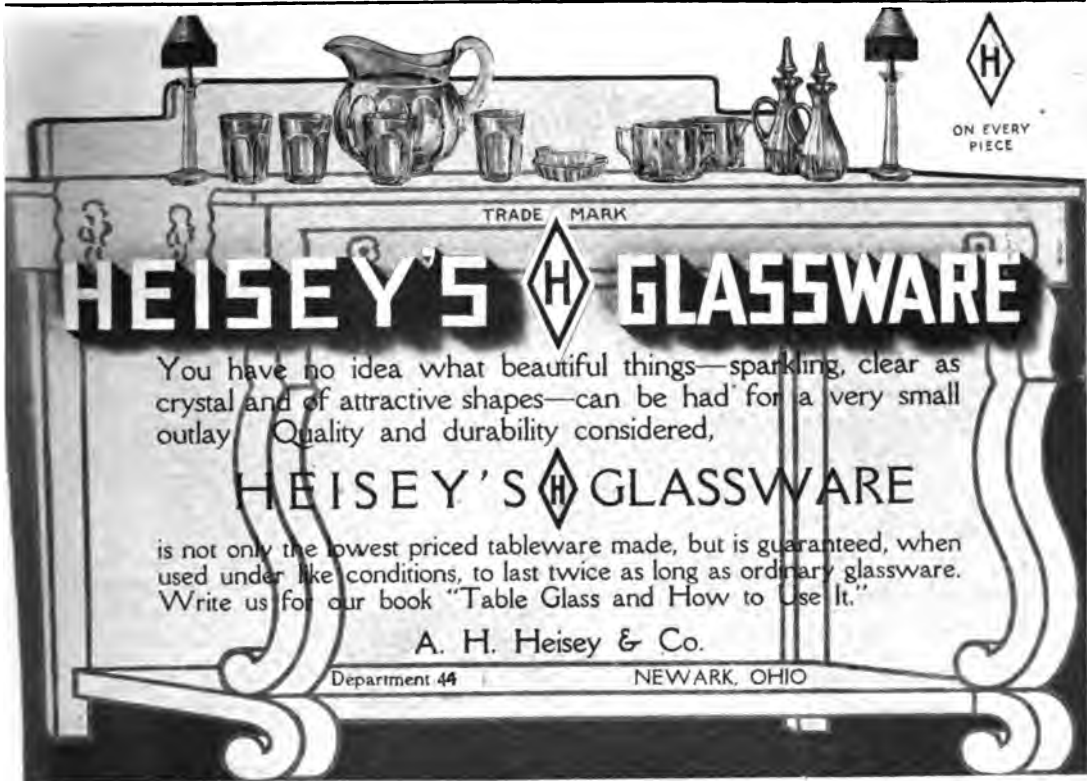
Every brush fully guaranteed. It's a replacement of defective. Our interesting booklet is yours for the asking.

FLORENCE MFG. CO.

134 Pine Street

Florence, Mass.

Sole makers of Pro-phy-lactic Tooth, Hair, Moustache and Hand Brushes.



TRADE MARK

# HEISEY'S GLASSWARE

You have no idea what beautiful things—sparkling, clear as crystal and of attractive shapes—can be had for a very small outlay. Quality and durability considered,

## HEISEY'S GLASSWARE

is not only the lowest priced tableware made, but is guaranteed, when used under like conditions, to last twice as long as ordinary glassware. Write us for our book "Table Glass and How to Use It."

A. H. Heisey & Co.  
Department 44 NEWARK, OHIO

## Big 1912 Model \$31<sup>75</sup> Oak Refrigerator Opal Glass Lined

### Direct from Factory to User

The exterior is solid oak. The food compartment and door are lined with the famous opal glass, 7-16 inch thick. "Better than marble." Opal glass is the most sanitary lining produced by science. It is as easily washed as a pane of glass. Double refrigeration from every pound of ice is given by our exclusive system of construction.



**MEASUREMENTS**  
Height 45 in. Width 36 in. Depth 21 in. Ice Capacity, 100 lbs.

## The Wickes 1912 Model No. 230, Only \$31.75

Conforms in every respect to the high standards set by The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company, manufacturers for over 60 years. The name lack of this refrigerator is the highest insurance of its merit.

**Our Money-Back Guaranty.** Your money refunded if the Wickes is not exactly as represented.

You buy the Wickes Refrigerator direct from the factory at actual factory prices.

**Title Exterior—German-Silver Trimmed, \$45**  
—same size refrigerator, specially priced.

**SEND FOR FREE BEAUTIFUL ART CATALOG**

It shows you the famous Wickes Refrigerators of all sizes—inside and out. Guaranteed and sold by

**The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co.**

Dept. 63, 324-328 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago  
Dept. 63, 29-35 W. 32d St., New York  
130-132 E. Sixth Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio (29)

## INDESTRUCTO

If your Indestructo Trunk should be destroyed today—you would receive one just like it free—You would be relieved of the worry and expense of buying a new trunk, because you are protected by our 5-year guarantee policy—Your trunk is built to stand up under severe strains—to make good when the unusual happens—

A stronger trunk would protect us—not you—You are already protected by the strongest assurance of our confidence that we know how to give you—

That's the strongest reason why you should own an Indestructo—

You will see many others if you write today for your Trunk and Bag Table.

**NATIONAL VENEER PRODUCTS COMPANY**  
229 Beiger Street Mishawaka, Indiana





# Chiclets

REALLY DELIGHTFUL

The Dainty Mint Covered  
Candy Coated  
Chewing Gum

Chiclets are the refinement of chewing gum for people of refinement. Served at swagger luncheons, teas, dinners, card parties. The only chewing gum that ever received the unqualified sanction of best society. It's the peppermint—the true mint.

• Look for the Bird Cards in the packages. You can secure a beautiful Bird Album free.

For Sale at all the Better Sort of Stores  
5c. the Ounce and in 5c.,  
10c. and 25c. Packets

SEN-SEN CHICLET  
COMPANY  
Metropolitan Tower  
New York



*"Now, will I make them  
as beautiful as they are  
practical,"*

said O. H. L. Wernicke — the  
father of Sectional Bookcases —  
when he became president of The  
Macey Co.

## Macey Book Cabinets

Do Not Look Sectional—  
But They Are

You would like them in your home!

They have the style of Old Master furniture. You can see it yourself; it stands out so you can't help seeing it.

You may have them in Colonial, Chippendale, Sheraton, Artcraft or Mission design, any size; any finish; and they actually cost less than ordinary bookcases.

Macey Book Cabinets are on sale with merchants in every locality and are warranted to give complete satisfaction.

Our Style Book and Price List is full of helpful and interesting facts for all book lovers, and contains some charming suggestions on home decoration by William Morris. Sent anywhere for the asking. Address—

The Macey Co., No. 948 So. Division St.,  
Grand Rapids, Mich., "The Home of  
Good Furniture."

# Notice how the *diagonal* stroke idea is creeping into safety razor advertising?



You tilt the blade like this



You shave as you've always shaved,  
like this

But it isn't creeping into the razors—that's the trouble. No use telling men they can acquire this stroke. It's like asking them to learn the barber's trade.

But the diagonal stroke is the thing; all razor makers admit it. It is not a matter of preference, it is the only way to get a real shave.

And the way to get this stroke is to use the razor that gives it—the Young

## Any-Angle Razor

Note the pictures—a touch tilts the blade and there is your slanting stroke!

Nothing to learn, nothing to do but shave as you've always shaved!

Try the Any-Angle Razor.

Your money back without a word if dissatisfied after a thirty day trial.

All dealers are authorized to refund your money if you use the Any-Angle Razor 30 days and do not like it. If your dealer cannot supply you, send the price of the razor to us with same return privilege. The price of the Any-Angle Razor and 12 keen blades, in rich, genuine leather case is **\$3**

Young Safety Razor Company, 1737 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

# Build Your Factory at KEOKUK



## The Mississippi Will Keep Freight Rates Low

Nearly 400 aggressive firms have started negotiations with us to locate in Keokuk for manufacturing purposes. Their aggregate capital runs into millions.

A few months hence the great \$25,000,000 dam stretching across the Mississippi from the Illinois shore to Keokuk will be completed. This dam will develop 200,000 electrical horse power—then Keokuk will have the largest single power plant in the world.

If you have the foresight to locate your plant *now* at

## KEOKUK “The City of Power”

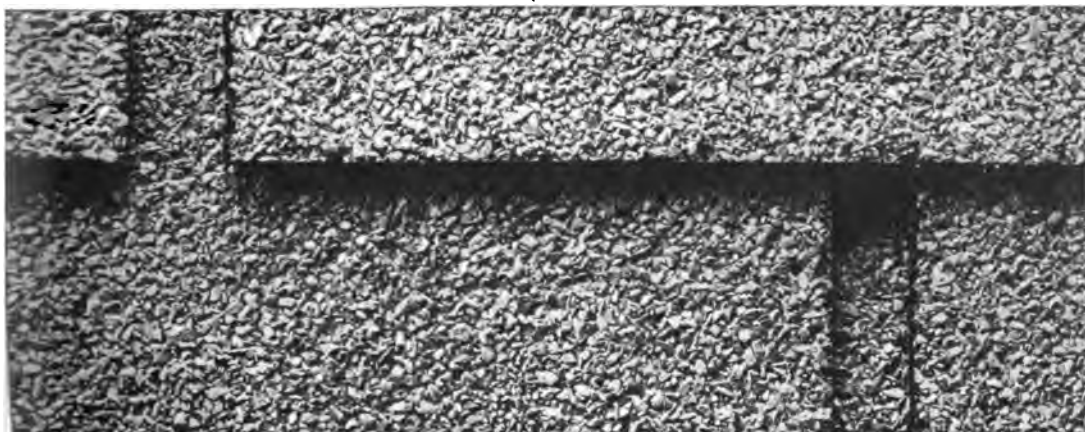
you will be in a splendid position to capture the flourishing North, West and Southern markets, because

1. Power at Keokuk will be the cheapest and most reliable in the United States.
2. The Mississippi will keep railroad freights low—Keokuk has seven competing railroads running in seven different directions.
3. The dam will create a large lake, the level of which for miles above the dam will not vary over four feet in drought or in flood, affording docking facilities which cannot now or hereafter be equalled by anything of the kind at any point on the Mississippi, Missouri, or Ohio Rivers.
4. Keokuk is in the centre of raw materials of all kinds—coal, iron, timber, hides, wool, copper and all grains.
5. Labor around Keokuk is plentiful—the city is high, clean, healthy and taxes *very low*.

*Investigate Keokuk now—before your competitor—write for illustrated pamphlet and learn all the facts about “The City of Power.”*

**KEOKUK INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION, Keokuk, Iowa**





This cut shows the surface of Flex-A-Tile Shingles—colors are deep red, gray green, silver gray and brown.

**WE** want to send you free of cost a sample of the most remarkable roofing material of this twentieth century—

## **Flex-A-Tile Asphalt Shingles**

Are as beautiful as tiling—as durable as slate and as quickly and easily laid as wood shingles—also—they are inexpensive.

Flex-A-Tile Asphalt Shingles are made of solid asphalt into the surface of which is rolled chipped slate and granite—the rolling is so effectively done that the slate and granite become an actual part of the shingle—they cannot be scraped or worn off—the natural color of the slate or granite gives the coloring to the shingle—there is no paint or artificial coloring of any kind—the shades are deep red, greenish gray, silver gray and brown—

Flex-A-Tile Shingles are cheaper than wood shingles that have been stained—they furnish ample protection against fire—and they will last as long as the house stands—

*Don't fail to write for your sample  
—and for the Flex-A-Tile book.*

**THE HEPPESS COMPANY, 1008 Forty-fifth St., CHICAGO, ILL.**



Sectional view showing how Flex-A-Tile Shingles are laid. Note the three solid thicknesses of slate covered asphalt. An absolutely tight, weather-proof and time-proof roof.





Factory and Powerhouse built Kahn System of Reinforced Concrete. American Optical Company, Southbridge, Mass.

## Kahn Building Products

Cover completely all constructions, large and small, including reinforced concrete, stucco, metal lath, steel windows, waterproofing, finishes, specialties, etc. Kahn Buildings represent maximum fireproofness, daylightness, strength, safety and economy. Our experience covers thousands of the most carefully planned buildings. Valuable suggestions will be sent **free**, if you will write about your buildings.



Hy-Rib Sidings, built without Forms. Favorite Stove & Range Co. Tiqua, Ohio.

## Hy-Rib Hy-Rib

Does away with forms in concrete construction, in Roofs, Sidings, Floors, Partitions and Ceilings. Better and more economical than brick, corrugated iron or wood. Hy-Rib steel sheathing is a combined unit of reinforcement, centering, studs and lath. **Hy-Rib Hand Book** of valuable suggestions, specifications, etc., **Free**, if you mention your building.



Perfect Daylighting with United Steel Sash and Kahn Flat Ceiling Construction. Dodge Bros., Detroit.

SLIDING SASH  
PIVOTED SASH  
CONTINUOUS SASH

## United Steel Sash

MOVABLE PARTITIONS  
UNITED STEEL DOORS  
CASEMENT SASH

All types of sash for all conditions of openings. Machine built of rolled steel—unweakened by cutting or punching. Flood interior with daylight. Proof against fire, weather and storm. Cannot warp or rot. United Steel Sash Catalog, illustrating modern constructions, etc., **Free**, if you outline your building plans.

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# MOTT'S PLUMBING



## QUIET- ACTION CLOSETS

THE noise of flushing has been reduced to a minimum in Mott's 'Silentis' and 'Silento' Closets.

Running water cannot be further silenced and still produce a sanitary flush.

In the 'Silentis' and 'Silento' Closets, the bowls and seats are extra large. They represent the highest type of quiet action closets.

A special booklet on quiet-acting closets will be mailed upon request.

**Modern Plumbing** Write for "Modern Plumbing," an 80-page booklet which gives information about every form of modern bathroom equipment. It shows 24 model bathroom interiors, ranging from \$73 to \$3,000. Sent on request with 4 cents for postage.

**THE J. L. MOTT IRON WORKS**  
1828 EIGHTY FOUR YEARS SUPREMACY 1912  
FIFTH AVENUE AND SEVENTEENTH ST., NEW YORK  
WORKS AT TRENTON, N. J.

**BRANCHES:**—Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Minneapolis, Washington, St. Louis, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, San Antonio, Atlanta, Seattle, Portland (Ore.), Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, O., Kansas City, Salt Lake City.

**CANADA:**—Mott Company, Limited, 138 Bleury Street, Montreal.

# A Nation In Revolt Against The Political Boss

By Mr. Munsey

is one of the notable contributions to Munsey's Magazine for June. It is a reprint of an address Mr. Munsey made to the voters of Massachusetts through his Boston paper, the *Boston Journal*, on Thursday, April 25, just before the recent primary election in that state. "I am reproducing this address here," says Mr. Munsey in his introductory remarks, "because a discussion of the preferential primary, with its relation to the political boss, is equally applicable to the whole nation."

## THE MUNSEY FOR JUNE

is another number of infinite variety and strength. The magazine has been enlarged to 168 pages, which are made more attractive through the use of 100 illustrations. There is a timely article of interest to business men by ISAAC F. MARCOSSON, entitled "THE MILLIONAIRE YIELD OF SAN FRANCISCO"; an authoritative summary of the achievements of aviation by AUGUSTUS POST, ex-secretary of The Aero Club of America, entitled "THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF MAN FLIGHT"; an illuminating article on an almost forgotten but influential socialist by LYNDON ORR, entitled "FERDINAND LASSALLE AND HELENE VON DONNIGES"; an entertaining article on STONEWALL JACKSON by COLONEL JOHN S. MOSBY, the famous commander of Mosby's Partizan Rangers; a fund of able EDITORIALS, the usual FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, comprising special articles and advice to investors, an illustrated section of comment on the THEATRE, together with a number of clever short stories and

**Generous Instalments of Three Great Novels  
by Will Irwin, George Barr McCutcheon and Louis Tracy**

**15 Cents a Copy**

at all newsstands or sent direct by  
the publisher on receipt of price

THE FRANK A. MUNSEY COMPANY

175 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY



*Don't Forget Welch's—  
It Is Part of the Good Time*

A WELCH grape punch can be mixed for a picnic as quickly and easily as for a reception at home. You can carry WELCH'S in a thermos bottle on a picnic, or anywhere you go.

**Welch's**  
*The National Drink*  
**Grape Juice**

Men like WELCH'S because of its satisfying tart-sweetness; women like it for its rich-ripe grape flavor and its true fruity aroma; children like it because it is *one* good thing of which they can have all they want.

*Do more than ask for Grape Juice  
—ask for Welch's—and get it.*

Write today for our free booklet of recipes for dainty desserts and delicious drinks made with WELCH'S.

If unable to get Welch's of your dealer, we will send a trial dozen pints for \$3, express prepaid east of Omaha. Four-ounce bottle by mail 10c.

**The Welch  
Grape Juice  
Company**  
Westfield, N. Y.

# *Western Electric* Business Helps

**Mazda Lamps** for effective illumination. The sturdy "wire-drawn" filaments make Sunbeam lamps the best.

**Fans** put new vitality into your working force, your business and yourself.

**Inter-phones** for instant inter-communication. You are your own operator. Just push a button—and talk.

**Motors** for every known requirement. Power bill reducers and output increasers.

*Valuable suggestions for business efficiency in our booklet No. 9316, "Silent Partners." Write for a copy.*

## **WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY**

*Manufacturers of the 6,000,000 "Bell" Telephones*

New York  
Buffalo  
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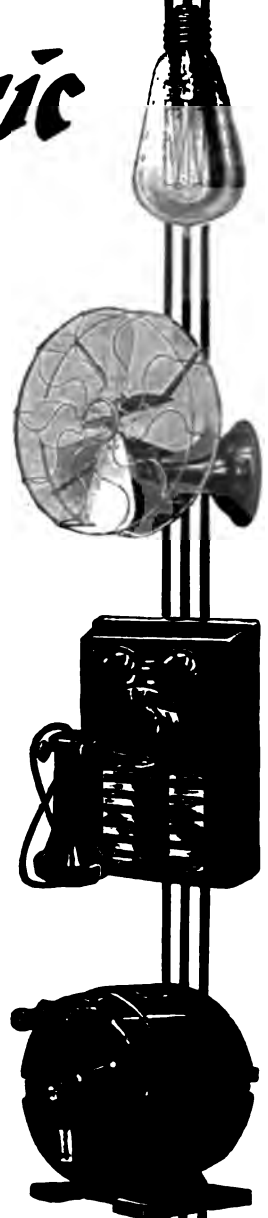
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London  
Berlin  
Paris  
Rome  
Johannesburg  
Sydney  
Tokyo

**EQUIPMENT FOR EVERY ELECTRICAL NEED**





## The Tree System—The Bell System

**A** NOBLE tree thrives because the leaves, twigs, branches, trunk and roots are all working together, each doing its part so that all may live.

Neither the roots nor the branches can live without the other, and if the trunk is girdled so that the sap cannot flow, the whole tree dies.

The existence of the tree depends not only on the activity of all the parts, but upon their being always connected together in the "tree system."

This is true also of that wonderful combination of wires, switchboards, telephones, employes and subscribers which helps make up what is called the Bell Telephone System.

It is more than the vast machinery of communication, covering the country from ocean to ocean. Every part is alive, and each gives additional usefulness to every other part.

The value of telephone service depends not only on the number of telephones, but upon their being always connected together, as in the Bell System.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY  
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES**

***One Policy***

***One System***

***Universal Service***



# AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION TRAVELERS' CHEQUES

Many travelers use "A.B.A." Cheques to pay *shopping bills*, as well as for hotel bills, railroad tickets, and other traveling expenses. Merchants, hotel people, and others who deal with travelers, understand that "A.B.A."

Cheques are *safe* to accept, because they *identify* the holder and are *good for full value* at bank.



"A. B. A." Cheques (issued in \$10, \$20, \$50, and \$100) are the best form of travel funds. Their many advantages are fully described in a booklet, "The Best International Cheque" which also contains much other interesting and valuable information for travelers.

Write to Bankers Trust Company, Wall Street, New York, for the booklet, and free information as to where you can obtain "A. B. A." Cheques in your vicinity.



**BUY THEM FROM YOUR OWN BANKER**  
OR IF HE CANNOT SUPPLY THEM APPLY TO  
BANKERS TRUST COMPANY, NEW YORK CITY.



# "Standard"

GUARANTEED  
PLUMBING  
FIXTURES



EVERY night is tub night when "Standard" Fixtures are in the home. The delight which the convenience, beauty and refinement of "Standard" Fixtures create in the use of the bathroom, makes daily bathing the rule in every home possessing them. Children especially are drawn to cleanliness by the appeal of their attractiveness. Their resistance to time and use, makes their purchase the most economical of all the homebuilder's expenditures.

Genuine "Standard" fixtures for the Home and for School, Office Buildings, Public Institutions, etc., are identified by the Green and Gold Label, with the exception of one brand of baths bearing the Red and Black Label, which, while of the first quality of manufacture, have a slightly thinner enameling, and thus meet the requirements of those who

demand "Standard" quality at less expense. All "Standard" fixtures, with care, will last a lifetime. And no fixture is genuine *unless it bears the guarantee label*. In order to avoid the substitution of inferior fixtures, specify "Standard" goods in writing (not verbally) and make sure that you get them.

## Standard Sanitary Mfg. Co. Dept. D.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

New York ..... 35 W. 31st Street  
Chicago ..... 415 Ashland Block  
Philadelphia... 1128 Walnut Street  
Toronto, Can. 59 Richmond St., E.  
Pittsburgh..... 106 Sixth Street  
St. Louis..... 100 N. Fourth Street  
Cincinnati..... 663 Walnut St.

Nashville..... 315 Tenth Avenue, So.  
New Orleans, Baronne & St. Joseph Sts.  
Montreal, Can..... 215 Coristine Bldg.  
Boston..... John Hancock Bldg.  
Louisville..... 319-23 W. Main Street  
Cleveland..... 648 Huron Road, S. E.  
Hamilton, Can..... 20-28 Jackson St., W.

London.... 53 Holborn Viaduct, E. C.  
Houston, Tex., Preston and Smith Sts.  
San Francisco.. Metropolis Bank Bldg.  
Washington, D. C..... Southern Bldg.  
Toledo, Ohio..... 311-321 Erie Street  
Fort Worth, Tex., Front and Jones Sts.

# Tarvia

*Preserves Roads  
Prevents Dust—*



Country Club Road, Greenville, S. C.

## What the Government Found Out About Tarvia

**T**HE Office of Good Roads, Department of Agriculture, built an experimental road at the country club at Greenville, S. C., in 1909, following very closely our specifications for two-coat penetration work, using "Tarvia X."

After two years the above photo of the road was taken at a point where it adjoins a stretch of plain macadam. The intention of the Department was to find out just how much difference the tarvia treatment made.

The picture tells the story. The plain macadam in the foreground is *worn out*. The tarviated surface is in *perfect condition* and the difference is so great that a clear division line is seen in the above photograph.

This is a typical instance of the success of Tarvia as a road binder. A tarviated road is automobile proof, waterproof, dustless and mudless. It is so much cheaper to maintain that the cost of using Tarvia in the construction is more than compensated for.

Tarvia is made in three grades:

"Tarvia X" for use in constructing roads and pavements.

"Tarvia A" for hot surface applications.

"Tarvia B" (applied cold) for dust prevention and road preservation.

Tarvia booklet mailed free to anyone interested. Address our nearest office.

BARRETT MANUFACTURING CO.

New York Chicago Philadelphia Boston St. Louis Cleveland Pittsburgh  
Cincinnati Kansas City Minneapolis New Orleans Seattle London, Eng.  
THE PATERSON MFG. CO., Ltd.—Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, St. John, N. B. Halifax N. S.





**EVERY** intelligent woman knows that in order to maintain the hair's vitality, lustre and color, the scalp needs more than cleansing. It must have cleansing *plus*. No ordinary cleanser *can* give this. Packer's Tar Soap *does*.

## Packer's Tar Soap

*(Pure as the Pines)*

Systematic shampooing with this high-grade soap not only cleanses the hair and scalp, but also stimulates the blood and increases the scalp's nutrition.

Send 10 cents for a sample half-cake. Our booklet, "How to Care for the Hair and Scalp," will be sent you free on request.

THE PACKER MFG. CO., 81 Fulton Street, New York



Drink  
a glass of

**Coca-Cola**

Hold it up — see  
how it sparkles and  
bubbles with life; it  
suggests joy and  
laughter.

Taste it—cooling, re-  
freshing, delicious—  
overflowing with  
vim and snap.



**Free**

Our new  
booklet, telling  
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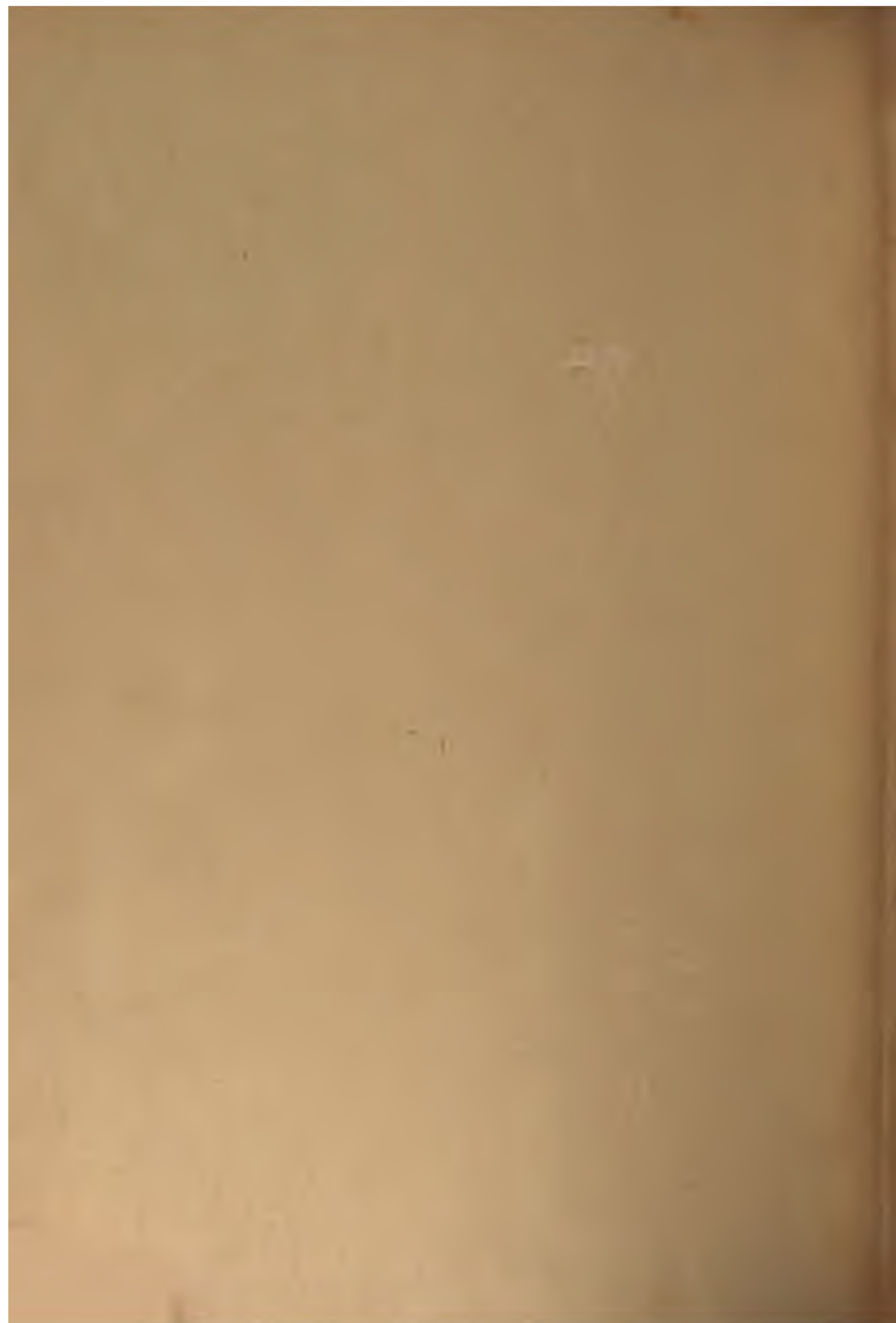












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